WORLD HISTORY TO-DAY

McKINLEY
HOWLAND
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MODERN TRANSPORTATION AND INDUSTRY

(Frontispiece)

WORLD HISTORY TO-DAY

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WORLD HISTORY TO-DAY

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PREFACE

This book has been written in order to explain how our modern world came to be what it is. For an adequate understanding of this present-day life nothing is more valuable than a study of the history of the last century and a half. Here are to be found the immediate origins of the economic and political structure of to-day. Doubtless many of the finer things of the spirit — in art, literature, philosophy, and religion — must be traced back through the centuries to the classical era and even to prehistoric times. But the growth of the obvious matters of everyday life can be seen within the last hundred and fifty years. Thus the modern political organization with its liberal suffrage and frequent elections now known and practiced throughout the civilized world existed in 1770 only in a feeble form in Great Britain and her colonies. Likewise, the modern system of industry, of transportation, and of commercial interchange of commodities on a world-wide scale is largely of very recent growth. So, too, the movements for popular education and for the recognition of the rights of women and children cannot be dated much earlier.

In these fifteen decades we watch the growth of that great power known as nationalism, springing from local patriotism and from loyalty to rulers, until it binds together millions of people with gripping ties of sentiment and self-interest. And nationalism, grown strong and vigorous, we see producing imperialism, — that desire to extend the boundaries, the possessions, and the prestige of the nation in the hope of outshining all other peoples. From such racial and national ambitions grow the rivalries between modern states which at last bear bitter fruit in the World War.

Yet throughout these eventful years the world grows smaller and each part becomes more and more dependent upon all the others. International associations for the promotion of trade, finance, agriculture, science, religion, art, and charity are formed by the hundreds. Our study closes to-day with these several forces of democracy, industrialism, nationalism, and internationalism still in conflict and with no stable equilibrium within immediate sight.

The first seven chapters of this book are designed to be used in one of two ways: either as a review by classes which have already studied world history down to the eighteenth century; or as a preliminary survey for those taking up world history for the first time. This preview is followed by five chapters dealing with the great political and economic revolutions of the later eighteenth century and the early nineteenth. Thereafter the progress of democracy and of nationalism within the European states, and of international rivalries among them, is traced throughout the century. Three chapters then discuss the political, economic, and intellectual achievements of the wonderful century. In considerable detail the four succeeding chapters follow the spread of European civilization and imperialistic control throughout the entire globe. The last four chapters take us back again to Europe, where the intense rivalries are at length fought out in the World War, with its far-reaching results for good and ill.

Aids for teachers and pupils have been supplied in varied forms. Not all of these need be used for each lesson or chapter; indeed, the wise teacher will seek to change the methods of study and recitation from time to time. Of particular interest are the localized helps inserted at the end of paragraphs and sections. These are designed to keep the pupil's mind alert and to encourage an immediate mental response to the facts stated in the text. The illustrations and maps have been prepared with a view to their use for teaching purposes and they should be made a part of lesson assignments and class recitations. The index will aid in the study of the pictures under various topical headings.

The materials for a work such as this have been drawn from many different sources, and its organization is the result of years of teaching experience. It is impossible to give credit to all to whom we are indebted in these respects. For pertinent criticisms and suggestions for the improvement of the text we are under obligations to Dr. H. C. Nixon of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., Dr. Fremont P. Wirth of George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn., Dr. A. B. Moore of the University of Alabama, University, Ala., Miss Mattie B. Lacy of Oak Park and River Forest Township High School, Oak Park, Ill., Miss Laura F. Ullrick of New Trier Township High School, Kenilworth, Ill., and Miss Alice N. Gibbons of East High School, Rochester, N. Y.

CONTENTS

WORLD HISTORY BEFORE 1789

PAGE

CHAPTER I. CIVILIZATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD IN ANCIENT TIMES 1
The Hazy Dawning of History. Achievements of Early Civilization in the Near East. Wonderful Culture of the Ancient Greeks. Rome, the Great Melting Pot.

CHAPTER II. THE MIDDLE AGES IN EUROPE 24
Classical Civilization is Buried. The Feudal Age. Europe Shows Signs of New Progress. A New Age of Commerce and Town Life. New National States Emerge from Feudal Confusion.

CHAPTER III. EUROPE REDISCOVERS THE WAY TO PROGRESS . 51
The Renaissance Rouses Europe to New Interests. Italy Leads in the Renaissance. Europe Learns to Appreciate Greece and Rome.

CHAPTER IV. THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION IN RELIGION . . 63
The Church as it Was Before the Reformation. Causes of the Protestant Revolt. Martin Luther Leads the Revolt in Germany. The Protestant Reformation Spreads. The Counter Reformation and the Wars over Religion.

CHAPTER V. ENGLAND ON THE WAY TO SELF-GOVERNMENT . . 83
The Romantic Elizabethan Period. Puritanism Clashes with the Divine Right Theory. The Revolution of 1688 Ends Absolutism in England. England Works out the Cabinet System of Government.

CHAPTER VI. DIVINE RIGHT MONARCHIES ON THE CONTINENT . 103
Absolute Monarchy at its Height. Grandeur and Decay of Bourbon Absolutism. Austria in her Prime under the Hapsburgs. Prussia Climbs to Prominence. Russia Begins her Tardy Progress. Quarrels of Kings Keep Europe Fighting (1689–1763).

CHAPTER VII. EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION EXPANDS OVERSEAS . . 123
Europeans Learn More about the Earth. Spain and Portugal Found Colonial Empires. The Dutch, English, and French Become Colonizers. A New Commercial Age. Great Britain Wins Leadership in the Colonial Field. Great Britain Loses the American Colonies.

THE GREAT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REVOLUTIONS

CHAPTER VIII. THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION . . . 146
A Decaying Absolutism. Gross Inequalities among the French People. The Need of Reform is Clearly Seen.

PAGE

CHAPTER IX. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION REFORMS FRANCE AND STIRS EUROPE (1789–1799) 167
Beginnings of the Revolution. The Bourgeoisie Make Valuable Reforms. The Revolution Grows More Radical. Foreign War Leads to a Radical Republic. The Reign of Terror (1793–1794). Reforms Attempted by the Radical Republic.

CHAPTER X. THE ERA OF NAPOLEON (1799–1815) 206
Why the First French Republic Did Not Last. Napoleon, the Man of the Hour. Napoleon, the General and Conqueror. Napoleon as Statesman and Emperor. Napoleon's Life-and-Death Struggle with England. The Uprising of Europe against Napoleon.

CHAPTER XI. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION 241
The Age of Machinery Begins in England. New Kinds of Power are Found. Advance of Science. Machinery Revolutionizes the English Textile Industry. Rise of the Factory System. Revolution in the Iron and Coal Industries. Transportation in the New Age. Changes Wrought by the Industrial Revolution.

CHAPTER XII. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION SPREADS TO THE CONTINENT AND TO AMERICA 271
The Continent Lags behind England. Agriculture on the Continent. Machine Industry Makes Progress on the Continent. Improved Transportation on the Continent. Social Changes Wrought by the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution in the United States.

NATIONALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND ECONOMIC RIVALRY

CHAPTER XIII. HISTORY-MAKING FORCES AFTER NAPOLEON'S TIME 293
Three Great Forces. Meaning and Influence of Nationalism in Modern History. Nationalism and Democracy Work Separately and Together. Economic Rivalry Sways the Nations.

CHAPTER XIV. TRYING TO UNDO THE WORK OF THE REVOLUTIONS 306
Men who Tried to Undo the Revolutions. The Congress of Vienna Restores Despotism. The Allies Crush Popular Demands. Metternich's Holy Alliance Fails in the End.

CHAPTER XV. EUROPE AGAIN IN REVOLUTION (1848–1849) . . 332
Causes Leading to the Revolts of 1848. The Storm Breaks upon Europe. Revolution Spreads Across Europe. Results of the Revolutions of 1848.

CHAPTER XVI. FRANCE SEEKS PRESTIGE THROUGH A RESTORED EMPIRE 359
The Second French Republic. The Dramatic Ascent of Louis Napoleon. Napoleon "the Little" in his Greatness. The Second Napoleonic Empire is Wrecked by its Founder.

CHAPTER XVII. ITALY BECOMES A UNITED NATION 383
Italy was for Centuries only a "Geographical Expression." National Sentiment is Gradually Created. Italy is Finally United. Problems and Progress in United Italy.

PAGE

CHAPTER XVIII. GERMANY IS UNITED AND BECOMES AN AUTOCRATIC EMPIRE 406
Germany Unreformed and Disunited. Bismarck Prepares Prussia to Unite Germany. Bismarck Creates the German Empire.

CHAPTER XIX. THE FORTUNES OF FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC 425
Modern France has Appeared Fickle. The Third Republic Makes a Dubious Beginning. The Growth of Radical Democracy. France Becomes Again a Great Power.

CHAPTER XX. THE GERMAN EMPIRE UNDER BISMARCK'S LEADERSHIP 444
How the German Empire was Governed. The Iron Chancellor as Pilot (1871–1890). Germany Without the Old Pilot.

CHAPTER XXI. THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN GREAT BRITAIN 462
England Makes Progress by Evolution, not Revolution. What England was Like in 1815. Breaking the Power of the Old Aristocracy, 1815–1832. Reform of Parliament Brings an Epoch of Social Reform. The Current of Reform Eddies — and Moves On. John Bull Carries the "White Man's Burden." A New Chapter in Progressive Reform. England Muddles Through the Irish Problem.

CHAPTER XXII. THE BULKY, BACKWARD RUSSIAN EMPIRE . . 507
The Czars Imitate Metternich. Steps Toward Reform — and Away From It. Turkey, Constantinople, and the Balkan Question. Russia Expands across Asia. Russia Reaches the Point of Explosion.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXIII. EUROPE ADVANCES TOWARD DEMOCRACY . . 531
Europe Learns to Make Constitutions. Wide Influence of the British Cabinet System. Outstanding European Governments before 1914. The Winning of Individual Rights.

CHAPTER XXIV. THE WONDERFUL CENTURY 553
An Age of Intellectual Freedom. The Age of Science. Great Advances in Applied Science. The Spread of Popular Education. Important Steps in Social Betterment.

CHAPTER XXV. THE WORLD GROWS SMALLER 579
Distance Unconquered a Century Ago. The Modern World Triumphs over Distance. The World Becomes One Market Place.

THE SPREAD OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

CHAPTER XXVI. THE FAR-FLUNG BRITISH EMPIRE 597
The Modern Race for Colonies. England's Varied Empire. Canada, the Queen Dominion. The White Man's Commonwealth of Australia. New Zealand, Land of Promise. South Africa's Union of Unmelted Races. The Empire of India. The British in Egypt.

PAGE

CHAPTER XXVII. ASIA LEARNS FROM THE WEST 633
The Russian Bear Creeps across Asia. The British Lion in Asia. France Takes her Share of Asia. Island Colonies near Asia. Japan Flings Wide her Doors. China Blinking in a New Light.

CHAPTER XXVIII. EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION TRANSPLANTED TO NORTH AMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA 665
Our European Heritage. Latin America Wins its Independence. Latin America in the Twentieth Century. Some Problems and Achievements of Latin America.

CHAPTER XXIX. EUROPE DIVIDES DARKEST AFRICA . . . 685
The Dark Continent Comes into the Light. The Congo Free State Without Freedom. France Creates a New Empire in Africa. From Cape to Cairo. Other European Colonies in Africa. Is Modern Imperialism Good or Evil?

THE WORLD WAR, ITS CAUSES AND RESULTS

CHAPTER XXX. RIVALRIES AND ALLIANCES MAKE EUROPE NERVOUS 705
Germany and her Neighbors. France and her Neighbors. England Makes New Friends and Foes. Rivalry Grows More Tense. The Balkan Tangle.

CHAPTER XXXI. THE CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR . . . 726
The Threatening State of Europe. Germany Demands a Place in the Sun. The Explosion in the Balkans. Europe Plunges into War.

CHAPTER XXXII. THE WORLD WAR 745
The Terrific Onrush of Germany. War Methods Violate International Law. How the World War was Different from Others. Many Nations Join in the Combat. Fighting along Two Fronts. The War on the Sea. America in the War (1917–1918). The Russian Revolution of 1917. The War during 1917 and 1918. Making Peace.

CHAPTER XXXIII. RECONSTRUCTING A DISORDERED WORLD . 784
Democracy Gains Ground. Nationalism in the Ascendancy. Russia under the Bolsheviki. Radicalism Gives Place to Conservatism. The Washington Arms Conference of 1921. Trying to Make the Treaty of Versailles Work.

LIST OF COLOR PICTURES

Modern Transportation and Industry . . . . . *Frontispiece*
A Local Political Meeting in Switzerland . . . . *Facing* 534
Preparing for a Heavy Stage . . . . . *Facing* 582
Red Cross Parade in New York, during the World War . *Facing* 774

LIST OF MAPS

PAGE

Ancient World, Period of the Roman Empire, 180 A.D. . . 15
Europe in 1453 44
Europe in 1648 81
Partition of Poland 121
The World about 1600 — Early Voyages of Discovery — Lands Explored by the Spanish and Portuguese 126–127
North America in 1750, and Eastern North America in 1783. 138
Europe in 1789 174–175
War Districts from 1788 to 1815 188
Napoleon's Sway at its Height, 1810–1812 225
Industrial Resources of Great Britain 259
Industrial Resources of Europe 286–287
Europe in 1815 318–319
The Unification of Italy 399
Unification of Germany, 1812–1871 416
Modern France 438
The States of the German Empire 445
Decline of the Ottoman Empire 514
Europe in 1789 and 1920, showing Growth of Democracy 532–533
Races in Austria-Hungary, 1911 544
Routes of Regular Airplane Transportation in Europe, 1927 591
British Dominions in 1926 606–607
Asia in 1914 638–639
South America, Central America, and the West Indies . . 681
Africa in 1914 684
The Balkan States in 1914 720
Result of the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913 723
Europe in 1914 734–735
The Western Front in the World War 756
The Sway of the Central Powers at its Height, Early in 1918 759
New States and Additions to Existing States after the World War 779
European Peoples and Prevailing Languages, 1926 . . 782–783
Russia in 1914 and 1926 801
America and World Relations 807

ROMAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

This is a wall painting from an ancient Roman private house at Boscoreale, near Mt. Vesuvius, now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Roman decorators frequently filled in wall spaces with such paintings, giving the effect of looking out from a window upon adjacent buildings.

WORLD HISTORY TO-DAY

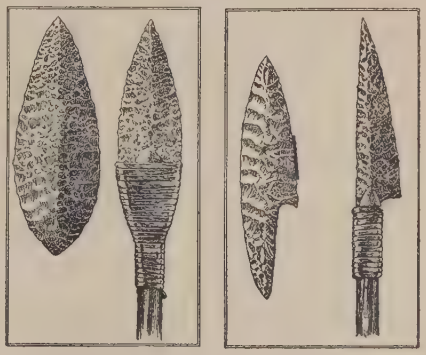
CHAPTER I

CIVILIZATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD IN ANCIENT TIMES

The Hazy Dawning of History

What Did Mankind Do before History Began? — History is the record of what man as a social being [1] has thought and said and done. But why do *we* care what the distant ancestors of the race did in their day? One main reason for studying history is to learn to understand thoroughly our own life in the world to-day; because our ways of thinking and doing in government, in religion, in society, in business, in our cultural life have developed gradually out of the life of our predecessors. Our study of history also shows us how far we have traveled since early times, and leads us to hope for similar progress in the future.

We do not know how old the world is, or how long ago men first appeared upon it.[2] History, as we understand it, began when men were far enough advanced in civilization to leave behind them some record of their doings. The earliest known traces of human civilization, made long before the invention of writing, consist of such things as rude tools and buildings, and early customs and traditions, from which we



Prehistoric Stone Spearheads
And methods of fastening them to the shafts.

learn that man had passed through long periods of gradual development before he learned to write. Thus, at the opening of recorded history he already knew how to make fire and use it as his servant.[3] He had invented and used tools and im-

PREHISTORIC DRAWINGS ON THE WALLS OF A CAVE IN SOUTHERN FRANCE
These sketches of a bison, horse, and other animals were drawn with a black pigment resembling charcoal, evidently during the Stone Age.

plements of stone.[4] He had tamed some of the wild animals about him and learned how to sow and reap grains that furnished much of his food. He had made a great forward stride when he developed a spoken language and learned how to draw simple, sketchy pictures to express ideas. Moreover, even in those early days men had learned to live together in families and tribes, and had formed the beginnings of religious beliefs. Thus, at the very dawn of history, there had already been laid the foundations upon which all later progress has been built; for we can scarcely imagine a civilization which does not contain all of the elements mentioned above.

1. What is meant by "a *social* being"? 2. What estimates have you seen as to the age of the world? 3. What parts of our civilized life would be impossible without fire? Make a list. 4. Why did early man use stone before he used metals?

Early Civilization Makes Slow, Uneven Advances. — Thousands of years were required for men to advance from barbarous, primitive conditions of life to a state of civilization. At first, progress was slow and uncertain everywhere, and in some regions, such as central Africa, the natives have remained in a state of barbarism even to the present day. In other places progress was more continuous, gradually leading to a high stage

of culture. These more advanced districts became centers of influence from which civilization was carried into the surrounding territory, sometimes by conquest, sometimes by migrations and settlements, and sometimes by means of trade and friendly intercourse.[1]

The most important types of civilization are those of China, India, and Europe. We need pay little attention, however, to the first two of these. Chinese culture, after extending over a large part of eastern Asia, became stationary and ceased to grow. Though the Chinese reached a high stage of development, they finally shut themselves up like a hermit people within their own land, and, although numbering many millions, have exercised little influence on the modern world.[2] Neither have the teeming peoples of India been influential beyond their own borders. Shut in by seas and mountains, they lived by themselves until overcome by foreign conquerors, and have remained under alien control to this day.[3] In Europe alone there developed a civilization which has been carried to the most distant parts of the earth. As students of history, we are chiefly interested, therefore, in Europe and in its many contacts with other parts of the world.

1. Does present-day commerce spread civilization? Illustrate. 2. Are the Chinese still a hermit people? 3. Under what alien control is India now?

Where Our Civilization Originated. — Our civilization, however, did not originate in Europe, but was, in a large degree, an imported product from lands to the south and east. In the great river valleys of the Nile, the Ti'gris, and the Euphrates (ū-frā'tēz), men lived and labored for untold generations, built up empires, and developed the arts of settled life, while the European peoples of those ages were still no more than savages.[1] The early culture of Egypt, Mesopota'mia,[2] and other parts of the Near East spread slowly westward until, by the beginning of the Christian era, it had encircled the entire Mediterranean Sea and had broadened out into the civilization of the Roman world. Then it began to penetrate into the remoter parts of Europe,

where it later developed to a high degree in such countries as England, Germany, and France. Finally, during the last four hundred years, this composite European culture,[3] drawn from many ancient and modern peoples, has been carried by European explorers, traders, and settlers to all parts of the world.

1. Why does civilization flourish in river valleys? 2. Locate Mesopotamia (map, page 15) and find the Greek derivation of the name. 3. Would you call our American civilization composite? Why?

Achievements of Early Civilization in the Near East

Egypt and Mesopotamia as Pioneers of Progress. — The beginnings of settled life in Egypt and Mesopotamia, far back some thirty or forty centuries B.C., were due to the specially favorable conditions found in the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates rivers. Deserts or mountains gave a partial

Colonnade of the Temple at Luxor, Egypt
Built and decorated by the emperor, or pharaoh, Tutankhamen.

protection from hostile attacks. A warm climate and a remarkably rich soil produced food enough to support large populations, thus encouraging the people to give up the wandering life of hunters and to turn their attention to agriculture, arts, and com-

merce.[1] Even the scanty rainfall of those districts proved an advantage, for it necessitated the digging of canals to lead the waters of the rivers into the grain fields, a task in which large

A Frieze Showing Assyrian Archers

numbers of people had to unite. In this way they learned to work together, as well as to respect one another's rights in the use of the water. Thus the race was taught the first great lesson of progress — the lesson of coöperation with one's fellows in place of constant hostility and rivalry.[2]

Coöperation, however, did not produce a democratic form of society in these early days. Each group was under the control of an arbitrary chief who directed the people in their work, settled their disputes, and led them in war against neighboring communities. In these wars, victory no longer meant the destruction of the vanquished group, as it did among savage tribes. Instead, the cultivated lands of the conquered were seized and they themselves were forced to work for their conquerors as subjects or slaves. Consequently the victors became

an aristocratic class supported by the labors of other men. In the course of centuries there were built up in this way the great ancient empires of the East, such as Egypt, Babylo'nia, and Assyr'ia, governed by absolute monarchs. The people were divided into separate classes with sharp contrasts of privilege and power — nobles, priests, government officials, soldiers, and, beneath all these, the great mass of workers, both free and slave.

In addition to creating immense absolute monarchies, the early peoples of the East discovered or invented nearly all the practical devices and tools by which men made a living and carried on the business of life until a few hundred years ago. They were skillful farmers, cultivating many of the food crops known to-day. They learned how to reckon time,[3] devised practical systems of measuring, and wrote on stone, on clay tablets, or on papy'rus by means of clever symbols and pictures. They invented ships which they used in commerce on their rivers and the neighboring seas. They learned to make and use all sorts of tools needful for working in wood, stone, and metal. They fought with such weapons as bows and arrows, spears, swords, and maces, and also with war chariots. They spun fibrous materials into threads and wove cloth of many kinds. Glass and pottery were in use among them. They developed a high order of constructive skill and art, as shown in their temples, palaces, and tombs. In short, as far as mechanical processes, tools, and inventions are concerned, little of importance except the widening use of iron was added to man's material equipment from those dawning centuries of recorded history until modern times.

1. Where did advanced civilization develop first? 2. What signs have we that mankind is still slowly learning this lesson? 3. By what natural object do civilized men reckon time?

The Phœnicians Carry Civilization Westward. — The ancient Phœnicians (fē-nĭsh'ănz) were the traveling salesmen of the world's early civilization, "the Englishmen of antiquity." They originated little that was new, but they distributed to all parts of the Mediterranean world the knowledge as well as the goods

of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Living along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians early took to the sea for a living, first as fishermen and later as traders. As they grew skillful in shipbuilding and navigation, they sailed farther and farther abroad, until their trading posts occupied most of the favorable points around the Mediterranean from Asia Minor to the distant coasts of Spain. Many of these little merchant settlements grew into flourishing colonies, dominating the surrounding territories and serving as centers of influence through which the older culture of the East gradually made its way among the peoples of the West. Many different regions profited by these lessons, but nowhere did the seeds of civilization fall upon richer soil than among the Greeks. Within a few generations the people of Greece had learned all that the East had to teach them. Then, on this foundation, they proceeded to build up a civilization of their own, which even yet has not been surpassed.

SEAL CYLINDER WITH PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS

These designs are scratched, rather than cut, on glass, jasper, or green serpentine.

WONDERFUL CULTURE OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS

Greek Civilization was Brilliant and Lasting. — Compared with the older kingdoms of the East, Greece was a small country with scanty resources. Whenever we think of the Greeks as one of the most important people in history, it is well to remember that they earned their title to greatness neither by wealth, nor by numbers, nor by imperial power, but by their unusual intellectual qualities.[1] The Greek mind was probably superior to that of any other people known in history and it was this endowment, rather than any sort of material power, which made

them the greatest people of antiquity. In spite of their mistakes, which were many and serious, the ancient Greeks did more for human progress during the three hundred years of their glory than did any other ancient people.

The world of culture to-day looks back to the ancient Greeks for the beginnings of its philosophy, history, and literature, of its art and science, and even of its athletics. In all these fields we can still see about us the results of their achievements. Their great philosophers,[2] Pla'to (427–347 B.C.) and Ar'istotle (384–322 B.C.), investigated and classified all fields of knowledge, and their writings still form the basis of philosophy as taught in our colleges. The first real history ever written was that by Herod'otus — an account of the world of his time (about 450 B.C.), still studied with profit by all who are interested in antiquity. As for creative literature, the Greeks have left unequaled masterpieces in epic poetry, notably Homer's *Il'iad* and *Od'yssey;** in the lyric verses[3] of early Greek poets such as Sappho (săf'ō) and Pin'dar; in the dramas[4] of Æschylus (ĕs'kĭ-lŭs), Sophocles (sŏf'ō-klēz), and Euripides (ū-rĭp'ĭ-dēz); and in the orations of Pericles (pĕr'ĭ-klēz) and Demos'thenes.

In the appreciation of beauty and in the arts that express that appreciation, no people have surpassed or even equaled the Greeks of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The statues and vases of that period which have escaped destruction are treasured in our museums as the best examples of their kind, while architects of to-day consider Greek temples and other public buildings as perfect examples of style, proportion, and ornamentation. Most famous of all these artistic structures was the marble temple known as the Par'thenon, decorated by the renowned sculptor Phid'ias, and erected in the period of the great leader Pericles, on the Athenian hill known as the Acrop'olis.

Modern science owes less to Greek genius than do modern art and philosophy, because modern scientists have means of investigation unknown to the Greeks, such as the microscope and a great array of other delicate instruments of the laboratory.

* See the selection on page 22.

RUINS OF THE PARTHENON
This view shows the west end of the temple.

Yet, meager as was all ancient equipment for studying nature, it is wonderful to see how near the Greeks came to understanding many of the principles of modern science. Their thinkers taught that the earth is round and they made an error of less than five per cent in estimating its circumference. They thought that the sun, and not the earth, might be the center of the solar system;[5] that all material things were composed of multitudes of tiny moving atoms; that the world was continually changing and developing; and that the higher forms of life had evolved from lower living things. Above all else the Greeks taught modern thinkers the necessity of studying carefully the world about us and of reasoning honestly from the facts observed.

The Greeks were an all-round people who gave equal honor to the body and to the mind. For this reason they sought for physical perfection, devoting much time to athletic training, and holding frequent contests of strength and skill. In the Olympic Games, the most famous of these contests, held every four years, athletes from all the different Greek states took part, and their rivalry tended to strengthen friendly relations between

suspicious and hostile communities. Our own Olympic Games, copied from them, are an effort to obtain similar results.

1. What would you say makes any people great? 2. Give your own definition of "philosopher." 3. Tell simply what is meant by epic poetry. By lyric verses. 4. What are dramas? How used? 5. What does modern science say about this?

The Greeks Learned Democracy, but Not Union. — In political life the Greeks had one great lesson to teach posterity — the lesson of democracy; and one great warning to furnish, namely, the dangers of disunion and lack of coöperation among kindred peoples.

The Greek world, which they called Hellas, was divided into a large number of small communities known as city-states, each in theory independent of all the others. Each city-state consisted of a closely-built and fortified city proper, together with surrounding territory containing the open villages in which the farmers lived.[1] The most important of all the city-states was Athens with its surrounding territory of Attica.

The Athenian government in its best days, under the leadership of Pericles (from 461 to 431 B.C.), was a pure democracy. All citizens had an equal voice in public affairs, and the officials were chosen by the people by vote or by lot [2] and were responsible to them. All matters of general interest were discussed and decided by an assembly of the citizens frequently called together. This form of government developed in every citizen a sense of responsibility and a sentiment of devoted patriotism quite unknown in the absolute monarchies of the East; but it was a political device that could be adopted only in a small state where all citizens could easily meet for discussion and voting. The Greeks, brilliant and great though they were, failed to hit upon the idea of representation by which people living at a distance might choose spokesmen to voice their opinions in a legislative assembly. Their city-states, therefore, never drew together into a voluntary union to form a really great nation.

The failure of the Greek city-states to unite on a free and equal basis exposed them to attack and conquest by stronger states

about them. The first of these attacks was made by Persia, whose kings, after conquering Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, sought in the fifth century B.C. to annex Greece to their empire. For a time the various little states succeeded in combining and warding off the danger, notably in the battle of Mar'athon, near Athens, in 490 B.C., and in the naval battle of Sal'amis ten years later.

Shortly after this crisis had passed, however, the mutual jealousies of aristocratic Sparta and democratic Athens brought on a disastrous and suicidal civil war in which all Greece was involved (431–404 B.C.). The exhaustion that followed this Peloponnesian (pĕl-ŏ-pŏ-nē'shăn) War enabled Philip of Macedon (măs'ĕ-dŏn) and his son Alexander the Great to bring the Hellen'ic city-states under their control. With Greek help Alexander then conquered the mighty Persian Empire, in his brief but dramatic and venturesome career. After his death in 323 B.C., the Greek cities recovered their independence for a time, but only to waste their energies in further civil wars until the growing power of Rome absorbed them in the new empire growing up in the West.

1. Define "city-state" in simple language. 2. Is election by lot democratic? Reasons.

Greek Culture Spreads, and Endures. — At an early date the Greeks began to rival the Phœnicians as traders and colonizers and finally surpassed them as the carriers of civilization to backward regions. Upon the islands of the Ægean (ē-jē'ăn) Sea, along the coasts of Asia Minor, on the shores of the Black Sea, in Sicily, Spain, southern Gaul, and Italy, were planted Greek colonies that grew into flourishing cities. Wherever Greeks settled, they carried with them their science, their arts, their philosophy, their religion, and their literature, as well as their preference for small city-states. They reproduced the culture of the homeland at many points throughout the Mediterranean area.

For several centuries the Greeks were the chief leaders of civilization throughout the Mediterranean world, except in eastern lands, where the older customs of Egypt and Asia were

little influenced until the coming of Alexander. His conquests in the East, however, meant not only the triumph of Greek arms in those regions (which was only a temporary victory), but also the triumph of Greek civilization, which endured there down through the long centuries of Roman control and even until the rise of the Arabs under Moham'med, a thousand years after Alexander's time. Greek became the universal language from the Euphrates River to the Adriatic Sea. The arts, the philosophy, the literature of Greece found students and imitators in all those eastern lands, which thus, for ten centuries, rendered their homage to the genius of Hellas.

Rome, the Great Melting Pot

Roman Civilization had a Long, Useful Life. — While the Greeks were creating a philosophy, a literature, and an art which were to inspire later ages, a city-state in central Italy was slowly laying the foundations of an empire that would in time eclipse the power of Alexander. It was the mission of Rome to unite the whole Mediterranean basin into one vast society, to spread throughout the western part of Europe a knowledge of the wonderful Greek civilization, and to enrich this gift by adding practical lessons in the art of government. The Romans taught mankind what the Greeks never understood — the value of organization and coöperation, through which vast numbers of men might live together in peace, respecting each other's rights, but united to advance their common interests.[1] The imperial way in which the Romans solved this problem does not suit the conditions of modern life, which are far different from those of the ancient world; but it does suggest the possibility of finding in our own day the path to peaceful coöperation among varied peoples and races.

In most respects the rise of Rome is the usual story of war and conquest, by which all great empires of the past were built up.[2] For more than four hundred years (753–338 B.C.) Rome remained a small city-state, fighting for mere existence with rivals often more powerful than herself. Then came a period of

rapid expansion. Within seventy-five years (338–264 B.C.) she brought all of old Italy under her control. Another century saw the rival states of the Mediterranean overthrown, chief among which had been Rome's most dangerous competitor, Car'thage, on the African coast opposite Sicily. By 133 B.C., Rome stood forth as the mistress of the ancient world. A little city-state had become a vast empire.

So far, her history reads like that of the other great kingdoms that arose in the early ages of history; but from this point on the story is different. Instead of declining in power in a few generations, the Roman Empire remained supreme for nearly five hundred years. This long life was the result of the liberal policy followed by Rome in governing conquered peoples.

1. Are artistic people usually strong organizers? 2. How have great modern empires been built up?

Rome Makes Romans of All. — Rome, very early in her history, made herself the leader of a group of little Italian towns organized into a league for defense against neighboring enemies. As leader of this Latin League, Rome had to respect the interests of her colleagues and had to learn how to work with them. Her own prosperity depended upon the strength and well-being of her allies. Though stronger than they, she could not rob or enslave them without weakening herself; hence she shared the profits of war with her allies and left them to manage their own local affairs as they chose, thus securing their loyal support. As other parts of Italy were conquered, they were generally treated in the same spirit, until finally the whole peninsula was organized under Roman leadership.

Conquests beyond the borders of Italy were at first treated much more harshly. These more distant lands were erected into provinces and ruled by despotic governors sent out from Rome, who plundered the inhabitants without mercy according to the usual habit of conquerors in the old days.

This misgovernment, however, soon led to disaster at home. The Roman state during those years of expansion was an aristocratic republic; that is, all citizens had the privilege of voting

for the officials, if they were able to attend in person the popular assembly at Rome; but a small group of noble families monopolized all the offices, while the senate, a council of ex-officials, made the important decisions and controlled the magistrates. This governing clique grew rich on the plunder of the provinces. Then they became corrupt and inefficient, and, in the scramble for the spoils, plunged the state into civil wars that came near bringing it to ruin during the century beginning 133 B.C.

New life was given the Roman state at the last moment by a revolution that overthrew the old republican government and created another in its place. Julius Cæsar was the leader in this revolution, and his victory over his great rival Pompey in the battle of Pharsa'lus, in Greece, in the year 48 B.C., practically marked the end of the Roman republic after a career of about five hundred years. A single man was now given the real governing power, although the senate and offices of the old republic continued in existence for a long time. Cæsar was assassinated, but his grand-nephew Augustus secured the governing power, under the title of chief citizen or emperor.

Augustus and the emperors following him wiped out the old aristocracy and replaced it by a body of trained officials. These were restrained from plunder and forced to govern the provinces for the good of the provincials, rather than for the enrichment of a small class of Romans. Gradually Roman citizenship was extended to all free men of the empire, who thus gained the rights and privileges once enjoyed by the Romans alone.[1] One thing only was denied, and that was self-government; but in the absence of modern methods of representation, the rule of an absolute master seemed the only way of preventing one favored group from tyrannizing over the other citizens.

From the time when Julius Cæsar made himself master of the civilized world until the close of the reign of Marcus Aure'lius in 180 A.D., the Roman Empire was in many ways strikingly successful. Those two centuries were times of peace, — the *pax Roma'na*, — during which millions of people were living in

ANCIENT WORLD
Period of the Roman Empire
180 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude East from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
English Channel
Bay of Biscay
Pyrenees
Str. of Gibraltar
Elbe R.
Danube R.
Dnieper R.
Volga R.
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Dead Sea
Nile R.
Caucasus Mts.
Sea of Azof
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Sea of Azof
HIBERNIA
CALEDONIA
BRITAIN
SCANDIA
GERMANY
SARMATIA
GAUL
SPAIN
ITALY
DACIA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
GREECE
ACHAIA
CRETE
CYRENAICA
AFRICA
PROCONSULAR AFRICA
NUMIDIA
MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS
MAURETANIA TINGITANA
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
RETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
UPPER MOESIA
LOWER MOESIA
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
ASIA MINOR
ASIA
CYPRUS
PHOENICIA
PALESTINE
ARABIA
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ARMENIA
MEDIA
PERSIA
ASSYRIA
BABYLONIA
EMPIRE OF THE PARTHIANS
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Narbo
Massilia
Tarraco
Gades
Rome
Naples
Tarentum
Syracuse
Carthage
Cyrene
Alexandria
Memphis
Jerusalem
Antioch
Ephesus
Byzantium (Constantinople)
Pharsalus
Maraton
Athens
Sparta
Salamis
Cyprus
Babylon
W-G CO.

contentment and prosperity in hundreds of flourishing cities throughout Gaul, Spain, Britain, Italy, northern Africa, and the Greek lands of the Near East. These cities were filled with abundant proofs of the practical skill of the age in the form of substantial homes, paved streets, aqueducts, sewers, and splendid public buildings. Between these urban centers everywhere travel was frequent, and there flowed back and forth the most extensive commerce yet seen in history. Excellent schools, generously endowed by the empire or by the cities, were numerous. During the reign of the emperor Augustus (27 B.C.–14 A.D.), eminent writers were producing literature of a high order — Virgil, his immortal *Æne'id;* Livy, his history of Rome; and Horace and Ov'id, their poems. In the courts throughout the entire empire the broad principles of Roman justice were being perfected and applied.[2]

After 180 A.D. the Roman Empire continued to be the great power of the world for some three centuries longer, but the splendor and success of its earlier days gradually disappeared in the darkness of the Middle Ages.

1. Compare this with the way Athens treated non-Athenians in her midst.
2. Think over the ways in which Roman life in those times was much like our own life.

Rome's Great Influence on the Later World. — Rome influenced the life and thought of later ages in many directions.

(1) *The Idea of World Unity.* — The empire furnished the first and only example of a whole civilized world living together in peace and unity. In earlier days the peoples of the Mediterranean basin were divided into a number of hostile states, each state pursuing its own selfish interests and trying to weaken or destroy all rivals. Something of the same condition also prevails in the modern world. But under the empire such feelings of hostility died out and the entire Roman world considered itself one great, united society with common interests and common ideals. Even after the break-up of the empire this feeling of unity never wholly disappeared. We can see it in the belief during the Middle Ages that all Christians ought to belong to

a single church organization — the Catholic Church. During the Middle Ages the kings of Germany, copying the older system, called themselves Roman emperors and claimed superiority over all other rulers of the time.

(2) *Roman Law.* — In adjusting the conflicting interests of so great and varied a population, the Romans developed under the republic and under the empire a remarkable system of law. Its principles were drawn partly from their own early customs and partly from the customs of the various peoples they had conquered. All these elements were gradually wrought together into a single, consistent body of law, which aimed to settle every question that came up with even-handed justice rather than by special favor. The last important emperor, Justin'ian, about 530 A.D., codified this law, that is, classified and arranged it in logical order, and thus preserved it for later ages. So completely has this Roman law met the needs of mankind, that it has become the law of most civilized peoples to-day, except those of English speech, who have adopted the English common law.

(3) *The Latin Language.* — As the power of Rome expanded, the Latin language was adopted throughout the western Mediterranean, thus displacing the various languages previously spoken by the peoples of those lands. In some regions Latin disappeared after Roman civilization collapsed; but in others, it remained the language of the common people and by gradual changes was transformed into modern French, Italian, Rumanian, Spanish, and Portuguese. The people who speak these Romance (Romanlike) languages are known as Latin races and still have many common characteristics that distinguish them from the other races of Europe. By way of the Norman-French, great numbers of Latin words also entered into the English language, after the conquest of England by William of Normandy, and still form a generous proportion of our own vocabulary.[1] Latin, besides giving birth to the Romance languages, continued in its original form as the language of the church, the language of learning, and the means of communication between

the educated classes of all countries until comparatively recent times. In Latin was written most of the serious literature of the Middle Ages, and it remains even to-day the language of the Roman Catholic Church. In addition, it forms an important part in our system of education, because Latin is a remarkably precise language and because a careful study of Latin gives one a greater skill in the use of the words of one's own tongue.

(4) *Machinery of Government.* — The management of the Roman Empire took the form of what is called a bureaucracy; that is, an enormous number of officials were appointed to look after the interests of the state and to supervise the activities of the people. Each imperial official was responsible, not to the members of the community, but to some higher officer, until we come to the emperor, the center of the whole system and absolute master of the Roman world. In this way the imperial government was paternal in its attitude, constantly supervising and guiding the people for what it considered their good. Modern governments, as they became better organized, imitated this Roman system. At present, absolute monarchs have gone out of fashion, it is true, but every modern government maintains a bureaucracy of officials whose numbers and whose duties tend to increase from year to year.

(5) *Practical Arts.* — The Romans were a remarkably practical people — not an artistic or speculative folk like the ancient Greeks. This was very evident in their workable and tolerant plan of governing conquered people, as well as in the simple, broad principles of common sense and justice which marked Roman law. In material ways, also, the Romans made gains which benefited later generations. Illustrations of this are found in their excellent roads, which stretched across the empire everywhere, some of which are still in use; in their massive aqueducts for bringing water to their cities; in their time-defying bridges; and in their use of the arch in the construction of great aqueducts, bridges, and buildings.

(6) *Preserving Greek Culture.* — Although not an imaginative or creative people in æsthetic lines, the Romans did absorb,

appreciate, and preserve the unmatched culture of the ancient Greeks. It was in this way that many of the master achieve-

THE APPIAN WAY AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY
Note the ruins of the aqueduct of Claudius in the background.

ments of the Greek mind were saved from destruction and passed on to modern times.[2]

1. What words of Latin origin can you select on this page? 2. Now think of half a dozen telling adjectives which you would use in describing the Roman people.

Origin and Influence of Christianity. — Each state of the ancient world, however small, had its own religion before it was brought under Roman sway. These several religions were not molested by the Romans, so that for a time a great variety of beliefs existed side by side in the empire.[1] But the establishment of close and friendly relations between all parts of the Mediterranean world led to constant interchange of ideas and weakened the hold of the old, local religions. New beliefs began to spread, opening the way for one common religion.

Jesus, the founder of Christianity, was born in the reign of

Augustus, just at the time the empire was being organized. When grown to manhood, he taught principles of conduct and belief suitable to all times and all peoples. A new religion, founded upon the teachings of Jesus, spread rapidly throughout

THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, IN ROME

This was erected in 315 A.D. in honor of the conquests of Constantine, the first Roman ruler to embrace Christianity.

the empire.[2] For a time this religion was opposed and believers were persecuted by some emperors who feared the Christians would form an independent society hostile to the imperial government; but when they realized how well the church and state could be made to coöperate for the common good, they accepted Christianity and made it the official religion of the empire. In the year 313 the Emperor Con'stantine gave Christianity legal standing equal to that of other faiths, and in 391 Theodo'sius made it the only lawful religion. The empire thereby acquired a unity of religion similar to its unity of government.

The Christian Church has influenced the thought and conduct

of all later generations, and though its precepts have often been disregarded, they have always been recognized as an ideal standard which men ought to try to reach. Christian teachings have promoted a feeling of sympathy and brotherhood among men and have proved a continual incentive to better living. Moreover, the Christian Church was the bridge over which the civilization of the ancient world passed to the Middle Ages and to later times. When the Roman Empire went to pieces, the church was left as the one surviving institution of earlier days.[3] All that remained of ancient culture in the way of art, literature, science, and the capacity for government and organization, was preserved by the church.[4] Instead of being altogether lost, some of these precious gifts were carried over and taught to later generations. In this way the church became the teacher of the Middle Ages not only in religion but also in civilization itself.

1. Is it generally safe to try to change the religion of a conquered people? Reasons. 2. Who was the most active and noted worker in spreading Christianity? 3. Some reasons why the church outlived the empire? 4. Just how did the church preserve these things?

Concluding View of Greek and Roman Civilization. — The ancient Greeks, notably the Athenians, were a wonderfully keen, alert, and progressive people, who far surpassed others in many ways. But what did they do for the world permanently? Their religion, although picturesque, was not an inspiration to high moral endeavor. Their democracy at Athens, although wonderful, was not enduring in its influence, and the modern world has learned its democracy from other sources. In artistic achievements, however, in philosophic quests, and in several kinds of literature the Greeks have for ages led the world. Especially in poetry, — epic, lyric, and dramatic, — in architecture and sculpture, and in philosophic thinking, the achievements of Greek genius were so marked that later ages even to our own day have continued to admire, and have tried to imitate them. Herein lies the leadership of the ancient Greeks among the influential peoples of history.

Strikingly like our modern world seems the Roman Empire in its best days, with its scores of well-provided cities, its fine

buildings, its active commerce, its excellent highways, its system of courts and of law, its schools in every city, its widespread culture, its tolerant, cosmopolitan people. Chief among the things which this Roman civilization contributed to modern life are its equitable system of law, its type of provincial and city government, Roman engineering, Latin language and literature, and the organized Christian Church.

An Adventure of the Grecian Chieftain Ulysses, as Told in the Odyssey.

They went and found themselves
Among the Lotus-eaters soon, who used
No violence against their lives, but gave
Into their hands the lotus plant to taste.
Whoever tasted once of that sweet food
Wished not to see his native country more,
Nor give his friends the knowledge of his fate.
And then my messengers desired to dwell
Among the Lotus-eaters, and to feed
Upon the lotus, never to return.
By force I led them weeping to the fleet,
And bound them in the hollow ships beneath
The benches. Then I ordered all the rest
Of my beloved comrades to embark
In haste, lest, tasting of the lotus, they
Should think no more of home. All straightway went
On board, and on the benches took their place,
And smote the hoary ocean with their oars.

— From the *Odyssey*, Book IX (Bryant's translation).

Problem and Reference Work

1. Tabulate carefully the things modern people owe to prehistoric men.

2. Why do we study the history of Egypt thousands of years ago, while nowhere in our school course, perhaps, do we study the recent history of Egypt? Write out your conclusions in good form.

3. In what ways did the Nile stimulate the early Egyptians to use their mental powers?

4. Reference: Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pages 116 ff. Read this account of how a great pyramid was built.

5. Describe New York or Chicago as it would be if it were a city-state.

6. Greek democracies were short-lived. What reasons have we for hoping that ours will be more enduring?

7. Give a concise description of the Olympic Games. Read Chapter 11 of Blümner.

8. Does Alexander deserve the title "Great"? Give reasons.

9. Through reading Chapter 2 in Tucker, *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, learn about the ease, speed, and comfort of travel throughout the Roman Empire.

10. Read Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 53–60. Get clearly this author's idea of the moral value of Christianity to civilization.

11. Reference: *The Bible.* — Matthew, VII, 12; Matthew, XXII, 35–40; Luke, X, 25–37; Luke, XV, 11–24. These readings give two main teachings and two striking parables of the founder of Christianity.

Reading List

McKinley, Howland, and Dann, *World History in the Making*, Chs. 1–13, 15.

Banks, E. J., *Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.* Especially useful for its illustrations. Ch. 1, The great pyramid of Khufu. Ch. 3, The statue of Zeus at Olympia. Ch. 7, The famous lighthouse at Alexandria.

Blümner, Hugo, *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks.* A very valuable book. Ch. 3, Education of boys and girls at Sparta and at Athens. Ch. 11, The Olympic games.

Davis, W. S., *A Day in Old Athens.* The best simple account of Greek life. Ch. 5, Life of Athenian women. Ch. 7, Slavery at Athens. Ch. 9, An Athenian schoolboy. Ch. 14, The busy harbor of Athens. Ch. 16, The Athenian people governing themselves.

Davis, W. S., *Readings in Ancient History — Greece.* A good collection of source selections.

Gulick, C. B., *Modern Traits in Old Greek Life.* Ch. 2, In the home. Ch. 3, In the school. Ch. 4, In the market place. Ch. 5, In the temple.

Haaren and Poland, *Famous Men of Greece.* Ch. 21, Socrates, the great street philosopher. Ch. 18, Pericles, the leader of Athenian democracy. Ch. 25, The story of Alexander the Great. Ch. 26, The orator Demosthenes.

Abbott, F. F., *Common People of Ancient Rome.* Simple and direct.

Adams, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages.* Excellent. Ch. 2, What the Romans did for civilization.

Davis, W. S., *Readings in Ancient History — Rome.* Well-selected source material.

Davis, W. S., *A Day in Old Rome.* A sprightly description of life in the imperial city in Hadrian's time.

Johnston, H. W., *Private Life of the Romans.* Good, except full of technical details. Ch. 3, The life of Roman women. Ch. 4, Education at Rome. Ch. 9, Roman amusements.

Munro, D. C., *Source Book of Roman History.* A good collection.

A Barbarian Horde Riding into Battle
Painting of Attila and the Huns by U. Checa.

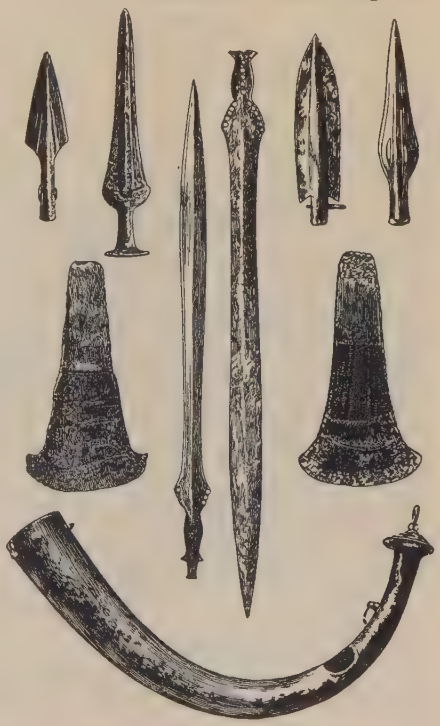
CHAPTER II

THE MIDDLE AGES IN EUROPE

Classical Civilization is Buried

Barbarian Invaders Overwhelm Ancient Civilization. — The Roman Empire finally went to pieces and its civilization, the like of which was not to be seen again until modern times, died out in the western world. Europe fell back into barbarism, and centuries passed before order was again restored. We do not understand fully the causes of this catastrophe, perhaps the greatest recorded in history. The writers of the later empire complain of a steady decrease of population; of the increase of poverty among the people, and dishonesty and corruption among the officials; of taxation so heavy that it ruined the industrious classes of the country and the cities alike; and of blank indifference or helpless despair among all classes. All these were symptoms of advancing decay. Finally the time came when the empire could no longer defend its frontiers from the attacks of barbarians. Then the old order of civilized society disappeared and a new one had to be reconstructed upon its ruins.[1]

From about 400 to 1000 A.D. the European provinces of the Roman Empire were overrun by half-savage tribes from the north and the east. First came the Teuton'ic tribes from beyond the Rhine and Danube rivers, who established crude kingdoms on Roman territory. Of these, the Vis'igoths settled in Spain, the Franks and Burgundians in Gaul, the Angles and Saxons in Britain, and the Lombards in northern Italy, while the Vandals pushed across the Strait of Gibraltar and occupied northern Africa. About the year 800, when something like order was once again beginning to appear, the more remote Teutonic peoples of Scandinavia, called Norsemen, terrorized the lands to the south, renewing the destruction and confusion of the earlier invasions and keeping Europe in turmoil until near the end of the tenth century.

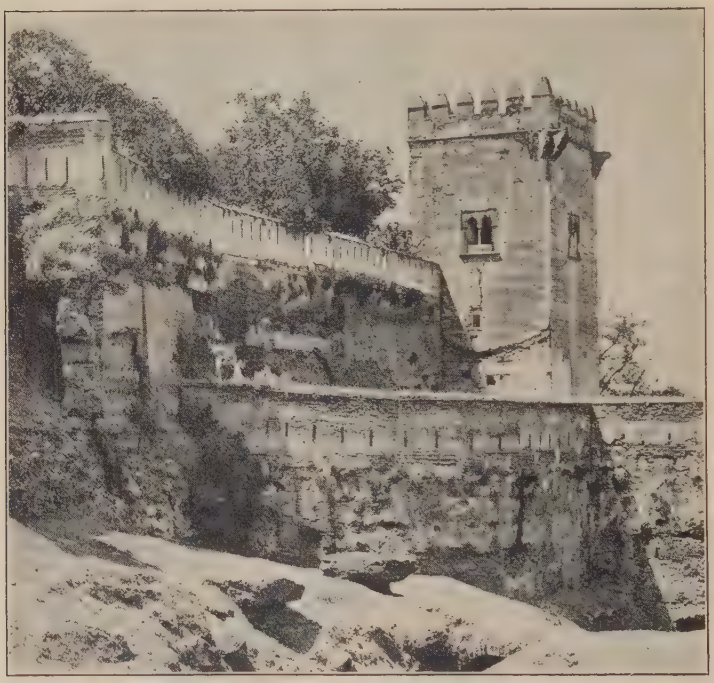


TEUTONIC WEAPONS AND TRUMPET

Meanwhile, farther east, Slavic tribes pushed into the Balkan peninsula and would have made southeastern Europe entirely their own if they had not been compelled to share a part of the land with other barbarians coming from central Asia. The Bulgarians and Hungarians, from beyond the Caspian Sea, forced their way westward into Europe and settled in the districts

that still bear their names. Thus eastern Europe received a population more mixed than that of the West, giving rise to perplexing race problems that even yet have not been settled.

1. What qualities of strength has our civilization which the Roman world lacked?



Tower of Picos at the Alhambra, Spain
Part of the Mohammedan stronghold.

The Mohammedans Make Great Conquests. — For a little time the Asiatic and Egyptian sections of the Roman Empire escaped attack and continued under the rule of the emperors, who had removed their capital from Rome to Constantinople. But a new enemy soon arose in the East. At the beginning of the seventh century a great religious teacher, named Mohammed, appeared in distant Arabia; he not only founded a new religion,

but also united his fellow tribesmen into a powerful state.[1] Islam, as the new religion was called, is similar in some points to Judaism and to Christianity, since it recognizes only one God as ruler of the universe. Mohammed believed it was God's will that war should be waged against all who refused to accept his religion, and that the sword was the divinely appointed means of spreading the faith.[2] Therefore the Arabs marched forth to conquer in God's name. Within a hundred years of their leader's death in 632, they had brought under their rule the greater part of Asia Minor and all of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and northern Africa, as well as the new Visigothic kingdom of Spain. By 750 the Mohammedan empire extended from the borders of India on the east to the Pyrenees on the west.

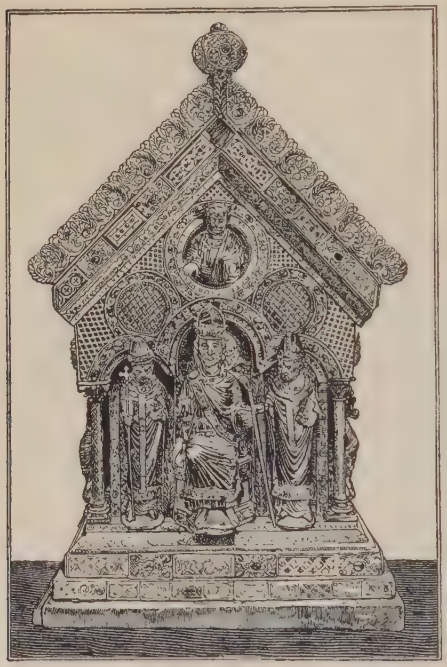
1. Be sure you see clearly the meaning of the word "state" as used here.
2. What is the objection to spreading religion by conquest?

The Roman World without Rome. — In the eastern Mediterranean region one small section of the old Roman Empire managed to survive the attacks of its many enemies. The city of Constantinople,[1] protected by a fortunate location and by impregnable walls, successfully resisted the attacks of both the Mohammedans and the northern barbarians. Here Roman emperors continued to reside and to govern the remnants of their once great dominions until their Eastern Empire was finally overthrown by the Turks in 1453.

In western Europe nothing was left of the old Roman régime with its common citizenship, its orderly government, its uniform laws, and its system of trained officials. The empire finally ceased to exist, and all its territory was divided into the petty kingdoms of barbarian chieftains, whose people, after a few generations, intermingled freely with the surviving Romans to form new races such as the Italian, French, and Spanish.

The Franks of northern Gaul, led by the famous Clovis and other chieftains, succeeded in conquering all the other Teutonic groups except the Anglo-Saxons, building up in this way a very extensive kingdom. Later, when Charlemagne (shär′lē-mān), king of the Franks, was crowned emperor in Rome in the year

800, the old Roman Empire was supposed to be revived. But the old unity could not be restored, and after his death Europe again split up into warring divisions. A hundred and fifty years later another king, Otto of Germany, again revived the title of emperor, a title which was borne by his successors from that time until 1806. But their empire, although bearing the august name "Holy Roman Empire," was a weak, loose-jointed affair which included only Germany, Italy, and the kingdom of Burgundy. Even in these lands, by the end of the Middle Ages, the emperors ceased to have any real authority.



SILVER CASKET CONTAINING THE REMAINS OF CHARLEMAGNE

Placed in the Cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle in the twelfth century. Charlemagne is shown as the central figure, between two bishops.

The earlier Middle Ages, covering the years from the collapse of the Roman Empire until the beginning of the twelfth century, are known as the Dark Ages, because during that long period most of the older civilization disappeared from Europe, and people generally fell back into primitive ways of living. Culture and learning died out. Even the ability to read and write was lost except among a few of the clergy — men who were more interested in questions of theology than in the older culture of Greece and Rome. The mechanical skill of earlier times was

forgotten and men were content to use the crudest tools and appliances. Manufacturing and commerce practically came to an end, the excellent old Roman roads fell into disuse, most of the flourishing cities of Roman times disappeared, and a very primitive sort of farming became the chief means of livelihood. The people lived in little isolated farm communities, each of which raised or made nearly everything it used.

Under these conditions, a vigorous government was impossible. Rulers could not maintain real authority without money for taxes, without means of communication, and without trained officials. Since there was no regular machinery for carrying on the government, royal power extended only as far as the royal arm could reach. At length the kings were left with nothing but the royal title and vague claims to an authority handed down from earlier times.

1. How did Constantinople get its name?

The Feudal Age

The Days when Local Landlords Ruled. — Some one, however, had to defend each community from new invasions and to furnish protection from robbery and plunder. Whoever had the power and the will assumed control over his neighbors. This led to what is known as feudalism. A class of professional fighting men grew up, supported by farm workers who lived in little villages, each village working an estate called a manor. The landlord and owner of the soil lived in a manor house or a castle and was the chief of a household that might contain several fighting men. To him the workers paid rent in the form of part of their crops and in labor on the land he reserved for his own use. Besides giving the peasants protection, the landlord took the place of the royal government by holding courts to punish crime and settle disputes among his workers and among his fighting men. In fact, he became sole ruler of the manor, — or perhaps of several manors — and interposed himself between his little community and any higher power.

This feudal lord sometimes divided his estate, giving a portion

A Medieval Castle

An imaginative view, including many of the features to be found in actual castles.

DINING HALL OF AN ENGLISH CASTLE, IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
Note the jester in the left-hand corner.

of it in the form of a separate manor to some other warrior who became his vassal. The vassal swore loyalty to his suzerain, the feudal lord whose land he held, and promised to fight for him when called upon, as well as to render various other services.

Frequently feudal lords fought one another and the stronger compelled the weaker to become his vassal on similar terms. In other cases one landowner voluntarily offered to become a vassal to another in order to secure protection, for the suzerain was under the same obligation to protect his vassal as the latter was to serve his lord. In these ways feudal groups were formed throughout western Europe, with one lord, called a count or duke, suzerain over a large territory and over many vassals.

Social Classes in Feudal Times. — These feudal arrangements resulted in a sharp division of society into classes:

(1) The *fighters* became an hereditary class of nobles, who

scorned work and were supported by the peasants of their estates. These feudal nobles felt that it was their business to fight and to govern, and they treated the workers as an inferior class with whom they could not intermarry or have any social

PEASANTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES
A fifteenth-century miniature painting of country life in Flanders.

relations. Many of the special privileges of this feudal aristocracy lasted until modern times and were abolished only after many struggles.

(2) The *clergy* in feudal times formed another distinct class. They looked after the spiritual needs of the people and managed

the practical affairs of the church. In religious matters their authority was absolute. They wielded a great influence in secular affairs as well, partly because they were the only men in that age who had any education,[1] and partly because they controlled the great landed estates belonging to the church. The clergy wore a distinct dress, were not allowed to marry, and were not supposed to fight. They claimed to owe no obedience to kings or nobles but only to the higher church officials.

Noble Lady and Merchant
Miniature in a German manuscript book of songs, made in 1300.

(3) The great mass of the people in the Middle Ages constituted the third class — the *peasants*. They worked the lands of both nobles and churchmen, supporting these two upper classes whom they were forced to obey as their superiors. Most of the peasants were serfs. This means that they were unfree men who could not move about or change their occupation, but had to remain on the land where they were born.[2]

These three classes, the nobles, the clergy, and the peasants, made up the society of the early Middle Ages; but by the twelfth century a fourth class began to emerge which was to grow into the most influential part of the population in later times. This class was the *townsmen*, the people engaged in industry and trade. These business men developed from the peasant class, but soon became a distinct group quite outside of the feudal arrangements, which in time they undermined and destroyed.

1. How do you account for this? 2. Give your own definition of "serf."

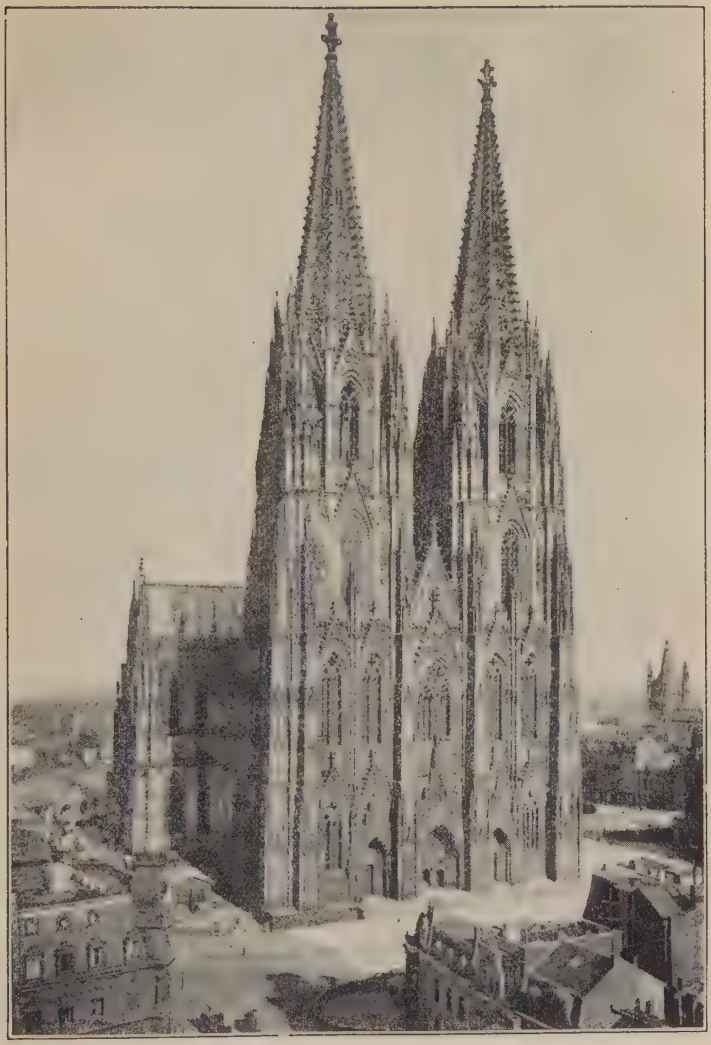
Europe Shows Signs of New Progress

New Forces at Work in Europe. — During the early Middle Ages the people were absorbed in fighting each other, in defending themselves against new invasions, and in struggling to secure the bare necessities of life. Under such conditions little progress could be made toward a higher civilization. By the beginning of the twelfth century, however, Europe began to settle down to a more orderly life, and new influences began to appear. Among these new forces were a reformed and reorganized church, the revival of learning and intellectual interests, the renewal of commerce and of town life, and the rise of new national states.

Reforms in the Church. — Back in the Roman period, the church formed a united society with a government of its own, modeled on that of the Roman Empire. The clergy were unquestioned in their religious authority over the lay members and were themselves subordinated one to another in a regular hierarchy (hī′ĕr-är-kĭ) or pyramid of church officials.[1] In the western part of the empire (though not in the East), the parallel with the Roman government was carried out by the acceptance of the pope as head of the whole church, just as the emperor was the head of the political system.

After the barbarian invasions, this closely knit church organization broke down. Though the newcomers were converted to Christianity, they were unused to discipline and found it difficult to understand the spirit of the Christian religion. Feudal nobles seized control of the church, used its property for their own advantage, and themselves appointed priests, bishops, and even popes. The clergy became little more than feudal vassals of the nobles to whom they owed their offices. As a result, they neglected their religious duties, while the church became corrupt and disorganized and lost much of its moral influence.

In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries these conditions were remedied by a great reform movement which freed the church from its feudal masters, placed it in control of its own property, restored its independence and its authority over



THE CATHEDRAL OF COLOGNE

From a photograph. This noble example of Gothic architecture was begun in 1248, but work was suspended at the time of the Reformation, and the towers were not completed until 1880.

its members, and, for a time, quickened its moral earnestness and desire to help people. The church with its reorganized government and new zeal now took the place of the old Roman Empire in uniting the people of Europe into a single body, and a new period of progress began.

1. Meaning of "lay members"? Of "hierarchy"?

The Crusades Stir Europe Deeply. — The first result of this new feeling of common interest among the peoples of Europe was the effort to overthrow the Mohammedan power in lands that had been conquered from the Christians in the East nearly five hundred years before. In 1095 the pope, as head of western Christendom, proclaimed a crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Land.[1] A wave of religious and military enthusiasm now swept over all Europe, stirring men by the thousands to enlist in the holy war. The next year a great expedition set out for the East, and, after innumerable hardships, it succeeded in establishing a Christian kingdom in Palestine and along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. The triumph of the crusaders was brief, however, and the followers of Mohammed soon began to recover their lost territory. Crusade after crusade set out from Europe to check the renewed advance of the Moslems, but in vain. In 1187 the Mohammedans recovered Jerusalem and overthrew the Christian kingdom, though for another hundred years the Westerners retained control of certain seaports on the Syrian coast. But with the capture of Acre (ä′kēr) in 1291, the western Christians lost their last foothold in Syria and the crusades were at an end.[2]

The crusades had lasted, off and on, for two hundred years, but so far as their original purpose was concerned, Europe had nothing to show for its vast expenditure of effort and of blood. These two centuries of contact with eastern lands, however, had a deep influence on the development of the West. As the crusades went on, their character changed. The religious ardor of the first expedition soon gave place to commercial and trading interests. The rude warriors and pilgrims of Europe came into contact with the higher civilization that had survived in the

East. They learned about luxuries of which they had never before dreamed — luxuries which they wished to have for themselves and their families upon their return to Europe.

This demand for new foreign goods was met by the Italian cities, whose merchants established themselves in the various ports on the Syrian coast and built up a flourishing trade. This, in turn, stimulated manufacturing in Europe in order to provide merchandise for exchange. As this commerce developed, larger ships were built and Italian sailors gained the skill and experience in navigation which were afterwards valuable in the early voyages of discovery in the Atlantic.

1. Why is Palestine the "Holy Land" to Christians? Why to Hebrews?
2. Phrase a simple definition of "crusade."

Education is Revived in Europe. — The church in the Middle Ages had several special reasons for being interested in education. Since the church services were conducted in Latin, the priests had to gain a certain amount of education to understand the meaning of what they said. Furthermore, education helped the clergy to carry on the business of the church, to manage its property, to influence the minds of the people, and to direct their conduct. It enabled them to explain the teachings of Christianity and to guide the people in correct ideas about religion. In a society where even the great nobles seldom knew how to read and write,[1] education gave the clergy great influence in political and worldly affairs as well as in religious leadership.

In spite of all these reasons, however, learning disappeared largely from the church, as it did from all other sections of society, during the violence and confusion of the earlier Middle Ages, and general ignorance prevailed. But one of the first results of the reform of the church in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries was a revival of intellectual interests. Schools were founded by churchmen [2] in all parts of Europe. Some of them grew into great institutions of learning, later called universities, the most famous being those of Paris, Bologna (bō-lōn′yä), and Oxford, where, in the thirteenth century, thousands of students gathered from all parts of Europe.

The intellectual awakening of the later Middle Ages changed the face of Europe. It brought back much of the knowledge built up by the ancient peoples; it gave a common language (Latin) to the educated class in every country; it gave intelligent persons an interest in ideas and something to think about besides fighting or the problem of getting their daily food. The study of Roman law in particular made educated men familiar with the principles which gave the Roman Empire its vigor, strengthened the demand for a revival of strong government, and created a class of trained men whom kings could employ in their efforts to make their governments firm. Thus the state as well as the church profited greatly by a better-educated class of officials trained by the universities.

1. How could a man be a great noble without education? 2. Who were classed as churchmen? Were churchmen and church members the same?

A New Age of Commerce and Town Life

Revived Commerce Makes Life Different. — During the period of the barbarian invasions trade and manufacturing practically disappeared from Europe. Land was almost the only form of property left, since it could not be carried off or destroyed by invaders or domestic plunderers. Farming thus became the one means of livelihood for all classes. As there was no one to buy the surplus produce of the land, there was no inducement for the workers of a manor to raise more than enough for themselves and their landlord. Under such a life there could be no idea of making profits or of improving conditions.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries economic life began to broaden as new forms of industry made their appearance. The barbarian invasions had come to an end. The reform of the church introduced a little more order into society and tended to lessen private warfare.[1] The population began to increase. A few of the workers who could be spared from the cultivation of the land began to spend their time in weaving cloth or in making other things easy to sell. Such workmen soon began to gather together at favorable spots.[2] In this way real towns

once more came into being — towns whose people made their living by the manufacture of goods which they exchanged with the peasants and landlords for the food raised on the manors.

At the same time a class of merchants began to appear — men who succeeded in scraping together a little money with which they bought the surplus manufactured goods of the towns and carried them to distant points for sale. The risks of such traffic were great, what with pirates on the water, robbers on the land,[3] and the still greater thieves among the feudal lords, who could not resist the temptation to plunder the passing merchant. To meet such dangers the merchants often joined together in armed caravans. The profits of trade were so great that men were willing to take the risk; one successful expedition more than compensated for many losses.

The crusades stimulated an active commerce between Europe and the East, as we have seen; opened up new markets; and, by creating an active demand for eastern goods, greatly increased the production of goods in the West to offer in exchange. The twelfth century was a period of rapid growth of towns, of greatly increased manufacturing, and of the creation of new kinds of wealth — namely, manufactured goods and money.

1. Private warfare — who fought in it? 2. What kinds of spots were favorable? 3. Why do you suppose robbers were so numerous?

Medieval Craft Guilds. — The medieval workmen in the towns were not wage earners in our sense of the word. That is, they were not hired by a capitalist by the day or week. The workman was, in most cases, his own master and sold his own product. He owned his shop, which might be in his own house, bought the raw material, and sold the finished article, either directly to the consumer or to some merchant who carried it to a distant market.[1]

Within each town the workmen were divided, according to their trades, into groups called craft guilds. The weavers would constitute one guild, the shoemakers another, the tanners a third, and so on. No one was allowed to engage as a master

workman in any recognized trade until he had been through the required training and had been admitted to the proper guild.

The guild system of industry was opposed to competition within a trade. Each member was supposed to have equal opportunities with his fellows, and no one was allowed to prosper at the expense of the others. To accomplish this, each guild maintained a strict monopoly in its own line. It determined just how each article should be made, and controlled the quality of materials and the hours of work, so that all craftsmen would work on equal terms. Furthermore, the guild limited closely its own membership. No more members were admitted than the particular trade in the town seemed to need.

1. What sort of tools and power were used in the shops of those times?

Merchants and their Guilds. — Members of the craft guilds sold their products directly to those consumers who lived in the town; but all commercial relations with the outside world were in the hands of another class of men, the merchants. These men formed a special guild whose members bought up and exported the surplus goods made in their own town and imported all supplies from abroad. They entered into agreements with the merchant guilds of other towns, providing for exchange of goods and for the enjoyment of mutual trading rights. The merchant guild was managed on much the same principle as the craft guilds. No one could buy and sell for profit within any town unless he belonged to the local organization of merchants or was authorized by it. All merchants enjoyed equal opportunities, and the guild kept its members from competing with each other. The selling price was fixed by agreement so as to regulate the profit and to prevent one merchant from underselling another.[1]

The medieval merchant, says a modern writer, lived a more exciting life than the merchant of to-day. Instead of ordering his supplies by telephone or by mail or from a salesman in his own office, he had to secure them himself from distant regions and often had to protect his property from brigands and other dangers on the road. It is possible to obtain an excellent idea

of the merchant caravans, which, beginning with the tenth century, were to be found in greater and greater numbers in western Europe. They should be pictured as armed bands, the members of which, equipped with bows and swords, encircled the horses and wagons loaded with bags, packs, and casks. The merchandise, apparently, was bought and sold in common, and the profits divided according to the share of each one in the

GUILD HALL, CHAPEL, AND A CORNER OF THE FALCON INN IN NEW PLACE, STRATFORD-ON-AVON
From an old print.

association. It seems that these companies as a rule made very long journeys; for, except during the winter, the merchant of the Middle Ages was continually on the road. English texts of the twelfth century picturesquely designate him under the name of *piepoudrous* — "dusty-foot." [2]

1. In what ways were the guilds beneficial to the people who were not members? How harmful? 2. Just what is the idea here?

Life in the Towns. — Medieval cities were very compact, since the townsmen, dependent upon themselves alone for defense, found it necessary to wall their towns and to build heavily fortified gates as the only entrances. As a result of being crowded inside expensive walls, the houses were built close together along

the narrow, crooked [1] streets and frequently no open space was left except the paved market place near the center of the town, where the peasants from the country appeared each week to sell their produce, and where the merchants exposed their wares in open booths.

The government of the town was usually in the hands of the guild members, who elected the town officers, made local regulations, collected town taxes, and tried to free themselves from the authority of the feudal lord on whose land the town had grown up.[2] Such efforts frequently brought on bitter conflicts between the nobles and the townsmen. When successful, these struggles of the merchants and craftsmen to establish self-government mark the first step in the overthrow of feudalism.

1. When towns just grow, why are the streets often crooked? 2. Why did the townsmen build on the lands of feudal lords?

The New Commerce Brings Freedom to Many Serfs. — The growth of commerce and of city life led to many changes in medieval Europe. A new class of workers appeared who did not live by tilling the soil and who were therefore not dependent on the feudal landlord for their livelihood. In their new kinds of business they made use of money and brought it back into general circulation once more. The peasants, finding in the towns a market for their produce, were encouraged to raise more food. With the money thus earned they were able to pay rent for their land instead of giving personal services to their lords, and thus became free farm workers. Serfdom evidently was being undermined. The lords themselves were glad to accept a money rent, and consented to the change because there were now luxuries for them to buy in the rising towns. Thus the medieval type of farming was gradually given up, though the change occurred more rapidly in such countries as England and France than in the more backward regions of central and eastern Europe.

New National States Emerge from Feudal Confusion

Feudalism had Destroyed Central Government. — In the height of the feudal age, each local lord was the real ruler over

his own fief. He collected dues and payments from his tenants, held courts of justice for them, coined money, waged war on his neighbors, and dealt like an independent sovereign with all other lords save his own immediate suzerain.

There were, to be sure, kings in those days, but there was no central government worthy of the name on the continent of Europe. The king himself was only a higher feudal lord with landed property, a useless crown, and a number of vassals who owed him certain specified services. He governed the peasants on his own estates and exacted, or tried to exact, from his vassals the fulfilment of their feudal obligations to him. Beyond this he had no means of controlling the people of the country. The feudal nobles had worked themselves in between the great mass of the people and the central, royal authority. Yet throughout feudal times the office of king survived, not for any practical reason, but on account of old habits of thought and lack of interest in abolishing it. This proved a fortunate oversight, for, when the later Middle Ages brought about changed conditions, kings awoke from their long sleep and succeeded in creating real national governments in some of the countries of Europe.

Kings Begin to Recover Power. — By the twelfth century such movements as the reform of the church, the growth of education, and the rise of commerce, which have been sketched above, were weakening the grip of the feudal lords and helping to make kings more than mere ornaments.

The trading classes in particular found feudalism the chief enemy of industry. Robber barons plundered the caravans of the traders, or set up toll gates [1] at the borders of their estates, and barriers along the rivers, where passing merchants were compelled to halt and pay heavy fees on their goods. Within the towns themselves, the nobles attempted to seize the lion's share of the profits of industry by taxing the citizens and by forcing the people to appear before the feudal law courts and pay fines to the feudal judge. The remedy for all these evils lay in a strong central government able to maintain good order and to bring all classes under its control. Therefore the towns,

EUROPE IN 1453
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of the Empire
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Oxford
London
English Channel
Boulogne
Rouen
NORMANDY
Paris
FRANCE
Dijon
Bordeaux
Bay of Biscay
Pyrenees
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
CASTILE
Madrid
SPAIN
ARAGON
Barcelona
Cordova
Seville
GRANADA
Str. of Gibraltar
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA (To Genoa)
SARDINIA (To Aragon)
Rome
Naples
Tyrrhenian Sea
SICILY
Ionian Sea
ROMANIA
MOREA
CRETE (To Venice)
Athens
Aegean Sea
Salonika
TURKISH EMPIRE
BULGARIA PENINSULA
Constantinople
ASIA MINOR
KARAMAN
CYPRUS
CIRCASSIAN MAMELUKES
TARTAR EMPIRE
TREBIZOND
GEORGIA
Caucasus Mts.
Sea of Azof
KHANATE OF KIPCHAK (THE GOLDEN HORDE)
Volga R.
MUSCOVY (RUSSIA)
Moscow
LITHUANIA
POLAND
Warsaw
Cracow
Vienna
Munich
Frankfort
BOHEMIA
THE EMPIRE
Cologne
Berlin
Hamburg
Copenhagen
DENMARK
Stockholm
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Danube R.
Danube R.
Carpathian Mts.
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
BALKAN
Danube R.
Tisa
Drava R.
Sava R.
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Pyrenees
Rhone R.
Milan
Venice
Bologna
Florence
Genoa
Milan
Venice
Bay of Venice
Ionian Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Aegean Sea
Sea of Azof
Volga R.
Dünaj R.
Vistula R.
Danube R.
Pont R.
Tisa
Drava R.
Sava R.
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenwich 20
20 10 0 10 20 30 40 50
50 40

as they had money, were willing to pay taxes to the king, who could then hire soldiers and employ trained officials.

The independence of the feudal lords was gradually restricted by the kings, and many feudal privileges were taken away; national courts of justice were established; and a system of royal administration was built up, which finally spread to all parts of the kingdom. Thus, before the end of the Middle Ages, national governments were beginning to take the place of the old feudal arrangements. This development, however, occurred only in the western countries bordering on the Atlantic. In central and eastern Europe national states [2] did not grow up until modern times.

1. What is a toll gate? Have you seen any? 2. What are national states? Name several of our day.

France Becomes a United Kingdom. — In the early Middle Ages France was the most fully feudalized region of Europe. Nowhere else were the nobles so numerous and independent as in France in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Out of this thoroughgoing feudal chaos, there developed gradually a number of separate provinces, each ruled by a feudal prince with the title of duke or count. The royal domain of those days was nothing more than one of these feudal provinces over which the king was feudal lord.

But France lay on the highway between the two great centers of medieval commerce — Italy and the Netherlands — and, moreover, Paris was the chief intellectual center of Europe. For these reasons, when industry and learning rapidly developed in the twelfth century, the French people showed the first strivings for national unity. Later, during the fourteenth century, a great struggle broke out between France and England which lasted more than a century. During this Hundred Years' War, France was frequently invaded by English armies and brought to the verge of ruin; but, owing partly to the inspiring leadership of Joan of Arc, the English were finally expelled, and peace was restored in 1453. The sacrifices and sufferings of the people during this long struggle to keep France

alive kindled a feeling of strong national patriotism in France. By 1500 all sections of the country had been welded into one kingdom and France had become a unified national state.

KNIGHTS IN COMBAT AT POITIERS DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

From an old French manuscript.

England Escapes the Disunion of Feudalism. — In England feudalism never had a fair chance to show how bad it could be. Before it had fully developed there, the country was conquered by William, Duke of Normandy, in 1066. The new king introduced French ideas of feudalism into England by parceling out most of the land among his followers, who thus became his vassals. But these vassals were not able to make themselves independent of the king, as the nobles on the Continent had done. In the first place, the fiefs of the most important nobles, being scattered in different parts of the island, could not be united into compact little states within the kingdom. More important still, these lords were foreign nobles, hated and distrusted by the conquered Anglo-Saxon population, who refused to support them

when they attempted to resist their royal suzerain. Finally, the smallness of England made it possible for the king to keep a pretty effective watch on even the most distant of his vassals.

The result was that the Norman kings of England were able from the beginning to maintain a strong government and to build up a central administration for their kingdom. In fact, in England the king soon came to have too much power. He tried at times to disregard all the rights of the nobles and also to tax the townsmen beyond reason.[1] At the end of the thirteenth century, therefore, these two classes drew together and forced the king to ask their consent before he levied new taxes. It was in 1295, under Edward I, that parliament began regularly to represent the towns and counties as well as the nobles, and from 1297 onward, taxes had to be approved by parliament in order to be legal.[2] During the Hundred Years' War with France the king's need of money enabled parliament to acquire more and more power, until a limited monarchy was developed in England.

1. What king especially had to be curbed when he did this? 2. Do you know why the Model Parliament of 1295 is very important in history?

Spain Grows into a Monarchy. — In the Spanish peninsula, the long struggle with the Moors[1] overshadowed all other interests for many centuries. The Mohammedans conquered Spain in the year 711. A century later the Christians, with the help of Charlemagne, won a small foothold in the north and from this base pushed gradually southwards, though it was over 700 years before the peninsula was entirely freed from the followers of Mohammed. During this long struggle a number of separate kingdoms arose, whose kings found their chief task in the military leadership of their people against the alien enemy. In the course of time these kingdoms were united by treaties and royal marriages until, by 1400, only three remained, Aragon (ăr′*ă*-gŏn), Castile (kăs-tēl′), and Portugal. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469 led to the union of Aragon and Castile as the kingdom of Spain, while Portugal has continued a separate existence most of the time until the

present. In 1492, when the last of the Moors were expelled from Grana'da, Spain became a unified national state.

1. Who were these Moors?

Germany Remains a Disunited Shadow Empire. — In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the kings of Germany were the most powerful monarchs in Europe and seemed in a fair way to establish a strong national state in spite of the feudal nobles of the country. Yet these strong German kings failed completely, while the weak kings of France succeeded in the task. The failure of Germany to become united was due partly to the slower development of industrial life in central Europe and partly to the efforts of the German kings to keep alive the idea of the old Roman Empire. Owing to their superior power in the tenth century, the rulers of Germany assumed the title of emperor and with it the claim of superiority over the whole of Europe. In attempting to make good this claim they neglected their duties at home and spent much of their energies in trying to master Italy, the old center of the empire. Here they came in conflict with the head of the church, who ruled Rome and the neighboring regions and who feared the loss of his independence if the emperors succeeded in establishing their authority in Italy. The popes therefore began a long struggle with the emperors, which lasted more than two hundred years and ended in the complete triumph of the church.

Meanwhile, the nobles of Germany had gone their own way and thrown off the authority of the central government. As a result Germany, by the end of the Middle Ages, was broken up into a multitude of little territories ruled by independent feudal lords, while the more important towns governed themselves as free cities of the empire. In theory, it is true, the empire continued to exist until 1806; but the emperor was for generations only one of many German princes, with nothing but his high sounding title and his meaningless crown to distinguish him from the others.

The Other Countries of Europe. — In Italy the long struggle of the popes and the emperors had made it impossible for the

people to unite in a national state. The land was divided into many petty states and independent city republics. The claims of the emperors and, later on, the interference of France and Spain, kept the peninsula in a state of turmoil until, like Germany, it finally became a united nation only in 1870.

To the east of Germany the Slavic kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland, and Russia, and the Magyar (mŏd'yŏr) kingdom of Hungary came into existence during the Middle Ages, but did not play an important part in the life of Europe. Russia was conquered by Mongol tribes from central Asia in the thirteenth century and did not recover its independence until nearly 1500. Bohemia soon lost its native kings and in 1526 was annexed to Austria, one of the feudal provinces into which the territory of Germany had been divided. Hungary, after having been overrun by the Turks from the southeast, was likewise united in 1526 with Austria, whose rulers, the Hapsburgs, thus became the most powerful family of central Europe. Poland kept up an uncertain existence until 1795, but its kings never succeeded in building up a strong central government, their powers being all filched away by the Polish nobles.

In the north, the three Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden sometimes were united and sometimes followed separate courses, but in either case had little to do with the rest of Europe until modern times. Thus, the only parts of Europe to show marked national development in the Middle Ages were the western states of France, England, and Spain.

Commerce Undermines Medieval Habits

The various lines of growth which began an increasing activity from the crusades, and which led out from the Middle Ages into modern history, were dependent for their accelerated motion, for immense reënforcement, if not for actual beginning, upon the rapidly developing commercial activities of the time. Bad roads and no bridges; the robber baron or band of outlaws to be expected in every favorable spot; legalized feudal exactions at the borders of every little fief; no generally prevailing system of law uniform throughout the country and really enforced; a scanty and uncertain currency, making contracts difficult and payment in kind and in services almost universal;

interests and desires narrowed down to the mere neighborhood; these were the conditions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A successful commerce meant necessarily a ceaseless war upon all these things, and the introduction of better conditions in these respects was, almost in itself, the transformation of the medieval into the modern. — G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (revised edition), pp. 274–275.*

Problem and Reference Work

1. Imagine yourself a Teutonic barbarian making your first raid into Roman territory. What things would astonish you most as you marched through Roman lands?

2. Using Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, pp. 215 ff., describe the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor.

3. For a vivid account of "the fury of the Northmen" read Chapter 9 in Griffis, *Brave Little Holland*. Imagine yourself in the midst of such perils.

4. Enumerate eight or ten vital things which make life nowadays more worth while than life in the feudal age. Word each one clearly and fully.

5. Reference: Tappan, *When Knights Were Bold*, Chapter 6. Imagining yourself to be a laborer on a feudal manor, describe your hard conditions of life. Or use Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, Chapter 2.

6. Compare the training of a serf boy with that of the son of a craftsman.

Reading List

Cheyney, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England*. Thorough and readable. Ch. 2, Life of farmers in feudal times. Ch. 3, Activities and influence of medieval guilds.

Cheyney, E. P., *Short History of England*. An excellent textbook. Ch. 4, How England was Christianized. Ch. 6, The story of the Norman conquest. Ch. 8, The story of the Great Charter.

Davis, W. S., *Life on a Medieval Barony*. A thorough account of life in the home of a great French noble in 1220 A.D.

Emerton, E., *Introduction to the Middle Ages*. Ch. 4, How the church developed into a monarchy. Ch. 10, Mohammed and his religion.

Jessopp, A., *Coming of the Friars*. Ch. 3, Life in a medieval monastery.

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CHAPTER III

EUROPE REDISCOVERS THE WAY TO PROGRESS

The Renaissance Rouses Europe to New Interests

What the Renaissance was. — The Middle Ages shaded off into modern times very gradually, just as each color of the rainbow fades imperceptibly into the next one.[1] No one can determine the precise date of the transition. Moreover, the ending of medieval customs and ways of looking at life came very unevenly — much earlier in some countries than in others and sooner in some aspects of human society than in others. The long period of change during which western Europe was casting off its medieval habits and taking on new ones is known as the Renaissance (rĕn-ĕ-säns′), and may be roughly placed between 1300 and 1550. In the sixteenth century came also the Reformation period in religion, when Europe departed still farther from medieval ways.

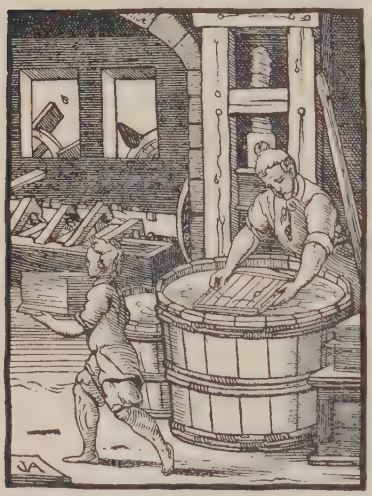
The three centuries which included the great movements known as the Renaissance and the Reformation, were years of profound changes in European civilization. They opened with medieval ideas and institutions in vogue. There was still a universal church holding sway over all Christians; feudal customs were still the basis of social and political life; and there were still in force in the towns and guilds medieval ideas of commerce and industry. By 1600 many of these things had disappeared or had been made over. The Christian Church had been split in two, and one of these parts into smaller sections; [2] feudalism in most countries had given way to strong central governments; and trade and industry had begun to throw off the shackles of local customs, traditions, and taxes.

Many things new or long forgotten now entered into the life of Europeans. New continents were discovered and explored, and

new trade routes opened. There was a great revival (renaissance) of interest in Greek and Roman art and culture. Scientists found out by research and experiment many of the hidden laws of nature. Throughout Europe vast changes were wrought. The printing press altered men's habits of thinking and the forms of government; gunpowder transformed the art of war; and new worlds were disclosed by the telescope and other inventions.

1. Is it sensible to divide history very sharply into periods? Give reasons.
2. Which part of the church is meant?

The Printing Press Spreads Knowledge. — Early in the Christian era the Chinese used engraved wooden blocks for stamping designs and words upon paper and calico. This device, in some way, became known in western Europe about the fifteenth century and was used to print pictures or initial letters in the manuscripts of the time. About 1450 John Gutenberg (gōō′tĕn-bĕrĸ) and others in western Germany and the Netherlands worked out a new plan. They carved single letters on small blocks and then put these small blocks, or *type*, together to make words and sentences. This was the first use in Europe of movable type, marking the real invention of modern printing. At almost the same time came improvements in the making of paper which added greatly to the usefulness of the printing press.



Paper Making in the Fifteenth Century
From an old German print.

As long as all literature was preserved in the form of manuscripts, painfully written by hand on parchment, or sheepskin, there could be no general education of the people, for the middle

class and the poor could not afford to buy these very expensive volumes.[1] The printing press and cheap paper greatly reduced the cost of books, so that the works of literature and science came within the reach of many. Printing also meant that new ideas could be spread abroad among large masses of the population. Educated public opinion, so different from the local prejudices of earlier days, was made possible by the printing press.[2]

1. Picture to yourself a medieval library. Where did such libraries exist? 2. What, besides printed material, helps to develop public opinion nowadays?

Book Binding in the Fifteenth Century
From an old German print.

Inventions Make Ocean Journeys Safer. — About the beginning of the thirteenth century a curious toy was brought into Europe from the East. This was a small needle, floating in a basin of water, which puzzled people by always pointing to the north.[1] To the Chinese this floating needle was little more than a plaything, but during the thirteenth century the more practical Europeans quickly developed it into the mariner's compass, without which modern navigation would be impossible.[2]

From the fourteenth century onward, many other aids to mariners were brought into use. Rude maps of coasts and countries, made by travelers who had visited them, were gradually improved until they became accurate charts of the regions shown. Ways were found to tell a ship's latitude by measuring the altitude of the stars and the sun. The rigging of ships was improved so that vessels could sail closer to the wind than was possible with the older types. The increasing world-wide

commerce of later centuries was made possible by these inventions of the Renaissance days.

1. Try this yourself — float a magnetized needle on water in a porcelain or aluminum dish. 2. Without a compass how could sailors tell directions? How did the ancients tell?

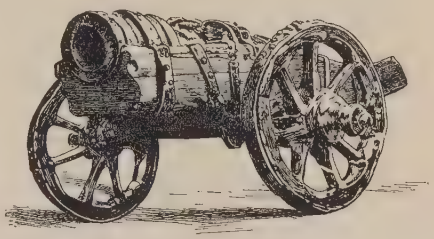
Guns Help Demolish Feudalism. — Another toy, the delight of the Chinese, was the firecracker, making its joyous, unexpected bang by the explosion of a few grains of charcoal, sulphur, and saltpeter. Europeans learned of this explosive mixture about the year 1300, and in their serious manner applied it to new uses. At first, explosions of gunpowder were used to frighten the horses on which the heavily armed feudal knights rode,[1] but before another century had passed, the seemingly harmless Chinese mixture was hurling missiles of stone and metal in battle. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries firearms were beginning to supplant the sword, the lance, and the battle-ax. Kings, monopolizing the control of cannon and guns, gave the deathblow to feudalism.[2]

A Merchant or Passenger Ship at Anchor, in 1375

1. Why did feudal warriors wear heavy armor? 2. Just how did guns weaken the power of feudal lords?

Scientists Learn Many New Things. — Many other forward steps were taken during the Renaissance in the field of science

and its applications. By experimenting with curved pieces of glass known as lenses, ingenious men invented the telescope, the microscope, and such practical things as the reading glass and spectacles. The regularity of the motion of the pendulum was studied and applied in the making of clocks.[1] A new theory of the universe was developed by the Polish scientist Coper'nicus, and later by the Italian Galile'o, by which it was shown that the sun and stars do not revolve about the earth, but that the earth and the planets revolve around the sun.[2] The keen questioning of the scientist began to take the place of the easy credulity of earlier times, while the study of facts began to displace primitive traditions about the forces of nature.[3]



A Built-up Cannon of Early Type
This cannon threw an eight-inch stone ball.

1. How does a pendulum help a clock to "keep time"? 2. A profoundly revolutionary idea. How so? Be sure to remember Copernicus and Galileo. 3. Give your own definition of a real scientist.

Seamen Learn about the World. — More impressive to the ordinary man than these scientific inventions and theories were the startling geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

After Marco Polo had described to his fellow Venetians (vĕ-nē'shănz) the marvels he had beheld on his travels in Asia (1271–1295), other merchants and adventurers journeyed to the East and reported on many strange scenes and peoples. During the fifteenth century, the little kingdom of Portugal sent out a number of fleets to explore the western coast of Africa in the hope of finding a new route for commerce with the Orient.[1] At length, in 1486, the Cape of Good Hope was rounded. Twelve years later Vasco da Gama (gä'mä), sailing around Africa, reached India and thus discovered the all-water route to the

eastern lands.[2] The voyage of Columbus and the exploration of the American continents which followed it, suddenly gave to Europe an enormous mass of new knowledge and compelled men to revise drastically their ideas of the earth and its peoples, while the successful voyage of Magellan's ship around the world gave conclusive proof that the earth is round.[3] These discoveries quickened people's minds and created new interests.

1. Why was a new route desirable? Where were the old routes? 2. Is Da Gama's route still the regular route to the Orient from Europe? 3. How was Magellan's proof any more complete than that of Columbus?

Italy Leads in the Renaissance

Why Italy Felt the New Spirit First. — The scientific inventions and discoveries noted in the preceding paragraphs were the work of no one man or nation. In them Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Poles, Frenchmen, and Englishmen shared — in short, men of almost every nationality in Europe, as well as Arabs and Chinese in the eastern lands. But the achievements of the Renaissance were not so widespread when we come to consider the literary and artistic sides. In the realms of literature, painting, sculpture, and architecture, Italy achieved a leadership which enabled her for several centuries to act as the guide and teacher of the less cultured peoples of Europe.

It is no wonder that Italy, favored by a genial climate, a clear atmosphere, and beautiful scenery, produced an artistic race which to modern Europe bears much the same relation as the ancient Greeks bore to the classical world. The Italians, it should be noted, were constantly in the midst of the remains of Rome's former greatness, and were in close touch with Constantinople, where the Greek language and a respect for Greek learning still survived.[1] It was Italy, too, which benefited most in wealth and commerce by the crusades.[2] Under such circumstances many influences urged the Italians on to the creation of those great artistic works which even to-day are counted among the most beautiful of human productions.

1. Why was Constantinople the chief surviving center of Greek culture during the Middle Ages? 2. Why?

Italian Painting under the Great Masters. — During the Middle Ages the art of painting in western Europe was in its infancy. The character of the persons portrayed was shown not so much by strength or beauty of countenance as by symbols (such as a halo around a saint's head), used in much the same way that a child would mark his drawing, "This is a man."

From this immature stage Italian painting made marvelous advances in the Renaissance period (1350–1550). The subjects treated were still drawn from Bible narratives or from stories of the saints; paintings themselves were almost always used to decorate churches; but now the figures were lifelike and human, the buildings were shown in true perspective, and scenes from nature were painted so as to seem real.

Hundreds of world-famous paintings of the Renaissance period are preserved to-day in Italian churches and public buildings. Many other Italian masterpieces are to be seen in public and private galleries throughout the world, either carried off by plundering conquerors or bought from their impecunious owners. Among the great masters of Renaissance painting were Michelangelo (mī-kĕl-ăn′jĕ-lō), Leonardo da Vinci (dä vēn′chē), and Raphael (răf′ā-ĕl).[1]

1. Remember these names. Know at least one masterpiece by each.

Architecture of the Italian Renaissance. — Many Italian public buildings, as well as the palaces of nobles and rich merchants, stood on narrow streets from which a view of the building as a whole was impossible. So the architects were compelled to decorate the bare external walls in order to get artistic effects. Antiquity furnished few models of such decoration, but the Renaissance builders took, piecemeal, different designs of classical art for decorative purposes. They used the pillars of a Greek temple as ornaments for a doorway; a Greek pediment for a window decoration; the arches of a Roman structure for windows; and the beautiful Greek moldings for cornices. The success of the Renaissance architects in decorating walls has given widespread influence to their art. Examples of it may be seen in infinite variety in apartment houses in the city of New

The Adoration of the Magi, by Botticelli

Mona Lisa
by Leonardo da Vinci

Maddalena Doni
by Raphael

York, in skyscrapers in many American cities, and in hotels, clubhouses, and public buildings throughout Europe and America. The Renaissance style fits the needs of modern commercial and domestic life far better than would direct copies of Greek temples and Roman basilicas.

Not all the skill of Italian architects, however, was devoted to surface decoration. They produced many great churches, cathedrals, and other public buildings. To the classical styles of architecture, the artists of the Renaissance added the dome, a feature rarely used theretofore. The dome has appealed to the designers of religious and civic buildings since those days, so that more or less perfect copies of the great dome of St. Peter's at Rome may be found in St. Paul's in London, in the American capitol at Washington, and in scores of other public buildings in state capitals and county seats throughout America.

Europe Learns to Appreciate Greece and Rome

Petrarch Helps Rediscover Classical Learning. — During the Middle Ages western Europe knew the Greek classics only through Latin translations. Even the Roman classics in the Latin language were not studied for their literary and artistic values, but to gain a practical knowledge of the Latin tongue for use in law, theology, and as an international language among educated men. But the era of the Renaissance saw a revival of interest in the literary beauties of the ancient classics, the study of which soon came to be known as the "new learning."[1]

The Italian poet Petrarch (pē′trärk) (1305–1374) was the first scholar of repute to point the way to the "new learning." Since he was the most noted literary man of his day and was in active correspondence with scholars throughout Europe, his enthusiasm for the classics set a fashion which spread afar.

Too late in life Petrarch began the study of Greek and never mastered it, but he urged the younger men of his day to learn to read the Greek classics, such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in the original tongue. After his death, scholars from Constantinople came to Italy and organized classes of enthusiastic men for the

study of Greek literary masterpieces. The Italians, who naturally felt a warm patriotic interest in the Latin classics, now added to this a deep, scholarly appreciation of the Greek. The two combined fields of study were known at that time as "humanism." From Italy the new study and love of classic literature spread throughout Europe.

1. What classical writers of note can you name?

The New Learning Controls Education for Centuries. — This love of the old Greek and Latin literature led men to search for

A School of the Renaissance Period

From a woodcut of the early sixteenth century. The pupil at the right is Maximilian, who became emperor late in the fifteenth century.

complete and accurate copies of the ancient writings, thus saving many from loss or destruction. The benefits of this search for the classics were more widely diffused when Italian printing

presses put out excellent editions at prices far below the cost of manuscript copies.

Growing out of the new learning arose many fine secular schools for boys, which in new and attractive ways taught Latin and Greek, as well as physical education and good manners. In these Renaissance schools we have the origin of the classical education which until about 1900 dominated the schools, colleges, and universities of Europe and America.

The Renaissance Arouses a Spirit of Freedom and Reform. — In many ways the Renaissance encouraged men to think and act for themselves. In that age of invention and discovery, with strange new things coming to light every year, there seemed no limit to the development or opportunities of an individual. "Men can do all things if they will," said a great artist of the time. Many independently refused to accept the authority of the law of the state or of the church, but set up their own standards of conduct.[1] They did not bother about a future life, nor did they care about the multitudes of poor and unfortunate people in their own communities.

"Over the Alps lies Italy" has been the subject of many a schoolboy's oration. During the Renaissance all Europe looked to the Italians for inspiration and guidance in literary and artistic matters. Scholars and artists thronged to the cities of Venice, Milan, Florence, and Rome, where the new learning was taught and great masters of the fine arts and literature were at work. Back to their home countries these travelers returned, anxious to spread the new ideas or to show the Italian novelties to their fellow countrymen. A real missionary zeal sometimes animated them as they sought to make over the habits and standards of life in their less cultured home communities, as, for instance, when an Englishman, Sir Thomas More, in his *Uto'pia*, dreamed of a golden age of happy life for all; or when the Dutch scholar Erasmus (ē-răz'mŭs), through his study of the Bible in Greek, was stirred with enthusiasm for a religious reformation.

1. Is this a wise or safe way to do? Reasons.

Conclusion

The Renaissance may be defined as a remarkable transformation in the intellectual habits of medieval times, begun in the cities of Italy, and soon transferred northward to France, England, Holland, Germany, and other lands. Among the lasting products of this awakening were:

(1) The use of scientific inventions, such as guns, printing, and the compass.

(2) Epoch-making searches and discoveries across the globe and in the heavens by such men as Da Gama, Columbus, Magellan, Copernicus, and Galileo.

(3) A revival of classical learning, which led to the establishment of many schools of a new sort, and made the study of Greek and Latin the basis of higher education in Europe and America until very recent times.

(4) The production of many artistic masterpieces, notably in architecture and painting.

(5) A new spirit of inquiry and of personal freedom.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Bring to class illustrations of several of the more famous paintings of Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian. (Use Perry pictures or Brown pictures.)

2. Tell about the famous journey of Marco Polo. Use Chapter 30 of Tappan, *Heroes of the Middle Ages*.

3. Using Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, pp. 63–68, tell about the search for a new route to the East under the lead of Prince Henry the Navigator.

Reading List

Adams, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*. Ch. 15, The Renaissance period.

Goodyear, W. H., *History of Art*. Good illustrations of Renaissance art.

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Hayes, C. J. H., *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I. Scholarly and interesting. Ch. 5, Copernicus and Galileo.

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CHAPTER IV

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION IN RELIGION

The Church as it Was Before the Reformation

The Church Had Immense Power and Wealth. — During the Middle Ages the Christian Church was the strongest organization in western Europe, wielding a power far greater than that of emperors, kings, or parliaments. From the religious capital at Rome [1] its influence extended to every town and hamlet in every land, where it followed, with its guidance and sacraments, the lives of millions of people from the day of their birth to old age and death. To it belonged, through baptism and confirmation, virtually every person in western Europe, with the exception of the Jews who lived in most countries.

The income of this mighty organization— for the support of the clergy, for carrying on works of education and charity, for building churches and cathedrals — came from church members and from permanent endowments. Voluntary gifts made up part of the church income; fees were charged for the various services of the clergy to the people; a special church tax, the tithe, theoretically one tenth of every person's income, was collected throughout Europe; bequests to the church in wills were almost universal; and finally, the church owned vast estates, given to it through the centuries by pious persons, an endowment conservatively estimated to amount to one fourth of all the land in western Europe.

Thus the church in medieval times was unrivaled in income, in property, and in power. Such wealth and power in the hands of the church naturally aroused the greed and jealousy of ambitious persons. Unworthy men succeeded at times in becoming bishops, archbishops, or even higher officials, and from these positions of authority lured the church away from its proper

religious work.[2] On the other hand, kings and nobles often seized church property and made use of clergy and church for their own selfish ends. These abuses and many others crept into the church, causing discontent among the more upright members.

1. What made Rome the religious capital of Europe? 2. Why did irreligious men wish to hold church offices?

The Friars Attempt to Reform the Church. —In the thirteenth century two enthusiastic societies of reform were started to rid the church of some of the evils of the times. St. Francis, of Assisi (äs-sē′zē) in Italy, a man of remarkable unselfishness, turned his back upon opportunities for ease and luxury to lead a life of poverty, love, and service, which drew many followers about him ready to emulate his heroic example. Soon large numbers of his imitators, known as the "begging gray friars" or Franciscans, were going up and down through Europe, living on the alms of believers, teaching religion, and carrying comfort and practical charity to the poor and the unfortunate. They worked especially among the sick and the neglected in the new towns which were growing up, where thousands of people could not be cared for by the regular parish priests.

In Spain, about the time when St. Francis was teaching his followers in Italy, St. Dom′inic founded an order of preaching friars, whose special mission was to protect the teachings of the church against new and irregular beliefs which were gaining supporters in those days. The Domin′icans, or "black friars," thus stood for orthodox or regular belief in an age when the church doctrines were beginning to be questioned.

Heretics and Critics. — One special reason for the alertness of the church against heresy was the fact that, toward the close of the Middle Ages, groups of persons in southern France and northwestern Italy, known as Albigensians (ăl-bĭ-jĕn′sĭ-ănz) and Waldensians (wŏl-dĕn′shănz), were trying to change some of the doctrines of the church or to simplify its worship and plan of government.

Somewhat later John Wycliffe (wĭk′lĭf) (1324–1384), who was himself a clergyman and university teacher in England, urged

many changes in the church. All the clergy, he preached, should lead lives of poverty, and all church property ought to be turned over to the government. The entire Bible should be translated into the English tongue, and church services conducted in the language of the worshipers.[1] These ideas of Wycliffe were spread about England by wandering "poor priests," and later, in more radical form, by social agitators known as Lollards. Their teachings helped to prepare the way for the Reformation.

During the years 1409 to 1418 many of the high officials of the church in the different countries gathered in councils at Pisa (pē′sä) and Con′stance, where long lists of abuses and of proposals for reform were presented to the assembled dignitaries. But no agreement could be reached as to where reform should begin, and so it did not begin at all.

Another century passed in futile discussions until finally the demand for reform became so violent that it resulted in open revolt against the church.

1. In what language was the Bible available?

Causes of the Protestant Revolt

We are now in a position to summarize the causes that were at work leading to the separation of a large part of Christendom from the universal authority of the pope and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Growth of National Spirit. — By the year 1500 strong national monarchies had grown up in England, France, and Spain in defiance of the feudal order of things. National sentiment also was arising elsewhere: in Sweden, in some of the German states, such as Saxony and Bohemia, and in the petty communities of the Netherlands. (Map, page 81.)

There were many points of friction between these ambitious national governments and the wealthy, powerful, well-organized church. Church lands, which were very extensive and the best and richest in the country, were usually exempt from taxation; [1] church courts with their vast and varied power stood in the way of the new national courts which were now becoming important; [2]

archbishops, bishops, and abbots who were directly subject to the authority of the pope, retained in each country many political powers. Under such circumstances kings, princes, and their advisers were likely to feel that the church, under control from without, was a rival of the royal authority.

The people as well as the rulers were feeling this new sentiment of nationalism, and wished the church to conduct its services in the national tongue and to translate the Bible and the church writings from Latin into the common language of the people.

1. On what grounds were church lands exempt? 2. Whose courts were these new national courts?

Friction over the Income of the Church. — The immense wealth of the church, much of which was not used for religious or charitable purposes, was constantly before the eyes of the rulers to arouse their jealousy or greed. When the church sent large sums of money to Rome for the use of the Renaissance popes in their local wars or in the patronage of art, it interfered with the collection of taxes for national undertakings in the different countries. The greater the sum taken by the church, the less there would be for the king and his nobles.

The New Learning Encourages Dissent and Reform. — North of the Alps, especially in Germany, the earliest influences of the Renaissance were seen, not in art, but in a new appreciation of classical literature and, very frequently, in the study of the Bible in its original tongues of Hebrew and Greek.[1] When thinking men began to read the Scriptures for themselves, they were bound to reach varying conclusions as to the meaning of certain passages and incidents.

By far the most noted of these northern "humanists"[2] was Deside'rius Eras'mus (1466–1536). Although he himself remained within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, in many respects he prepared the way for the more radical reformers who were soon to appear. He ridiculed the lives and practices of the clergy as well as of princes and nobles in a famous work known as *The Praise of Folly;* he satirized many church customs which he felt were superstitions; he prepared editions

Sixteenth-Century Leaders of Religious Thought

of the Greek and Latin New Testament and encouraged scholars to study for themselves its language and its meaning. Although nearly all of the works of Erasmus were written in Latin,[3] they had a wide circulation in those early days of the printing press.

1. Why did scholars wish to read the Bible in these languages? 2. Who were the humanists? 3. Why did he write in Latin?

Unreformed Abuses within the Church. — Throughout the Middle Ages the Christian Church, as we have seen, rendered many important and valuable services to society, but in an age when standards of conduct were nowhere too high, certain abuses crept into its organization. Criticism of these evils by reformers was one of the important causes of the Reformation. Bitter attacks were leveled at the use of money in the purchase of church offices;[1] at the influence of kings and princes in the choice of bishops, abbots, and other church dignitaries; at the loose and frivolous lives of some of the monks and friars; at the habits of those Renaissance popes who seemed more interested in art and politics than in their church duties; and at the elaboration of systems of belief, ritual, and sacraments which had grown up since the days of primitive Christianity,[2] and which, to many, seemed to interfere with the full communion of man with God.

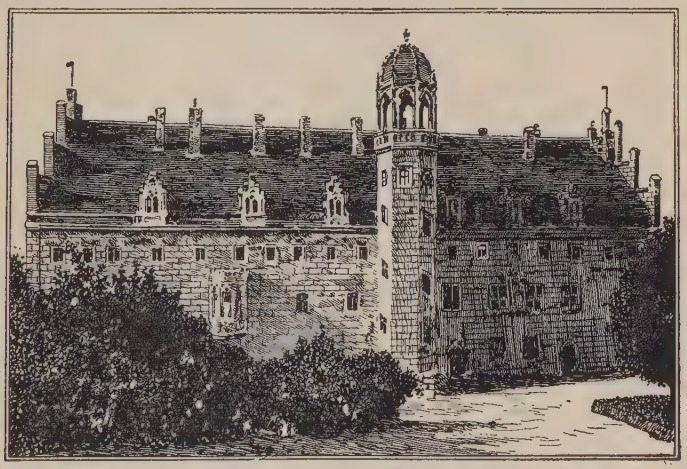
Early in the sixteenth century the church was face to face with the prospect of reform or revolt. Some changes were generally recognized as very needful and inevitable; but the real problem was whether reforms could be secured entirely within the fold of the church, or only by an open revolt which would split the church asunder. Reform or secession was the issue. As a matter of fact, nearly all the reformers began with efforts to purify the church from within. Some, like Erasmus and Loyola (lō-yō′lä), clung to the end of their lives to this method and as loyal sons of the church brought about important reforms. Others, like Luther, Zwingli (tsving′lē), and Calvin, after trying in vain to induce the church to make the changes they desired, at length abandoned the old church and helped to start new sects or denominations wholly separate from the old system. So the

Reformation was a double movement, including, first, a widespread secession to form new Christian denominations, leading in most countries to national churches; and, second, a movement of reformation within the old church — the Counter Reformation.

1. What objections to the purchase of appointment as a bishop, for instance? 2. Had original Christianity been simple or complex in its beliefs and rules?

Martin Luther Leads the Revolt in Germany

Luther Opposes Indulgences. — Martin Luther (1483–1546), a monk, professor, and religious leader, was the son of humble Saxon parents. Trained for the law, he later entered a monastery,[1] and before long was made professor of theology at the newly established University of Wittenberg (vĭt′ĕn-bĕrĸ) in



The Convent at Wittenberg

Headquarters of the Reformation movement. From here Luther made his journey to Worms.

Saxony. In this position his sermons and lectures, full of fire and enthusiasm, attracted large numbers of students.

From local fame and influence as a university teacher, Luther leaped suddenly into national prominence and leadership in 1517 by opposing the sale of indulgences. Pope Leo X was

having difficulty at that time in raising funds to complete his great church, the famous St. Peter's of Rome, and, in the hope of drawing money from Germany, authorized agents to preach indulgences in that country. These agents sometimes used crude arguments, until the impression got abroad among the people that freedom from purgatory and an immediate entrance into heaven could be bought for a small sum of money.

Against this abuse of indulgences Luther delivered his famous attack in the form of ninety-five theses or questions for debate, which he posted on the door of the Wittenberg church on October 31, 1517. This started heated discussions which made Luther the center of a great religious controversy. He began to criticize other practices of the church, as he advanced from the attack on indulgences to a much more radical position. Soon he was striking at the authority of the pope, at some of the sacraments of the church, at the life of monks and nuns in their special communities, and at many long-established usages of the church.

1. What led men to become monks?

Luther Becomes a National Leader. — Backers in large numbers rallied around Luther in Germany, as he made himself the champion of protest against church evils. Great numbers of the common people and some of the principal rulers and nobles came to his support. Soon the pope issued a bull of excommunication against him, forbidding all Christians to have anything to do with him. In derision, Luther and his friends burned a copy of the papal decree.[1] Then the pope called upon Charles V, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, to enforce the excommunication against Luther and his friends. Summoned before the principal clergy and nobility of Germany at a diet, or council, held at Worms (vōrms) in 1521, Luther refused to withdraw any of his writings which had been branded as heresy.

Although the emperor, in loyalty to a pledge he had given, allowed Luther to depart in safety from Worms, the diet placed the reformer under the ban, proclaiming him and his friends outlaws whom anyone might kill. But powerful friends spirited him away to a Saxon castle, where in seclusion for several

months he devoted himself to translating the Bible into German.[2] In the meantime the emperor was too busy to follow up Luther's case because he was occupied with serious wars.

Among the German people, interest in Luther's ideas continued to grow, and every month new supporters — princes, merchants, and peasants — joined his revolt against the old church, until in some regions nearly the whole population became Lutherans, as the followers of the reformer were called.

In 1529, during a lull in his many wars, Charles V proposed to carry out the ban of 1521, but was met by a vigorous *protest* signed by a number of German princes. It is from this document that those who revolted from the Catholic Church came to be called *Protestants*.

By this time the Lutherans were too powerful to be overcome. Luther's religious ideas, his German Bible, and his type of church worship had been widely adopted. Bishoprics, monasteries, and nunneries had been abolished in many parts of Germany; church lands had been seized by the nobles; and the Protestant princes had banded themselves together for mutual protection. The day was long past, if indeed it had ever existed, when the emperor could suppress the spirit of religious revolt which Luther had aroused in the German states.

The states and cities of north Germany quite generally adopted Lutheranism as their official, established religion, and outside of Germany, also, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, rulers and people rejected the authority of the pope and accepted the Lutheran belief and worship.[3]

1. What did Luther announce by this act? 2. Luther's purpose in doing this? 3. Are these countries largely Protestant to-day?

The Protestant Reformation Spreads

Calvin Leads a More Radical Revolt. — Quite different from the Lutheran movement was that headed by John Calvin, who, though a Frenchman by birth, spent most of his life in Gene'va, Switzerland. Here, for years, he was a very influential clergyman, controlling the religious and political life of the city.

Calvin accepted even fewer of the beliefs and practices of the old church than had Luther. While Luther's followers retained much of the Catholic ritual and method of worship, Calvin believed in a severely simple form of service in very plain church buildings. His followers even went about destroying church decorations, such as paintings, stained-glass windows, and images of the saints.[1] Calvin also established a kind of religious democracy, giving to all church members a share in church government and in the choice of ministers.[2]

Calvin's more drastically reformed type of Christianity spread from Switzerland to France, where his followers, known as Hu'guenots, numbered nearly one twelfth of the population. The great body of the French people, together with their kings, remained loyal to the Roman Catholic Church.[3]

In the Rhine Valley and in the Netherlands, Calvinism became very influential, while in Scotland it became the prevailing religion, under the leadership of John Knox, who had studied at Geneva. In England, Calvinism, with its stress upon simplicity of worship and strictness of moral standards, had many followers. From England, the Calvinistic type of Protestantism was brought over to America by the Puritans[4] and by other sects in the early days of the English colonies.[5]

1. Why did they do this? 2. What kinds of churches in America follow this plan now? 3. Is this still true of the French? 4. What were two central principles of the Puritans? 5. Point out a close connection between John Calvin and the history of America.

England Breaks away from Rome. — Henry VIII (1509–1547), who was king of England when Luther headed the revolt against the papacy, was at first a violent opponent of Protestantism, but later, for selfish personal reasons arising from his desire to divorce his wife, he quarreled with the pope. Rallying to his own support many Englishmen who were already cool or critical toward the church authorities at Rome, he boldly declared his independence of the old church. Parliament soon followed by officially voting that the king was the supreme head on earth of the church in England (1534). A vigorous attack was next made on the property of the monasteries, which was now confiscated

and either taken by the king or distributed among his favorites. In spite of these changes, the beliefs and worship of the English Church retained many Catholic features.

During the next quarter century the English rulers made many changes in the church back and forth. In the reign of Edward VI (1547–1553) the English national church was made Protestant in its worship and religious teachings, only to be followed by a full restoration of Catholicism by Queen Mary (1553–1558). During the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603), however, the Church of England, known as the Anglican Church, was given a form which has been but slightly changed to the present day.

This Anglican Church was in many respects a compromise between the old church and Protestantism. A Protestant hue was given to it by the denial of the authority of the pope, by the use of the English language in all services, hymns, and translations of the Bible, and by the abolition of the monastic orders. Yet many characteristics of the old church remained. Archbishops and bishops still retained their positions and authority under the crown, as formerly under the pope;[1] an elaborate service with stately ritual was required in all churches; and in beliefs the Church of England clung closer to the old church than to the new ideas of Calvin.[2]

1. Does this hold true to-day? 2. What church in America is similar to the Anglican Church?

Direct Results of the Protestant Revolt. — From this brief account of the Reformation we see the following direct results:

(1) The Christian church of western Europe, over which the pope had previously been the one supreme earthly head, was now split into two parts, — the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant denominations.

(2) Protestantism was by no means a unit, but was broken up into sects named after the principal reformers, such as Luther and Calvin.

(3) In place of the one international church there were established in the Protestant countries national churches which

were especially strong in England, Scotland, the Scandinavian countries, the Rhine Valley, and north Germany.

(4) The outstanding marks of Protestantism were: a close relation between the church and the national government; the use of the national language in sermons, hymns, ritual, and Bible; a simplifying of the church in its plan of management, its ritual, and its doctrine, leading, among other things, to the abolition of monasteries and the confiscation of much church property.

(5) Some Protestants vigorously opposed church decorations, processions, images, and other aids to worship permitted by the old church; some opposed the authority of the priests and higher clergy, and taught that every man may be his own priest.

(6) In the Protestant countries many of the activities of the medieval church were taken over by private charitable and educational societies, or by the government itself. For instance, the business of the church courts went now to the king's courts; the care of the poor and the education of the young became the duty of each community and not simply the work of the clergy.

Far-reaching Results of the Protestant Reformation. — Indirectly, without much conscious effort on the part of either reformers or Catholics, the Protestant revolt was responsible for the spread of individual judgment in religious matters, because the widespread reading of the Bible in the common languages encouraged each reader to interpret the Scriptures for himself. In the long run, the Reformation brought about modern religious toleration, because among so many sects it was impossible for one to become dominant and to suppress all the others. The same cause led, in America first, and later in other countries, to the complete separation of church and state. The excitement in the old church caused by the loss of so many of its members, strengthened the demands of those who had longed for reform, and thus led to the Catholic Reformation, sometimes called the Counter Reformation. Within a few years, the Protestant revolt led to bitter controversies and even wars within and among the European states.[1]

1. This paragraph is worth studying again thoroughly.

The Counter Reformation and the Wars over Religion

The Old Church Makes Reforms. — Spurred at length to face the problem of church evils, the pope called a great council of the ecclesiastical officials at Trent, which met at intervals from 1545 to 1563. The council resolved to abolish the more serious abuses in the Roman Catholic Church, which had furnished grounds for the early Protestant criticism. It ordered that simpler service books for laymen be prepared; and it stated in clear and definite language the central teachings of the church. The Council of Trent, however, offered no concessions which might bridge over the great chasm which was so rapidly dividing Christendom, for it made no changes in either religious beliefs or church management along the lines desired by the Protestants.

In the growing hostility between the two sides, the Roman Catholic Church now had the advantage of a definite aim, clearly stated doctrines, and an announced purpose to reform its own abuses. It was further strengthened by the establishment at this time of an enthusiastic new religious order known as the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits (jĕz′ū-ĭts). The new society, founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, was based on the idea of complete obedience to the pope in any service undertaken. The Jesuits became the spiritual militia of the popes in their struggles against " heresy " in Europe and against heathenism in the newly discovered lands of Asia, Africa, and America. In Europe the Jesuits founded many schools which became famous for their thoroughness of instruction. Jesuits served the old church wherever needed, — as preachers, teachers, or advisers of princes, — with the central aim of checking the spread of Protestantism. As the early Protestant reformers had frequently aroused enthusiasm for their cause by their willingness to meet suffering and martyrdom, so the Jesuits quickened the loyalty of Catholics by their self-sacrifice and devotion.

France Suffers in a Bitter Civil War, 1562–1598. — Although the Protestant Huguenots numbered less than one twelfth of

the total population of France, the split in the church in that country was deep enough to be an excuse for many intrigues and for nearly a half century of bitter fighting. Eight civil wars between 1562 and 1598 are listed by French historians. Treachery of the deepest dye marked the actions of the rival noble families as they struggled for control during the reigns of weak, childish kings, who happened to reach the throne in this gloomy time.[1] All France breathed more freely when Henry IV, generally known as Henry of Navarre (nȧ-vär′), the first of the famous Bourbon (bo͝or′bŭn) line, overcame his rivals and, renouncing his Protestant faith, accepted the religion of the great body of Frenchmen.

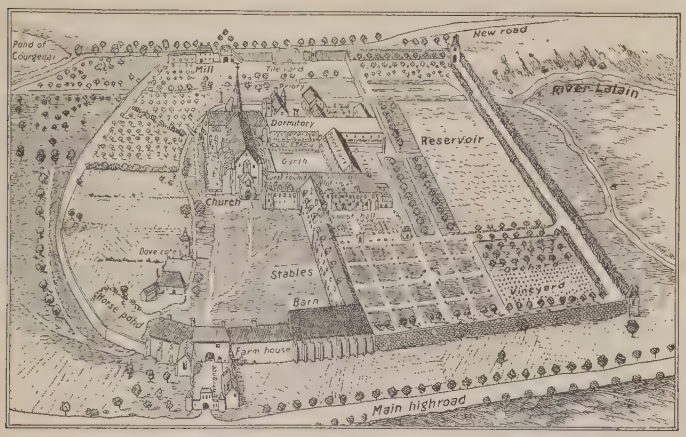
Yet he did not forget his old associates, for in the famous Edict of Nantes (nănts) (1598) he granted toleration to the Huguenots. They could live anywhere in France, and in their own homes might worship according to their faith. In some parts of France they could also enjoy public worship, maintain schools, and print religious books. As a guarantee of these privileges, eight walled towns were turned over to the Huguenots, and became cities of refuge for them.[2]

1. Why are civil wars usually very bitter wars? If fought over religion, why even worse? 2. Fix in mind this edict and its contents.

French Monarchy Restored and Strengthened. — Rising from the ashes of the fierce civil wars, the monarchy of Henry IV restored peace and prosperity to the country and laid the foundation of the French colonial empire in America.[1] But just as the nation seemed on the way to peace and success (1610), Henry was struck down by an assassin's dagger, and for another decade internal disorder was the lot of France.

From this position the nation was aroused by the ability of Cardinal[2] Richelieu (rē-shē-lyû′), who for eighteen years (1624–1642) remained the chief adviser and minister of Louis XIII, the second Bourbon king. Richelieu, given a free hand by his master, built up that absolute monarchy which was to reach its height of power and splendor and to dazzle Europe under the next Bourbon, Louis XIV. Richelieu broke down the

political powers of the feudal nobles, and sent throughout the country officers and judges who were responsible only to the king in Paris. Next, he took from the Huguenots their fortified cities, although still letting them enjoy the religious toleration granted by the Edict of Nantes. Finally, in his determination that France should rank high in Europe, he interfered in the



THE ABBEY OF VAULUISANT, IN FRANCE
In the seventeenth century. From an old print.

Thirty Years' War in Germany on the side of the Protestants, Romanist cardinal though he was, and when that awful war finally ended, France was able to annex Alsace (ăl-säs′) and establish her position as the leading nation in Europe.

1. What great French empire builder in America belongs to this period?
2. What is a cardinal?

Heroic Dutch Win Independence. — The great emperor Charles V, whom Luther had defied in his day, resigned in 1556 from the most august position in the world. Of his vast domains, his son Philip II received Spain, the Netherlands, southern Italy, and the new colonies in America,[1] while the remaining lands in Germany and the East went to a brother.

Philip was a man of reserved, morose disposition upon whom the burden of ruling hung very heavily. Posing as the champion

of Catholicism, he involved his country in fruitless wars against the Protestants in England, France, and the Netherlands. He used the court known as the Inquisition to crush out heresy, and by extremes of torture and cruel executions, especially in the Netherlands, embittered the entire period to which he belonged. As a result of his reign, Spain fell from the leadership of Europe to the rank of a third-class power.

By far the greatest failure of Philip II, however, arose from his efforts to crush out Protestantism in the Netherlands and to enforce autocratic government there. By this and other despotic acts he goaded the Netherlanders into revolt. A standing army of mercenaries was established in the country; heavy taxes were laid upon the vital commerce of these seagoing folk; and tyrannical governors overrode the ancient rights of self-government of the Netherlands.

The answer of the brave Netherlanders to these acts of Philip was rebellion which soon developed into an organized war for independence, both Catholics and Protestants alike uniting at first against the foreign oppressor. At great cost the Spaniards finally succeeded in holding ten of the provinces of the Netherlands, those now making up the kingdom of Belgium; but the seven northern provinces, of Dutch race and language, after terrible privations and sacrifices, at length fought their way to freedom.[2] Although the Dutch declaration of independence was issued in 1581, it was not until 1648 that this independence was formally recognized.

1. Where were these colonies in America? 2. What religious basis for this division of the Netherlands?

Germany is Cursed by the Thirty Years' War. — Most widespread and devastating of all the wars over religion was the struggle (1618–1648) fought out on German soil, the original home of Protestantism. The principal cause of this war lay in the revived strength of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany after the first shock of Luther's revolt, and in the challenge which this new vigor brought to the Protestant peoples and princes. After 1576, the tables were turned. Protestantism lost its early

enthusiasm, and the various sects, such as Calvinists and Lutherans, quarreled among themselves. Catholicism, on the other hand, now led by the astute and self-sacrificing Jesuits, made many re-conquests from the Protestant populations.

Princes of the opposing religions formed rival leagues known as the Protestant Union and the Catholic League. Outside of Germany, the Spanish rulers hoped for Catholic success, while Protestant England [1] and Scandinavia were alarmed at the threatened overthrow of Protestantism in central Europe. Petty quarrels in the German states presently (1618) broadened out into a civil war between the supporters of the two religions in Germany, and at length almost all of Europe was involved.

The first ten years of the war brought almost complete success to the Catholic forces of the emperor,[2] which were led by his general, Wallenstein (wŏl′ĕn-stīn). South Germany was cleared of Protestantism, and the imperial armies marched northward to the Baltic Sea, hoping to restore Catholicism and to retake the church lands from some six thousand Protestant noblemen.

At this point (1630), the German Protestants obtained help from outside. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, came over to Germany as a crusader to protect the Protestant faith, while Cardinal Richelieu of France furnished money aid, in order to prevent the complete success of the Catholic emperor, Ferdinand.[3] Under the able generalship of Gustavus, the Protestants now won a series of victories, culminating in the battle of Lützen (lüt′sĕn), 1632, but the victory was won at grievous cost, for Gustavus was killed and the Protestant cause was left leaderless.

By 1635 the Catholic emperor and the Protestant princes of Germany were ready to agree to a truce between themselves, but the appetite of outsiders for German lands had been whetted, so that for thirteen years longer, French, Swedes, Danes, Spaniards, and the adventurers and outcasts of all Europe waged their horrible warfare on German soil. Rich and poor, Protestant and Catholic, all alike were subject to the robbery and rapine of the unbridled troops. By the close of the war Germany had lost,

it is said, ten millions out of a population of sixteen millions, and her trade and industry were ruined.

After four years of dickering, in which nearly all of the nations of Europe shared, the Treaty of Westpha'lia in 1648 at length put an end to the war. On the question of religion, the treaty assured to each German prince the right to decide whether all the public worship in his country should be Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist. Private worship in the three religions might be enjoyed by all, but with restrictions which left much to the will of the individual rulers.[4] By the same treaty the independence of the Swiss cantons and of the Dutch Netherlands was officially recognized.

Throughout Germany, the three hundred or more states now became almost independent of the emperor and were left free to form alliances among themselves or with foreign powers.

1. What type of Protestantism prevailed in England then? 2. Emperor of what? 3. Do you judge that this war was fought wholly over religion? Why? 4. Many Germans soon migrated to Penn's colony in America. Do you see any reason why?

Religions of Europe after 1648. — Since the treaty of Westphalia there have been few important changes in the religious map of Europe. Italy, Spain, and Portugal have remained overwhelmingly Catholic, and in France the small minority of Huguenots lost, in the days of Louis XIV (1685), the privileges guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes. On the other hand, England, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark have been predominantly Protestant. Many of the Protestant denominations of America to-day originated in England as offshoots from the national (Anglican) church.[1] In Germany, the northern countries, led by Brandenburg-Prussia, have been Protestant; while the southern states, of which Austria and Bavaria are the chief, have retained their attachment to the Roman Catholic Church. Far to the east, meanwhile, in Russia and southeastern Europe, the Greek Catholic Church has continued its supreme authority over the religious beliefs and practices of millions of Slavs (slävz).

1. Name several of these.

EUROPE IN 1648
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
AFRICA
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
English Channel
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Riga
Moscow
RUSSIA
Neva R.
Volga R.
Don R.
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Hamburg
To Sweden
Elbe
Bremen
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
SPAIN
NETH.
Rhine
WESTPHALIA
Lutzen
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Wittenberg
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
PRUSSIA
Warsaw
POLAND
THE EMPIRE
Worms
Constance
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
Augsburg
Vienna
HUNGARY
FRANCHE COMTE
Paris
Nantes
FRANCE
SWITZ.
Geneva
The Alps
Trent
VICE
Venice
Avignon (To Rome)
Pyrenees
Genoa
Pisa
PAPAL STATES
Assisi
ADRIATIC SEA
To Venice
OTTOMAN
Danube R.
Constantinople
EMPIRE
EGEAN SEA
Athens
CYPRUS
CRETE (To Venice)
Rome
NAPLES
Naples
CORSICA (To Genoa)
SARDINIA (To Spain)
SICILY (To Spain)
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Douro R.
SPAIN
Madrid
Tagus R.
Str. of Gibraltar
Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenwich 20 30
W-G CO.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Make a careful statement of the differences between the medieval idea and the modern American idea of the relation between church and government.

2. Study the sources from which the medieval church secured its income, and think carefully why it did not depend alone upon voluntary gifts.

3. JESSOPP, *Coming of the Friars*, pp. 9 ff. Read this simple narrative about St. Francis and be able to tell of his noble life. For an early account use Ogg, *Source Book of Medieval History*, pp. 368–373.

4. From Tappan, *When Knights Were Bold*, pp. 184 ff., form a clear idea of the earnestness of the early Franciscans and Dominicans.

5. Make a list of the conspicuous leaders of the Reformation period on both sides and be able to tell simply what gave each his prominence.

6. For an account of Luther, see SEEBOHM, F., *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, and HENDERSON, E. F., *Short History of Germany*, Vol. I. Chs. 11, 12.

7. Prepare a report on how Henry of Navarre ended the war over religion in France. Haaren and Poland, *Famous Men of Modern Times*, pp. 128 ff.

8. For a sympathetic account of the part of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War read pp. 148 ff., in the same book. Why does Gustavus receive more praise than the other leaders in this lamentable war?

Reading List

ADAMS, G. B., *Growth of the French Nation*. Ch. 11, Character of the French Huguenots. The Edict of Nantes.

CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA, under *Luther*, *Loyola*, *Calvin*, etc.

CHEYNEY, E. P., *Short History of England*. Ch. 12, The revolt of England from the Roman church.

GRIFFIS, W. E., *Brave Little Holland*. Ch. 17, Erasmus as a religious reformer. Ch. 18–22, The Dutch war of independence.

HAAREN and POLAND, *Famous Men of Modern Times*. Ch. 7, Charles V of Spain. Ch. 11, Henry of Navarre. Ch. 13, Gustavus Adolphus.

HAYES, C. J. H., *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I. Ch. 4, Causes of the Reformation. Luther as a reformer. Calvin and his influence. The Catholic Reformation.

JACOBS, C. M., *Martin Luther*.

MCKINLEY, HOWLAND, AND DANN, *World History in the Making*. Ch. 26, The Reformation. Ch. 27, A century of religious and civil wars.

SEEBOHM, F., *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*. Luther, pp. 97–134; Reform in England, pp. 171–198; Calvin, pp. 201–205.

WALKER, W., *The Reformation*, pp. 77–123.

Tower of London in the Seventeenth Century

From a contemporary print. The square building is the Norman keep, generally called the White Tower.

CHAPTER V

ENGLAND ON THE WAY TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

The Romantic Elizabethan Period

England Acts Youthful. — The forty-five years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603) cover the most romantic period of English history. The queen herself was spirited and attractive personally, and also knew how, by the pomp and parade of royalty, to keep alive the interest of the people in herself.

Although English national life in the previous generation had been rather dull and upset by religious differences, it now became brilliant in its exploits and unified in its sentiments under the magic name of Elizabeth. The establishment of the national Anglican Church in a blending of Catholic and Protestant ways was welcomed by the majority of Englishmen; and although religious conflicts again became acute as soon as Elizabeth was gone, yet during her reign there was more harmony on matters of religion than had been known for years. Turning from

religious disputes, the writers of the day created the Golden Age of English literature. Venturesome seamen carried the flag across the seven seas, defied the power of Spain and Portugal, and raised the English navy to a position of world-wide renown.

Sir Francis Drake made his memorable voyage around the world, and brought home rich plunder to be shared with the queen. Other English mariners ventured into the West Indies to despoil the Spaniards, while Sir Walter Raleigh spent a fortune in trying to make settlements in North America on land claimed by Spain.[1]

Carriages of the Time of Elizabeth

Of all the exploits of Elizabethan seamen, however, the greatest was the defeat of the Spanish Arma'da in 1588. The reasons why Philip II of Spain sent such a threatening expedition against England must now be noted.

1. Where? Did he succeed?

The Spanish Armada is Defeated (1588). — The war with Spain grew out of a series of disputes between the two countries, or between their rulers. First came the chagrin of a disappointed suitor, since early in her reign Elizabeth had refused offers of marriage from Philip II. Then the pope refused to recognize Elizabeth as a lawful queen, declaring the English Catholics freed from their allegiance to her, and supporting the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth's cousin, as the rightful heir to the throne. When Elizabeth authorized the execution of Mary, the latter made Philip of Spain the heir to her claims.

England at this time was the most powerful Protestant state in Europe. During the civil wars over religion, Englishmen gave sympathy and support to the Huguenots in France, to the Dutch in their struggle against Philip II, and to the Protestants in Germany. Thus England became the champion of the Protestant, as Spain was the mainstay of the Catholic cause.

The seamen, traders, and colonists of England were also defying the Spaniards in the highly prized colonial field. Only by

ELIZABETHAN GALLEON WITH FOUR CONNING TOWERS
This type of ship was used in the defeat of the Armada.

breaking the monopoly of Philip II * could Englishmen gain a share in the lucrative trade with the East Indies;[1] only by denying his authority could they found colonies in America.[2] Under such conditions impetuous English seamen helped themselves to Spanish property wherever they found it. It was no wonder that Philip II finally resolved to punish the English queen and her adventurous subjects.

After years of preparation and unforeseen delays, a vast

* From 1580 until 1640 Portugal was a province of Spain, and consequently Philip II controlled all the Portuguese possessions in the East.

armament left Spain in July, 1588, for the conquest of England and the overthrow of Protestantism in its stronghold. The vessels of the fleet were large and unwieldy, and poorly fitted to battle with the ships of the English, which, though smaller, were better manned and more seaworthy.

For several days a running fight took place as the Armada advanced up the English Channel. A brisk gale then arose, scattering the fleet and compelling the vessels to sail out on the North Sea. All the while the English were attacking and capturing the laggards. Soon it became only a question as to how much of the crippled Armada could sail around Scotland and Ireland and back to a home port. In this effort, more than half of the ships and a larger proportion of the men were lost.

Far-reaching results came from the memorable defeat of the Armada. It made impossible the invasion of England and the overthrow of the Protestant religion, and gave the supremacy of the seas to the English and their allies, the Dutch. Within a few years these nations were engaged in founding colonies and in trade expansion at the expense of Spain and Portugal.

1. Why was the trade with the East Indies so lucrative then? 2. How many colonies in America did England then have?

Elizabethan Literature Reaches a High Point. — The newly aroused national feeling in England, the heroic achievements of English seamen, and the advance in material prosperity, — all of these tended to develop a literature which expressed the buoyant spirit of the times.

English prose writing made a rapid advance, as shown in Bacon's *Essays*, Raleigh's *Generall Historie*, and Hakluyt's accounts of the explorations of the time. The most beautiful and dignified example of English prose was seen in the King James version of the Bible, published in 1611 [1] under royal sanction.

But it was in poetry that the spirit of the age found its chief literary expression. Ballads became popular among the common people; courtiers, soldiers, and statesmen wrote sonnets and love poems; and all classes showed a lively interest in the drama and the stage.[2] Among the numerous Elizabethan writers of

verse, one stands out as the greatest in modern literature — Shakespeare, the actor, playwright, and universal poet. Of the

ELIZABETHAN THEATER

A performance of "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Note the people standing in the pit; the gentry, in the stage boxes.

many achievements of Elizabeth's reign none has brought more enjoyment to later generations than have Shakespeare's plays.

1. Do you recognize this version when you hear it read? 2. In what sort of time does poetry flourish?

PURITANISM CLASHES WITH THE DIVINE RIGHT THEORY

Who the Puritans were. — Although the English people generally were content with the ideas and ritual of the Church of England,[1] a small minority thought that the Reformation had not been carried far enough, and that too much of Catholicism had been retained in the English Church.[2] These objectors wished to purify the church of what they called its "popish practices," and for this reason they were called *Puritans*.

Most of the Puritans of this period, however, did not object to a national compulsory church supported by public taxes — very few people anywhere in those days believed in freedom of

religion, or in the separation of church and state. The *Presbyterians*, believers in Calvin's ideas, and especially strong in Scotland, favored the Puritan plans for simplifying the church service and ritual; but they thought that the church ought to be governed by representative councils of elders, or presbyters, according to the plan of the Calvinists on the Continent and in Scotland. The *Separatists* were a small body of Puritans who opposed the whole principle of a compulsory national church. Instead, they wished each local congregation to be under the control of its own members, a plan followed to-day in such denominations as the Congregationalists and the Baptists. The band of Pilgrims who came to America in 1620 belonged to the early group of Separatists.

1. Give an adjective to characterize the Anglican Church. 2. In what ways was the Anglican Church somewhat like the Catholic Church?

Puritans Oppose Royal Absolutism. — The successor to Elizabeth was James Stuart, the son of her old rival, Mary, Queen of Scots. Already king of Scotland, he became, upon the death of Elizabeth, ruler of England as well. He had been educated by the Presbyterians of Scotland, and consequently the Puritans of England hoped to obtain his support for their plan of simplifying the church and introducing democracy into its government. When, however, they petitioned James to do away with bishops, the king replied, "No bishops, no king." With canny shrewdness this Scotchman saw that autocratic [1] control in the church was closely related to his own royal prerogative,[1] and that the overthrow of the bishops' powers in the church would lead to the undermining of his own authority in the government. The Puritans took James at his word, and from that time until the day when his son mounted the scaffold, they were the leaders in the great struggle to simplify the English Church and to break down the autocratic power of the English crown.

Throughout the reigns of James I (1603–1625) and his son, Charles I (1625–1649), this struggle continued violently — a momentous contest for power between the kings on one side and the representatives of the people in parliament, on the other.

The kings asserted their divine right to rule, by which they meant that they were answerable to no earthly authority, but to God alone, for what they did. Parliament, in opposition, especially the House of Commons,[2] time and again upheld the ancient privileges which Englishmen had won in conflicts with earlier kings from the days of Magna Charta (1215) onwards.

One outstanding event in the struggle between king and parliament was the Petition of Right forced upon Charles I in 1628, in an effort to put an end to some of his arbitrary actions. When he called parliament together at this time in order to obtain funds, he found the nation's representatives determined to grant no taxes until he had promised reforms. Unable to escape from his predicament by any other means, he agreed to stop doing the things about which parliament complained, and granted their Petition of Right. In this he promised that no man should be compelled to pay a tax or gift to the king except by an act of parliament; that no one should be imprisoned for refusal to pay illegal taxes; and that soldiers should not be quartered in private families.[3] This famous law, signed by an unwilling king, was one of the great landmarks of England's progress away from absolutism toward democracy.

1. Define. 2. Why was the House of Commons most interested in curbing the crown? 3. Fix these points well in mind.

Puritans Defeat and Execute Charles I. — The king, after more quarreling, got rid of parliament in 1629, resolving never to call another one; and for eleven years he ruled the country according to his fancy without consulting the people's representatives. Again he levied illegal taxes, though under new names; again he forced citizens to loan him money; again he imprisoned persons who opposed his unjust measures.

Charles was especially anxious to make the Puritans conform in full to the beliefs and to the elaborate worship of the Church of England. Under the lash of his persecution, carried out by Archbishop Laud, many thousands of Puritans left the country and sought new homes in the wilds of New England.[1]

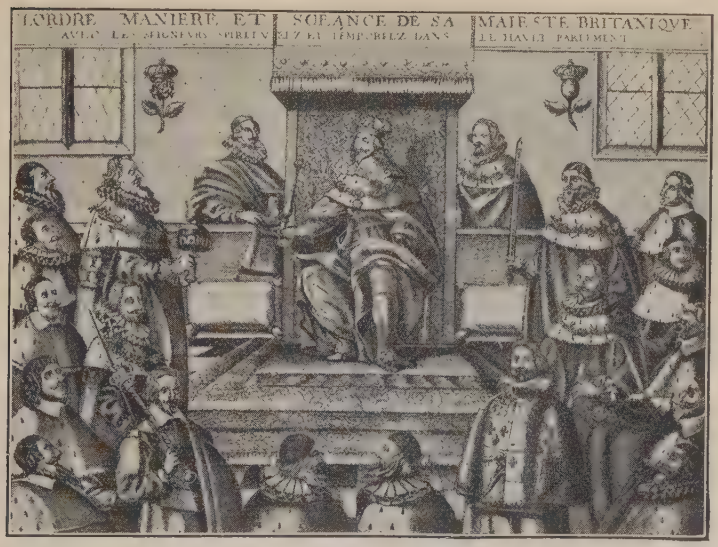
Still more of the Puritans, however, remained at home, and

once again headed the fight for political rights and a simplified church, freed from royal dictation. First, in Scotland, the Presbyterians, by rushing to arms, successfully thwarted the king's effort to force upon them the English Church ritual and organization. Soon, in England, the Puritans, under such sturdy champions as John Pym and John Hampden, led the nation into open revolt against the royal power. In fact, even supporters of the Anglican Church were so thoroughly aroused against the king's arbitrary acts that they were willing to put up with Puritan ideas of religion rather than endure royal despotism.

After holding out for eleven years, Charles was driven to financial straits,[2] and in 1640 was again obliged to call for another election of members of the House of Commons. When this body met, it was under the control of the Puritans, and in no mood to grant money to the king until assured that his arbitrary acts would really cease. He was compelled to surrender to parliament complete control over money matters; he saw his chief officials and advisers impeached by parliament. Charles even agreed that the present parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent.[3] As the consent was not given until 1660, this body came to be known as the Long Parliament.

One demand, however, the king at last refused. When parliament sought to take the control of the army out of the king's hands, he proclaimed the parliamentary leaders in rebellion, and by calling upon all loyal subjects to rally to his standard, started a civil war.

When this civil war broke out in 1642, the advantage seemed for a while to be on the side of the Cavaliers, as the king's friends were called. But early victories were followed by a series of crushing defeats at the hands of the parliamentarians or Roundheads, when Oliver Cromwell, a Puritan member of the Long Parliament, organized a large, strictly disciplined force known as the "Ironsides." Composed of God-fearing Puritans who firmly believed in the righteousness of their cause,[4] this "lovely company" decisively defeated the Cavalier armies. King Charles was taken prisoner (1646). For nearly three



CHARLES I AND HIS PARLIAMENT
From an old print.

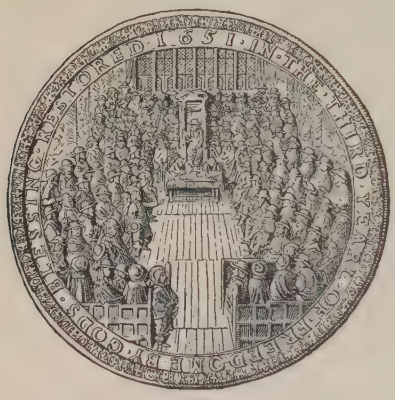
years he was the center of plots and negotiations, until Cromwell and the radical army leaders grew impatient; a court for the trial of the king was organized — a court which declared Charles "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy." Under this sentence he was beheaded (1649).

1. What colonies were founded by Puritans? 2. What old-time principle of the English constitution made this possible? 3. By whom was parliament generally dissolved? 4. For what principles were they fighting so earnestly?

Oliver Cromwell's Puritan Rule, 1649–1658. — The Long Parliament — from which the moderate majority of the members had been excluded by the army — now declared England a commonwealth, or republic, without king or House of Lords, but with the supreme authority in the hands of the people's representatives. Such was the theory, but in fact the actual power belonged to the army, in which Oliver Cromwell was by far the ablest and most popular general. Stern and determined in manner, deeply religious in his feelings and yet

intensely practical in many things, Cromwell was the real ruler of England for nearly nine years. The army leaders besought him to take the title of king. This Cromwell refused; but he did accept the name of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, under a written constitution.

From 1649 to the death of Cromwell in 1658 the government of England was a strange mixture of toleration, fanaticism, and despotism. A large standing army made it possible for the Puritans, who were not a majority, to overawe the rest of the people. Cromwell and his supporters granted religious toleration to all the various sects into which the Puritans were by this time divided — Baptists, Quakers, Presbyterians, and others. Anglicans and Catholics were not allowed to hold public services, but there was little interference with their private worship.[1]



Seal of the Commonwealth

In matters of government Cromwell acted almost as despotically as had Charles I. He ignored the parliament, levied taxes, confiscated property of royalists, and controlled all by means of the Puritan standing army which was at his beck and call.

All England was compelled to accept Puritanic ways of living. Theaters and bowling alleys were closed, and crude popular amusements, such as bear baiting and cockfighting, were forbidden. Even sports and games on Sunday afternoons, encouraged under Charles I, were now prohibited.

1. Was this liberal or severe for that time?

The Stuarts Come Back in 1660. — Cromwell's vigorous personality and his efficient standing army kept the country under control until his death. Then followed about two years of

confusion, ending with the triumphant return of the son of Charles I from exile, to be welcomed and crowned as King Charles II. The country now breathed freely again, and the king was received with such hearty expressions of loyalty that even he was surprised. Laughingly he said, "It is my own fault that I had not come back sooner."

Oliver Cromwell

From a painting in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. In the group picture, Cromwell is refusing the crown.

While it seemed to many people that England was returning to what the less Puritanic called the "good old times," as a matter of fact the country never went back to the absolutism of pre-Puritan times. The execution of Charles I was a pointed lesson to his successors; the rights of parliament were better respected after the Puritan Revolution, and those who refused to attend the Church of England were never so harshly persecuted as they had been under Charles I. The lessons of the Civil War were never forgotten.[1]

1. Now give the chief causes and main results of the Puritan Revolution.

The Revolution of 1688 Ends Absolutism in England

Charles II Partly Restores the Old Ways. — With the restoration of the monarchy, the people and parliament of England

seemed anxious to restore all the other features of life as it had been before 1640.[1] The Anglican Church again became the only lawful church of the country, and an effort was made to compel the entire population to attend services conducted according to the Prayer Book. Those Puritan sects who refused were known at first as Nonconformists and later as Dissenters.[2] These, together with the Catholics, were forbidden to hold their own kind of worship, except in very small private groups, and were shut out from all public offices, even from positions as school teachers. A return to " merrie England " was celebrated by opening theaters for coarse plays and by engaging in all sorts of rough and debasing amusements.

Yet Charles II had a wholesome fear of the people and of parliament. This was due partly to his father's tragic end, partly to his own flabbiness of character. His eleven years of exile after his father's death also impressed him so deeply that when, as king, he collided with parliament, he would yield rather than " set out again on his travels," as he put it. This accommodating attitude made possible a few steps of progress during the reign, most important of which in English and American history was the Habeas Corpus Act passed by parliament in 1679. This law prevents arbitrary imprisonment, by requiring jailers to show their legal authority for keeping a person in custody. This meant that imprisonment during the will or anger of the king, a practice common in the Continental countries, was ended in England, as well as in the English colonies.[3]

1. What reason can you give for this feeling? 2. Name church denominations in America which came from these groups of Dissenters. 3. Now state simply what "habeas corpus" means to you.

James II Tries to Restore Absolutism. — Far different from the happy-go-lucky Charles II was his aggressive brother James (1685–1688), with his stubborn character and his definite purposes from which he refused to be turned aside. Where the pliant Charles bent before the will of parliament, James II stood rigid and unyielding, until in three short years his power was entirely shattered.

James was the last English king who tried to carry out the theory of divine right.[1] He had three aims, every one of which was contrary to the wishes of the great majority of his subjects. He wanted a large standing army to help enforce his authority. He hoped to restore the Roman Catholic religion as the only legal religion in England.[2] He tried to make himself an absolute monarch on the model of the French Bourbon kings.[3] The lesson of his father's death on the scaffold was wholly lost upon James; and he thought that the English people, in their reaction from Puritanism, would go all the way over to Catholicism.[4] In later years in exile he had plenty of time to realize his mistake.

1. State this theory again in simple language. 2. When had it been the only legal religion? 3. Name three noted Bourbon kings. When did they rule? 4. In what ways were Puritanism and Catholicism opposite types of religion?

The Glorious Revolution Saves English Liberties. — The efforts of James to restore the Catholic religion and absolutism in government alienated almost every class in the nation. His own daughters, who had been educated as Protestants, as the law required, turned against him in his plans, and even his standing army refused at length to do his bidding.

Late in the year 1688, a group of prominent men sent messages to Mary, the king's daughter, and to her cousin and husband, William of Orange,* ruler of the Dutch Netherlands, inviting them to come to England and to restore the rights of the people and of parliament. When William landed in England, James, deserted by his supporters, fled from London and escaped to France, where he and his son and grandson after him lived in exile.

A newly elected parliament declared that William and Mary were the lawful sovereigns of England,[1] and that thereafter no Catholic should occupy the throne. Without bloodshed, simply by getting rid of an arbitrary king, the English people saved their representative system of self-government — that English parliament which most of the world has copied since that time. To make sure that the constitutional rights of the nation should

* This William of Orange was a grandson of the William of Orange who led in the Dutch struggle for independence from Spain; his other grandfather was Charles I of England.

not again be endangered, parliament next passed one of the greatest acts in its history, the Bill of Rights of 1689. This famous bill has had a deep influence upon English and American history. It is one of the basic laws in England's informal constitution, and to-day some of its principles are found in the constitution of the United States and in our state constitutions.

The Bill of Rights declared that, except by consent of parliament, the crown could not suspend any laws, levy any taxes whatever, or keep a standing army in peace times. It also asserted that parliament should meet frequently and that in parliament there should be freedom of debate.

Later in the reign parliament adopted the regular custom of giving to the crown for only one year at a time the funds to pay government expenses and the power to maintain discipline in the army. Since then parliament has of necessity met every year.[2]

Thus, through the Revolution of 1688 and the reform laws which followed, England definitely rejected the divine right theory in favor of the idea that the title to the throne and the powers of the crown are granted by parliament in the name of the people. In other words, the Revolution of 1688 made parliament supreme, in an age when absolute monarchies were decidedly in style.[3]

Along with these deep-going decisions, the Revolution had other important results. By the Toleration Act, most of the Puritan sects were now allowed to hold their own kind of public worship, although only Anglicans were eligible to hold offices under the government. Roman Catholics and Unitarians, however, were not yet granted toleration, — not for another century, — although as the spirit of persecution gradually disappeared, the laws against them were not very strictly carried out.

1. What principle was substituted for divine right? 2. How often had it met before this? 3. Are they in style to-day? Give proofs.

England Works Out the Cabinet System of Government

Parties Grow to be Important. — The two great political parties of English history, Whigs and Tories, came into existence

shortly before the Revolution of 1688. This was long before political parties, as we know them, appeared on the Continent. In the despotisms of France, Austria, Prussia, and Spain there was no place for the public association of citizens to influence the decisions and action of the government. In England alone, in that age, could voters group themselves together into parties and try to bring the government around to their views.

About 1680 Tory and Whig came to be the respective names used to label those who favored and those who opposed the arbitrary purposes of Charles II and James II. Although the principles of the parties were somewhat changeable, yet, in a general way, the Whigs were made up of the wealthy country gentry, the commercial classes of the towns, and the dissenting Protestants. They heartily supported the Revolution of 1688, the Protestant succession to the throne, the supremacy of parliament, the expansion of commerce, and toleration for Dissenters. The Tories included some of the peers, the great majority of smaller landholders, and the clergy of the Church of England. In general, they stood for the divine right of kings and for royal power as opposed to that of parliament; they objected to concessions to Dissenters; and would have sacrificed the interests of the commercial classes to those of the petty landholders. Some of the Tory leaders even wanted to restore the crown to James II and his heirs.

How the Cabinet System Began. — Due to a system of two parties and to the supremacy of parliament, England developed a very practical way of controlling the executive work of the king and his advisers. This is known as the cabinet system. Like most other parts of the British constitution, this plan grew up gradually. During the Stuart period, especially in the time of Charles II, parliament succeeded in establishing the principle that the king's ministers [1] could be held responsible for things which the king did upon their advice. The old idea still held that the king could do no wrong — a theory which had been a bulwark of absolutism a little earlier.[2] Now this was gradually coming to mean that whenever the king did anything displeasing

to parliament, the man who advised the king in the matter could be held accountable to parliament.[3] This was one of the earliest steps in the growth of a system by which nearly all the powers of the crown were finally taken over by the cabinet.

At the same time that parties were arising, just before the Revolution of 1688, the king grew tired of consulting his large private council of about thirty men. Instead, he began to pick a small group of intimate advisers or ministers, first known as a "cabal" or "junta," and later named the "cabinet." The small size of this body made it easier for parliament to carry out its new policy of fixing responsibility upon the king's ministers.

Between the Revolution of 1688 and the year 1800 the power to choose and control the cabinet group slipped away from the king and came to lie, instead, with the majority in the House of Commons. Let us see how this came about.

1. Does this mean clergymen? 2. What is meant by a "bulwark of absolutism"? 3. If the king could do no wrong, could he claim credit for good things done?

Cabinet and Prime Minister Take the Lead. — In the first place, William III was far more interested in Dutch affairs than he was in those of England, so that much of his time was spent on the Continent. This made it necessary that in English matters he should follow the advice of those Englishmen — mainly Whigs — who favored the Revolution of 1688, the Protestant succession, and the war against Louis XIV. Since the Whigs usually held a majority in the House of Commons, the custom became fairly well fixed that the king should choose his cabinet from the party in control of that assembly.

After 1714, when a German prince became king of Great Britain * as George I,[1] the growth of the cabinet's power was rapid. This king could not speak English and was too lazy to learn. He knew nothing about English problems, and cared less, except that the Whig party favored his succession to the throne, while many of the Tories opposed it. This gave him a bias in

* After 1603 the king of England was also king of Scotland; and in 1707 the two kingdoms were merged in the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

favor of the Whigs which led him to choose one of them, Sir Robert Walpole (wôl′pōl), as his special adviser. Instead of being chairman of the cabinet and directing its work, as previous kings had done, George I neglected even to attend its meetings, since he could not understand the language spoken. This left the leadership of that group to Walpole, who became known as the first or " prime " minister.

Walpole Chaired after a Political Victory

From an old print. After a candidate was elected it was the custom to carry him about town in a chair raised on the shoulders of his friends.

Much the same easy-going plan was followed by George II (1727–1760), and thus for over twenty years (1721–1742) Walpole maintained his leadership and power. His backing came from the Whig majority in parliament. When this majority seemed uncertain he used bribery and corrupt influence to keep his party in power. In 1742, when he lost his majority, he finally resigned, setting a precedent that the prime minister could not continue in power without the support of a majority in the House of Commons.[2] Very fortunately the indifference of the first two Georges — " snuffy old drones from the German hive" — greatly hastened the progress toward popular control of the British government.

When George III became king in 1760 he tried to revive the old royal powers which had been slipping into the hands of the

cabinet and parliament under his two predecessors. His mother used to urge him to " Be king, George, be king! " — and a king in the old sense of the term he tried to be. For a time, especially during the American Revolution, he almost succeeded in his plans. In 1782, owing largely to the defeat of the king's army in America, Lord North, the prime minister who had done the king's bidding rather than parliament's, was forced to resign. In this way the American Revolution helped to restore England's cabinet system. Since that time British cabinets have remained in office only so long as they have had the backing of the House of Commons; when they lose that support, they make way for ministers who are satisfactory to the majority in the Commons.

The cabinet system, as thus developed, became the very heart of the increasingly liberal government of Great Britain. Later it was copied in many other kingdoms, in the British self-governing colonies, and in some republics, such as France. In practice, under this system, the king is little more than a figurehead. The majority party in the elective branch of the legislature actually chooses the prime minister and his associates, and with this cabinet rests the real power and task of governing. The cabinet not only manages all the executive work, but also is expected to introduce into the legislature all important bills.[3] If any one of these proposals fails to pass in the legislature, or if any executive act of the cabinet is formally disapproved by the legislature, such defeat is evidence of a lack of confidence in the ministry, and usually results in their resignation. Under this system the executive and legislative branches of government are kept in close accord. There can be no conflict between them such as sometimes arises between the President of the United States and Congress.

1. In a monarchy why is the crown likely to go at times to a foreigner? 2. This principle is the very life of the cabinet system. Fix it clearly in mind. 3. Do they do this as members or as outsiders? Be sure.

The French Revolution Checks Reform in Great Britain. — While this cabinet system was developing, the English people

were aroused to the great need for reform in many branches of their government and in the laws then in force. The representation of the towns and counties in parliament had become woefully out of date and unfair, through shifts in the population without any changes in the distribution of members of the Commons.[1] The laws relating to the punishment of crime were severe and cruel, while conditions among the criminals and debtors in the prisons were shocking. In the period 1783–1793 prominent leaders of the English nation were busy studying these social and political problems and trying to work out their solution. There was much hopefulness and promise of better days which would bring more democracy and justice into English life.

Over this bright picture came again the clouds of war. The early stages of the French Revolution, which began in 1789, called forth applause and imitation in Great Britain; its later excesses frightened and appalled the English governing classes. At length, in 1793, Great Britain was drawn into war against the new French republic, and for twenty-two years, with only one interruption, the great conflict continued. In such a crisis, domestic reforms were sidetracked in the life-and-death struggle with the great Napoleon. "One does not rebuild his house in the hurricane season," said a careful observer of the time.

1. How often do we change the distribution of representation in Congress?

World-wide Importance

In the long run, the English Parliament triumphed over absolutism and became the very center of the British system of self-government, which, with modifications, has been imitated throughout the world wherever people rule themselves. Thus representative self-government became the chief political gift of England to civilization.

Some Rights Guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, 1689

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted.

13. And that, for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.

Problem and Reference Work

1. In Tappan, *In the Days of Queen Elizabeth*, Chapter 15, find a simple detailed story of the attack of the Spanish Armada. Tell the class the most interesting parts of the dramatic story.

2. Give a brief report on how autocratically Charles I of England ruled for eleven years. Use Cheyney, *Short History of England*, Sections 375, 376, 379, 382, 383. Show the connection with American history.

3. Using the same book, Sections 450–454, describe clearly the efforts of James II to establish autocracy in England.

4. In Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. II, pp. 261 ff., read the original language of the things William and Mary had to promise upon receiving the English crown.

5. In what ways was England the leader in the eighteenth century in the slow progress toward democracy? Work out five points clearly.

6. Reference: Moran, *The English Government*, Chapter 6. Study carefully and form a clear idea of the principles of the British cabinet system.

Reading List

Cheyney, E. P., *Short History of England*. Ch. 14, The personal monarchy of Charles I. Ch. 15, The Puritan Civil War.

Haaren and Poland, *Famous Men of Modern Times*. Ch. 16, Oliver Cromwell. Ch. 24, William Pitt.

Ilbert, C. P., *Parliament*. Ch. 1, Development of parliament from its origin to modern times. Ch. 3, How laws are made in parliament.

McKinley, Howland, and Dann, *World History in the Making*. Ch. 28, The rise of modern England. Ch. 29, England from the Revolution of 1688 to the French Revolution.

Moran, T. F., *The English Government*. One of the best descriptions of the English government. Ch. 1, The present power of the British crown. Ch. 4, How the cabinet system originated.

HOHENZOLLERN CASTLE — HOME OF THE RULERS OF PRUSSIA

CHAPTER VI

DIVINE RIGHT MONARCHIES ON THE CONTINENT

ABSOLUTE MONARCHY AT ITS HEIGHT

England Alone Rejects the Divine Right Theory. — From the days of the Revolution of 1688 onward, England was a limited monarchy, in which the royal power was hedged about and restricted by the growing strength of parliament. Each year the nation's representatives fixed the taxes and decided how much was to be spent by the government; after 1707 they made the laws without any danger of a royal veto;[1] and through the cabinet, which was really a special committee of parliament,[2] they came to control the entire management of the government.

In the larger states on the Continent, however, for many years no such limitations upon royal authority existed. In the five states which really dominated Europe in the eighteenth century, — France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Spain, — the autocratic power of the crown was supreme. In these countries the king was a despot — more or less benevolent as his training, fancy, or digestion might determine, but claiming in any case to rule by divine right.

Probably no better statement of the divine right of kings has

ever been made than that of Bossuet (bô-sü-ĕ′), the court preacher of Louis XIV of France. "Kings must be guarded as sacred," said he, "and whoever neglects to protect them is worthy of death. There is something religious in the respect paid to the prince. The service of God and respect for kings are bound together. We behold kings seated on the throne of the Lord, holding the sword which the Lord himself has put in their hands. The royal power is absolute. The prince need give an account of his decrees to no one."

1. Can there be a royal veto under a cabinet system? Give reasons.
2. A special committee for what special purpose?

How Autocrats Used their Vast Powers. — As God is omnipotent in the universe, so the king was believed to be all-powerful in his realm. Some of the divine right rulers felt the heavy responsibility of their office and insisted upon giving their personal attention to matters of state, great and small. Such a painstaking autocrat was Philip II of Spain. Others were pleasure-loving princes who left the drudgery of government to favorites and to selfish officials. Such a prince was Louis XV of France.[1]

In any case the king might lead his country into peace and prosperity; or he might bring upon it desolation and misery. No matter was so great or so insignificant as to be beyond the king's notice. The making of laws, the levying of taxes, the management of the army, the building of public works, and especially the choice of war or peace were among the prerogatives of these monarchs.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show many instances of purely arbitrary and despotic acts of kings. Millions of free peasants in Russia were reduced to serfdom by the ukase [2] of the czars. The lives of nearly 200,000 workmen were sacrificed that Peter the Great might found his capital of St. Petersburg upon the swamps of the Neva. Even in the more highly civilized country of France, thousands gave up their lives in the building of a canal to supply water for the fountains of the royal suburb of Paris at Versailles (vĕr-sä′y′). Almost everywhere the kings

enforced one single type of religious worship; in every Continental country books could be published only under royal license; [3] in all the monarchies arbitrary arrests and imprisonments were common, and many times victims were locked up for years without even knowing why they had been arrested.

1. Is a king likely to be a man of a superior sort personally? Give reasons. 2. Define "ukase." 3. Why did despotic kings care what people read?

Royal Families Struggle for Power. — Not in internal affairs so much as in foreign relations were the evils of absolutism apparent. The reigning families in neighboring countries were sometimes hereditary enemies to each other, whose jealousies often involved their peoples in needless costly wars. The most conspicuous of these family rivalries — one which lasted for generations — was that between the Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain and the Bourbons of France. From 1589 to 1750 this enmity led to competing alliances and to a series of bitter dynastic wars in which the personal ambition of one monarch, the pique and chagrin of another, or the fear of damaged honor and prestige of another, kept alive the flames of this family feud.

Later on a similar rivalry grew up between the Hapsburgs of Austria and the Hohenzollern (hō-ĕn-tsŏl′ĕrn) family of Prussia. By 1750 this new quarrel had become so bitter that Hapsburg and Bourbon for a time forgot their own private enmity in their common anger against the upstart king of Prussia.

For generations, therefore, the European countries, on account of these dynastic rivalries, were kept in a turmoil of dishonorable diplomacy,[1] conflicting alliances, and desolating wars, which continued until 1763. Before considering these dynastic wars, we shall look briefly at each of the four great states of that age.

1. Define "diplomacy," using simple words. When is diplomacy dishonorable?

Grandeur and Decay of Bourbon Absolutism

Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch, 1643–1715. — The foundations of French absolutism had been laid by Richelieu, the great

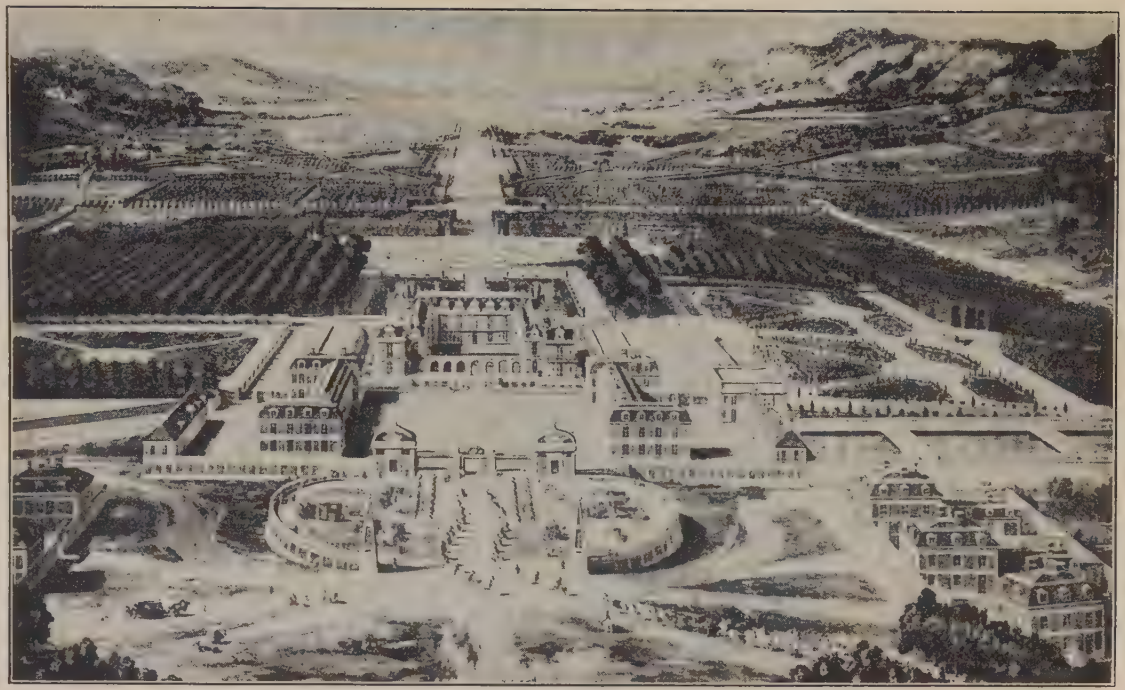
cardinal, in the days of Louis XIII. Upon this basis Louis XIV reared a dazzling structure of royal power and spectacular display. He is reputed to have said, "I am the State," and whether he ever used the exact words or not, he certainly acted on this principle. All the resources of the country were at his command; all the French people were truly his subjects, forced to do his bidding; all branches of the government were his to use as he pleased. The life of the whole nation seemed centered in the king. From him, as from the sun, his flatterers said, radiated all that was necessary for personal and national happiness.

No palace of the earlier kings seemed suited to the grand tastes of Louis, so new ones were erected at enormous expense. The most famous was the palace at Versailles, which cost perhaps $100,000,000 and housed 10,000 people at a time.[1] The most noted artists of the day adorned the palace with paintings representing the king as Augustus, as Alexander, or as Jupiter, Hercules, or Apollo. Every article of furniture or convenience was especially designed and made of the costliest materials for the pleasure and honor of the monarch and his courtiers. At Versailles, poets and dramatists presented their verses and plays before the king, whose smile or approving word meant success with the populace in Paris. Art, literature, and learning bowed before *le grand monarque.*

1. Where did the money come from to pay for it?

Louis XIV an Active Despot. — Louis XIV always occupied the center of the stage and would let no one else share with him the respect and admiration of the people. No prime minister, like Cardinal Richelieu in the preceding reign, was to gain the credit for vigor and astuteness. From the time Louis became of age he was his own chief minister.

Louis's despotic aims were well seen in his treatment of the Huguenots. He would not tolerate a group of Frenchmen who refused to accept the religion which he, the king, thought the only proper one for his people. The privileges granted by Henry IV in 1598 [1] were gradually taken away,[2] until in 1685 the Edict of Nantes was canceled outright. Such barbarous severities were



PALACE AND GARDENS AT VERSAILLES UNDER LOUIS XIV. Photograph of a painting.

inflicted upon the Huguenots that, when the guard upon the frontier was relaxed, hundreds of thousands fled to the Netherlands, to England, to the English colonies,[3] and to Prussia. In this way France drove out many of her best citizens and crippled her industries through the loss of skilled workers.[4]

A great king must also engage in war, thought Louis. So a conqueror he would be, and for nearly forty years he led his country into one unnecessary war after another. By doing so he dragged France into misery and bankruptcy to satisfy his personal ambitions. Louis had found France well-organized, prosperous, and happy. He had raised her to the zenith of influence and power. He left her humbled, poor, and discontented. The most eminent French preacher of the day, in his funeral oration upon the Grand Monarch, began with the words "God alone is great."

1. Recall accurately what those privileges were. 2. How did Richelieu treat the Huguenots? Why? 3. Why not to the French colonies? 4. Did France become wholly Catholic? How do you know?

Louis XV Disgraces the Bourbon Throne. — From 1643 to 1774 France was ruled by only two kings; the seventy-two years of Louis XIV were followed by the long reign of his great-grandson, Louis XV, lasting fifty-nine years (1715–1774). Absolutism was supreme in France during both reigns; but under Louis XV it lost the grandeur displayed by his predecessor and degenerated into a means for satisfying the selfish pleasures of the king and his worthless favorites. Louis XV was lazy and dissipated. Unwilling to attend to the duties of government himself, he refused to turn over the management of affairs to competent ministers. So the interests of the country went from bad to worse. By 1763 France was bereft of her colonies,[1] discredited in Europe, and was tottering on the verge of national bankruptcy. The sole hope of the notorious Louis XV and his fellow pleasure seekers was to put off the day of settlement. "After us the deluge" was the picturesque and prophetic statement of the king's favorite, Madame de Pompadour (pôN-pȧ-dōōr′).[2]

1. What colonies? What became of them? 2. Just what was meant?

Austria in her Prime under the Hapsburgs

A Shadow Empire in Germany. — The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) left the several hundred states of Germany independent of each other and of the emperor, with each ruler, great and small, able to make alliances, coin money, and levy taxes in his own way. Some of these German states were only fortified

A Present-Day View of Nuremberg
One of the old free cities of Germany.

towns or feudal estates of a few square miles; others were large nations, such as Austria and Brandenburg-Prussia. The former headed the south German Catholic countries, while the latter was the leader of the north German Protestants.

Over all these German countries and political fragments hung the dim uncertain authority of the Holy Roman Empire,[1] whose emperor, until the end of the farce in 1806, was chosen almost always from the Austrian archdukes.

In spite of the pretense of an empire, the German states of that period often quarreled among themselves, and, in the many dynastic wars of the century, were never all found fighting on the same side. Indeed, Germany had not yet grown out of the

confusion of the feudal age, and seemed on the point of being swallowed up in bits by her neighbors. The hope of national salvation lay in the strength of the two states, Austria and Brandenburg-Prussia. Austria had history, experience, and reputation to support her claims to German leadership; Prussia was an upstart whose place in the sun had to be won by forcible and even high-handed methods.

1. Who started this empire? Of what was it an imitation?

The Hapsburgs Rule Many Disunited Peoples. — Far back in the Middle Ages the family of Hapsburg had gained lands in what is now Austria. By inheritance, marriage, and conquest, this original feudal archduchy of Austria was extended. Two great gains were made in 1526 when the Austrian archduke became king of Bohemia and also of Hungary. From time to time, scattered territories in other parts of Europe, especially in Italy, came under Austrian rule. Of greatest importance in raising the prestige of the Hapsburgs was the fact that from 1438 until 1806 the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were, with only two exceptions, chosen from their family.

Unfortunately for both peoples and rulers, the Hapsburg lands were not a unit in any real way. Austria proper and the neighboring Hapsburg states in Germany had Teutonic populations. The Bohemians were mainly Slavic Czechs (chĕks), though with a considerable sprinkling of Germans. Hungary was controlled by the Magyars, who lorded it over many Slav races within that kingdom. Along the Adriatic were the South Slavs or Yugo-Slavs (yo͞o′gō-slävz); while the Italian provinces formed still another racial group. Every one of these nationalities had its own language and its own peculiar customs and prejudices. The great problem of the Hapsburgs was to weld these diverse peoples into one state, a problem which they never solved.

Prussia Climbs to Prominence

Prussia Becomes a Leader in Germany. — The beginnings of Prussia are to be found in the small country of Brandenburg, a district in north-central Germany. This feudal state was

bought by a Hohenzollern prince in 1415. Brandenburg was cut off from the sea, it lacked great natural resources, and was surrounded by strong, jealous neighbors. Yet through a combination of lucky accidents and skillful management, Prussia grew larger and more powerful until by 1870 she had absorbed about three fifths of German territory and population. Some of the early causes of this final success are worth noting here.

The Brandenburg Gate of Berlin in the Eighteenth Century

(1) The most marked trait of Prussian history from 1640 onward was the way in which everything was made to bend to the ideals of autocratic rulers. Forgetting the old German love of freedom and individualism, the Prussian people meekly accepted the despotism of their princes. Agriculture, commerce, industrial pursuits, and, indeed, science and art were directed and closely regulated by the state.

From a prosperous country the Hohenzollern rulers drew large and steady revenues, which they were free to use in any way they wished because there was no parliament to control taxes or expenditures.

(2) Most of the rulers of Prussia were able and shrewd men, who felt strongly their duty to uphold the Hohenzollern family ideals. Like other kings of that age they would stoop to any act, no matter how dishonorable, if thereby they might gain a little more territory or some added prestige. Each prince was carefully taught the history of his family and made to feel that something was left for him to do for the Hohenzollern honor.

(3) Prussian rulers were industrious and frugal. They were willing to do without the glamour of courts like that of Louis

XIV, in order to build up an army and promote the prosperity of the country.

(4) Prussia's position in Germany seemed to demand a militaristic attitude. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Prussia consisted of three widely separated sections. Far to the east lay the lands of old Prussia, now East Prussia; in central Germany the Brandenburg lands stretched across the middle river valleys; and in western Germany were several duchies and principalities under Hohenzollern rule. To unite these lands by a continuous strip across the country, and to secure control of the rivers all the way to the seacoast, became the ambition of the rulers. Since these things could be accomplished only by conquest, people and rulers had, according to their own ideals, definite, concrete reasons for military aggression.

Russia Begins her Tardy Progress

Russia Gets a Slow Start. — Many Slavic tribes occupied the vast plains of eastern Europe, of which the most important were those known as Russians. In 862 a line of Norse kings had established themselves in the country, and about the year 1000 they adopted the Greek type of Christianity, along with a thin veneer of Greek civilization. Then came a conquest by fierce Mongolian invaders from the East, and for two centuries and a half (1230–1480) Russian life came under the influence of Asiatic rule and Asiatic habits.

Freedom from outside control was finally won through the ability of several chieftains of Moscow, who combined physical strength and courage with a certain amount of shrewdness, and a readiness to show merciless cruelty toward their enemies. After the Eastern or Greek part of the old Roman Empire was finally destroyed through the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the head of the Greek Catholic Church removed to Moscow, and the local Russian ruler in that city adopted the title *czar*, possibly to suggest that he was now the successor of the eastern emperors (Cæsars).[1] In 1613, Michael, of the noble family of Romanov (rō-mä′nôf), became czar and founded a

dynasty which ruled for three hundred years, until in 1917 the last of the czars, Nicholas II, was deposed by revolutionists.

During the seventeenth century the Romanov czars strengthened their position as monarchs in two ways. To satisfy the other noble families they consented to the extension of serfdom, bringing about nine tenths of the population down to a level from which the peasants in England and France had risen some time before. Upon this servile system the flashy and extravagant Russian nobility fattened for two centuries. In the second place the czars ceased to summon the old-time national councils, thus making their own power direct and supreme. So at the very time that Englishmen were wresting from the Stuart kings the control over their government, the Russians were coming under the arbitrary sway of the Romanov czars.

1. What reason for applying the title Cæsar to the emperors at Constantinople?

An Old View of the Kremlin of Moscow

The area is triangular in shape, surrounded by a wall one and a half miles long, which is surmounted by eighteen towers and pierced by five gates.

Peter the Great a Busy Despot, 1689–1725. — It was under Peter the Great that Russia began to be reckoned one of the European nations. Physically Peter was a powerful giant, seven feet in height, with remarkable strength and endurance. He was a feverishly active man, always in a hurry. Far up into manhood he had a child's curiosity about new things, especially

about boats and machinery. Toward other people, Peter was harsh, cruel, and wholly lacking in human sympathy. He was shrewd enough to realize that western Europe was far ahead of Russia in civilization, and he made a long visit abroad to study for himself the life and industries of other countries. Deeply impressed by what he saw, he sent back to Russia a continuous stream of machines, nautical supplies, military equipment, plans for mines and factories, and a large body of foreign workmen and experts. Three aims Peter seemed to have.

(1) He was anxious that landlocked Russia should get access to the sea and thus to the western countries of Europe; or, to put it his way, he wanted to open up windows through the blank walls which pressed her in. The Baltic window was opened after a twenty-year war with Sweden — an achievement which Peter celebrated by building his new westward-looking city, St. Petersburg, now called Leningrad, in a bleak, swampy region near the coast. Only an Oriental despot would have undertaken the task, as the cost in human lives and in money was so frightful. Yet to Peter this dismal spot, for which he made others sacrifice so much, was " paradise." By the whim of the " Autocrat of all the Russias," it became the capital city of his empire. But Peter was unable to conquer from the Turks a southwestern window on the Black Sea. That remained for his successors to accomplish.

(2) Peter, with all his despotic powers, was jealous of any other authority in the state. When the hereditary bodyguard of the czar became rebellious, he executed hundreds of them, many with his own hand, and established in their place a large standing army on the European model. He also created regular departments in the government, divided the country into administrative provinces,[1] and originated that widespread system of spies and police which in the nineteenth century became one of the most iniquitous features of Russian autocracy.

(3) Western industries, manners, and customs were introduced into Russia by the czar in his usual arbitrary fashion. Foreign engineers were used to direct the building of canals, dockyards,

and manufacturing plants. Peter made a vigorous attack on the beards and on the long-skirted Oriental dress of the men, and he and his officers went about the streets roughly cutting off both, in his crusade to create a new Russia. Even the women,

A Group of Russian Peasants
Dressed in the costumes of Little Russia. From an old print.

heretofore shut up in Oriental seclusion, were compelled to mingle with the men in social activities, to dance to Western music, and to accept the beginnings of an education.

Of course not all of Peter's reforms were fully carried out. This could scarcely be expected in a country whose proverbs warned that "Novelty brings calamity." Even such a forceful despot as he could not in twenty years make Westerners out of his Oriental subjects. But from his time onward, Russia was counted among the great powers of Europe, and the possible strength of her resources created uneasiness among other nations.

1. Meaning of "administrative provinces"?

Quarrels of Kings Keep Europe Fighting (1689–1763)

Louis XIV Starts Wars of Plunder. — Although wars over religion ceased with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, yet from that time until 1815 practically every generation saw one or

more wars involving the states of Europe. These contests were usually an outgrowth of some king's ambition, or an attempt to gain territory and influence at the expense of another power. Since personal and family reasons were the causes of these conflicts, they have become known as "dynastic wars."

Blinded by success and flattery and led by overweening ambition, Louis XIV started his series of wars by unwarranted attacks upon his neighbors. Beginning in 1667 and continuing for thirty years, he waged one war after another in his efforts to extend French territory to the Rhine River and to seize the lands of the Dutch; but he was forced to give up his hopes and his claims to most of this territory (1697) in the face of a formidable league of his enemies, led by William III of England.

When Europe was just beginning to breathe freely again, the diplomats were astounded to learn that Louis was seeking to place one of his grandsons upon the Spanish throne, and was reported to have said, "There are no longer any Pyrenees." [1] A combination of the Spanish and French thrones was dreaded by all the rest of Europe, and, besides, other royal families had claims to the Spanish crown. Out of this situation grew the war of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713), in which almost all the other powers united against Louis. The peace of Utrecht (1713) left Louis's grandson, Philip V, on the Spanish throne, but specified that France and Spain should never be united. The Spanish lands in the Netherlands (Belgium) and in Italy were given to Austria, beginning that leadership of Austria in Italy which continued until 1859. England received Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region in North America at the expense of France, and kept the fortress of Gibraltar [2] which she had seized during the war.

The Treaty of Utrecht established the principle that the European states would not allow one of their number to gain an undue ascendancy over the others, but would try to hold all in their relative positions and influence. This idea or principle is known as the "balance of power."

1. What does this expression mean? 2. Show the importance of Gibraltar.

BATTLE OF LA HOGUE, IN 1692

Here the French were defeated by the combined English and Dutch fleets. From a contemporary print.

Frederick the Great of Prussia, Attacked and Victorious. — The "balance of power" theory suited the eighteenth-century autocrats when it was invoked to keep "the other fellow" from playing the robber; but all were ready to forget it when their own chance for plunder came. So when Maria Theresa (mȧ-rī′ȧ tĕ-rē′sȧ) became heir to the Hapsburg realms in 1740, there was a scramble for the Austrian possessions. The other rulers thought that a mere woman could not possibly hold together the scattered lands of the Hapsburgs.[1] Frederick the Great of Prussia set an example to the other princes by seizing Silesia (sī-lē′shĭ-ȧ), one of the richest and most valuable of the Austrian provinces. This robbery brought on the war of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), in which various allies came to the aid of each side. Maria Theresa showed unexpected skill, and was loyally supported by the people of her several kingdoms. The war closed with the Austrian territories intact except for Silesia, which Frederick annexed permanently to Prussia.

The Austrian Succession War had shown that the fresh, aggressive strength of the newly created kingdom of Prussia was a new threat to the balance of power. In the face of this danger the century-old feud between Hapsburg and Bourbon was for the time buried, while the other Continental countries joined in an effort to overwhelm Frederick and to keep upstart Prussia[2] within bounds. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763), which resulted, proved to be one of the important wars of history.

Prussia, attacked by Austria, France, and Russia, found her only ally in Great Britain, who furnished Frederick liberal financial aid, because she wished to keep France busy on the Continent while she attacked French colonies in America and India.

Frederick performed wonders in the field and in organizing the strength of his kingdom, but was hopelessly overmatched by the superior numbers of his enemies. Death itself was sweet, he said, in comparison to such a life as his. When England withdrew her help at the darkest moment in his fortunes, it seemed as if the end was near. At this point, however, Frederick was

FREDERICK THE GREAT AT A BESIEGED ENEMY TOWN
Facsimile of an engraving of the eighteenth century.

saved from ruin by the death of Czarina Elizabeth of Russia, one of his bitterest personal enemies. The new czar was a great admirer of Frederick, and, although deposed by his wife within six months, he ruled long enough to withdraw his country from the alliance against Prussia. Soon after this the war-weary nations made peace.

1. What were the chief lands of the Hapsburgs? 2. Could Prussia be fairly called an upstart? Give reasons.

Why the Seven Years' War was Important. — Prussia was no longer one of the petty states of Germany. Beating back all continental Europe, the Hohenzollern family had fought its way to a position equal with the Hapsburgs and Bourbons. From that day Prussia, because of her military strength and prestige, had to be considered one of the great European states.

While this contest was being fought out in Europe, England, under the guidance of William Pitt, the Elder, had been busy seizing the French colonies in America, and had defeated the French leaders in India, where the rival trading companies of the two countries were colliding. The foundations of the British Empire were laid in the victories of Wolfe at Quebec and Clive

at Plassey (pläs'ē), India, during the Seven Years' War. France, which for once had joined with the Hapsburgs, had suffered only reverses. Despoiled of her colonies and bankrupt at home, she soon drifted into the terrible whirlpool of the great Revolution.[1]

1. Why was the Seven Years' War important in American history?

A Group of Benevolent Despots. — Between 1763 and the close of the century, some of the European countries were fortunate enough to have kings of a superior type who, because of their enlightened rule, have been called "benevolent despots." Frederick the Great in Prussia, Joseph II, son of Maria Theresa, in Austria, Louis XVI in France, Charles III in Spain, and lesser princes in other states — all felt that a divine right to reign carries with it a duty to rule well. They seemed at length to realize that their own personal happiness could best be found in advancing the prosperity and well-being of their subjects. This led them to plan or to adopt many economic reforms as well as some civil and political reforms. Yet with all their good intentions, they were truly despots. They would not share the powers of government with their subjects. They believed that kings knew far better than the people what was best for the nation.[1]

1. Were they right or wrong in this opinion? Give reasons.

Poland is Robbed of her Independence, 1772–1795. — This account of the despotisms of the eighteenth century may be closed with the story of one deed which shows how shallow was the benevolence of the despots of the time.

Wedged in between Germany and Russia lay the far-extended Slavic state of Poland. Once it had been great and powerful, and Polish kings had ruled over a realm stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. But in 1572 the crown was made elective. Since the Polish nobles, who did the electing, were usually unable to agree upon one of their own number as king, they chose various foreign princes to rule over them.[1] For two hundred years the country was the victim of internal squabbles, civil wars, and foreign interventions, while the great bulk of the people were serfs on the lands of the nobles.

Being weak and disunited, Poland became an easy prey to the robber states surrounding her. In 1772, at the suggestion of the unscrupulous Frederick the Great,[2] the rulers of Prussia, Russia, and Austria helped themselves to large slices of Polish territory, — Maria Theresa protesting privately against the partition, but afraid that if she refused her portion it would go to her two rivals.

Partition of Poland

A second partition took place in 1793. Finally, in 1795, despite the heroic fight led by Kosciusko (kŏs-ĭ-ŭs′kō),[3] the remaining lands and people of Poland were distributed among the three greedy confederates. In this tragic way one of the oldest states in Europe disappeared from the map, and Russia licked her chops over the lion's share of the spoils.[4]

1. Are foreign rulers generally satisfactory rulers? Reasons. 2. Why is Frederick called unscrupulous? 3. What else do you know about Kosciusko? 4. How long did Russia keep her share of Poland?

Problem and Reference Work

1. Compare the workings of the divine right theory in France and in England at the time that Louis XIII and Louis XIV were ruling in France and the Stuarts in England.

2. Reference: Hassall, *Louis XIV*, pp. 82–88. Describe Louis XIV as a man. Does this author's account make you feel more friendly or more hostile toward Louis?

3. In the same book, pp. 311 ff., read of the hardships of the French people due to the extravagance and wars of the king.

4. In Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. II, pp. 319 ff., read the plan of Frederick the Great's father for the boy's education and some of the boy's correspondence with his "dear papa."

5. Read Cheyney, *Short History of England*, Sections 506–508. Tell clearly how William Pitt won the Seven Years' War for England.

6. In an autocracy, why do people other than the autocrat himself generally control the policies of the government? Think this out well.

7. Using Morfill, *Poland* (consult the index), read the story of Kosciusko's heroic efforts to save Poland. Then see if you feel the force of the quotation, "Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell."

Reading List

Adams, G. B., *Growth of the French Nation*. Ch. 12, How the Bourbons made laws.

Haaren and Poland, *Famous Men of Modern Times*. Ch. 14, Richelieu. Ch. 17, Louis XIV. Ch. 21, Peter the Great. Ch. 29, Kosciusko.

Hassall, Arthur, *Louis XIV*. Ch. 3, Louis XIV as a man and as a worker. Ch. 9, Effects of the Huguenot emigration. Ch. 11, Louis XIV at the height of his glory.

McKinley, Howland, and Dann, *World History in the Making*. Chs. 30, 31, 32.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I. Ch. 5, Why Poland was an easy prey; How Poland was dismembered.

CHAPTER VII

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION EXPANDS OVERSEAS

Europeans Learn More about the Earth

Columbus Begins an Era of Discovery. — As a seaman's feat the famed voyage of Columbus in 1492 was eclipsed by Magellan's trip across the Pacific; as a commercial achievement its puny return of gaily colored birds, strange plants, and barbarous Indians was outdistanced by the rich cargoes brought home from the East Indies by Da Gama, Cabral, (kä-bräl′), and other Portuguese adventurers of that time.[1]

The trip of Columbus across the western sea was a piece of real heroism, however, because the discoverer was ready to venture his own life, and the lives and fortunes of his friends, upon his firm belief that the earth is round.[2] His venture was epoch-making in showing that there was land to the westward of Europe within sailing distance for courageous mariners. Even though Columbus believed until his death, in 1506, that the new lands he had reached were part of Asia, his journeys stirred other men to explore the western regions where they hoped to reach the riches of the Indies.

Within a few years scores of voyages had been made into the West. Gradually the coast line of North and South America was explored, and at length Magellan's voyage made clear the real size of the globe and the position of America between Europe and Asia.[3] By the year 1600 the outline of all the continents was known except the Arctic regions of North America and Asia, and the vast island of Australia, which had not yet been seen by Europeans. Thus within a century after the voyages of Columbus, and largely as a result of them, Europeans came to know the world as it actually is.

1. What made the East Indian trade so valuable? 2. What people, before Columbus, felt sure the earth is round? 3. How did the journey of Magellan prove more than Columbus had proved?

Exploring the Great Continents. — The strongest incentive for the early exploration of the American lands came from the desire to find a new route to Asia. But the great profits arising from the conquest of Mexico by Cor'tes naturally led men to believe that similar wealth might be found in other parts of the New World. Far into the interior of North and South America bands of Spaniards forced their way in the face of perils from the natives, from disease, and from an almost unbearable climate. In Peru alone did they repeat the Mexican harvest of the precious metals; but everywhere they gathered much geographical knowledge, and, in some cases, opened the way for permanent settlements. De Soto and Coronado (kō-rō-nä'thō), for instance, penetrated hundreds of miles into the interior of what is now the United States in the southeast and the southwest; and in 1541 a Spanish explorer, crossing the Andes in South America, floated down the entire length of the Amazon River.[1]

Africa, on the other hand, was not opened up to Europeans until the nineteenth century. Trading stations and shelter ports had been, indeed, established along the coasts, but the settlers rarely got out of sight of the sands of the seaside, depending upon Arab and native traders to bring out from the unknown interior the supplies of ivory, gold, and slaves which the traders demanded. For centuries the Dark Continent remained a mystery.

Asia, too, like Africa, was touched by Europeans mainly along the coasts. The powerful princes of India, of China, and, for a time, even of Japan, allowed the Europeans to establish warehouses and trading posts at convenient harbors, but they discouraged attempts to enter the interior of the continent. India, with its divided political condition, its many valuable products, and its strong demand for European goods, first fell before the western powers. But not until the nineteenth century did China and Japan open their doors to Europeans.

1. What long-continued results can you trace from the explorations of De Soto? Of Coronado?

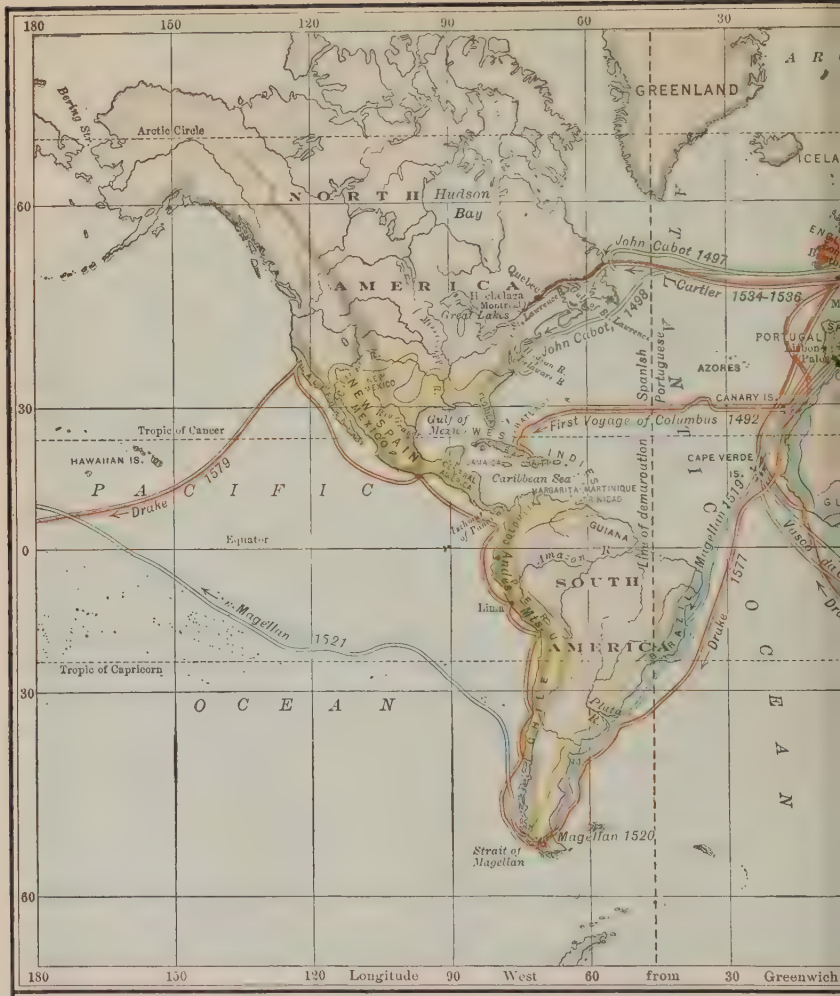
Englishmen Explore Remote Seas. — After many unsuccessful attempts to find a route to the Far East north of America or

Europe, Englishmen turned from the north, defied the Spaniards and Portuguese, and under Drake circumnavigated the globe. They established trading posts and settlements in Asia, in the West Indies, and especially in North America. During the eighteenth century English mariners sailed across the distant oceans. One of the most important of these mariners was Captain James Cook, who, between 1768 and 1779, explored much of the coast of Australia and New Zealand; discovered the Hawaiian (hä-wī′yăn) Islands and many other groups in the Pacific; and, sailing along the coast of North America, demonstrated that there could be no passage around the continent south of the latitude of Be′ring Strait. Cook's voyages gave England its claim to Australia and led within a few years (1788) to the founding of the first English settlement in that region.

Spain and Portugal Found Colonial Empires

Portugal and Spain Divide the New Lands. — For nearly a century after the voyages of Columbus and Da Gama, Spain and Portugal were the two leading colonial and commercial countries of the world. Spain held undisputed sway in North America, the West Indies, the Pacific region, and all of South America except the eastern part of Brazil. On the other hand Portugal was recognized as owner of Brazil, the entire western and eastern coasts of Africa, the coasts of Asia, and the East Indian islands. This plan of division meant that these two small European states claimed dominion over five sixths of the globe and aimed to keep out all other Christian nations from these vast regions.

The Portuguese Empire at its Best. — Outside of Brazil, Portugal did not encourage her people to settle in the colonies. Instead, she hoped to keep a monopoly of the trade with most of Asia and Africa.[1] Government agents were sent to India, China, Japan, the Spice Islands and other points in the East Indies, to look after the Portuguese trade with those regions. Only vessels with royal licenses were allowed to sail for the East.



REFERENCE

Spanish possessions

Portuguese claims

THE WORL

Early Voyag

Lands explored by t

ut 1600

iscovery

ish and Portuguese

Scale of Miles
On the Equator
0 500 1000 1500 2000
On the 30th Parallel
0 500 1000 1500 2000
On the 60th Parallel
0 500 1000 1500 2000

Even charts and sailing directions were kept secret, so that no one but the few officials might know how to navigate in the Far East. So the Portuguese empire, while covering thousands

SWIFT SHIP USED BY THE PORTUGUESE AND THE NATIVES IN THE EAST INDIES

Ships of this type were used both in commerce and in war. From a sixteenth-century print.

of miles of coast line on the map, was weak because of the smallness of its European population, the corrupt character of the agents sent out, and the exclusive emphasis upon commerce. It was a fragile empire which could never withstand an attack by an active power.

1. What gave Portugal her claim to the new route to the East?

Spain Becomes the Leading Colonial Power. — Far different from the Portuguese colonial empire was that of Spain. Situated in America (with the exception of the Philippines), it had been established in lands sparsely occupied by Indian tribes. These natives did not present the numbers, civilization, or military power which were found by the Portuguese in India and other parts of the East. The American Indians were far from being a people with whom a profitable trade could be developed.[1]

One thing, however, turned the barren discoveries of Columbus

into profit,[2] and led the Spanish government to colonize in the New World. This was the finding of gold in America. The precious metal was seen first in small quantities in the West Indies; then the great hoards seized by Cortes from the natives of Mexico aroused the cupidity of Spaniards from the king down to the poorest knight or nobleman. The success of the Pizarro (pĭ-zär′rō) brothers in Peru followed, and thereafter a steady stream of gold and silver poured from the mines of the New World. The Spanish king, anxious to increase his one-fifth share of the precious metals, was willing to have his subjects migrate to America and establish colonies there.

The Spanish occupation of America was a real conquest of the country; it covered the West Indies and Central America, and extended likewise far into the interior of South and North America. In these regions many Spaniards settled as the ruling class, and some of them intermarried with the subject peoples. The Spanish language, the Roman Catholic religion, and despotic forms of government similar to those of the mother country were extended to the colonies.

Instead of destroying the natives or driving them away from the settlements as the English colonists did, the Spaniards lived among the aborigines, taught them to dwell in villages, to perform regular work, and to adopt many elements of Spanish civilization. The preserving and civilizing of the native stock has justly been called a remarkable yet little appreciated feature of the Spanish colonial system.[3]

1. Why? 2. In what ways were the discoveries of Columbus barren? 3. Why is there much more Indian blood in South America than in North America to-day?

Why the Spanish and Portuguese Empires were Eclipsed. — Spain and Portugal were the first European states to build up colonial empires, but their leadership was short-lived. For this there were several reasons. The Spaniards were so eager to find gold and silver that they paid very little attention to commerce with the colonies or to manufactures at home.[1] The overbearing attitude of Spain in European affairs made many enemies;

while the long wars of Philip II [2] cost more than all the gold of the Indies and drained the country of population and resources. Portugal's far-flung empire, with its fifteen thousand miles of coast line, was one that could not be protected except by an enormous navy. This the small population and meager resources of Portugal could not support. Besides, the religious friction of that period in Europe led many English and Dutch Protestants to believe that they were advancing their faith when they plundered a Portuguese East Indian port or captured a Spanish galleon loaded with bullion.

Finally, the rise of strong national governments in England, France, and the Netherlands brought a keen sense of rivalry between these new, vigorous states and the old, declining colonial powers. It seemed absurd that the entire trade with the tropics should be controlled by only two nations, and those by no means the most populous in Europe. It seemed a national disgrace for Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Dutchmen that Spain and Portugal should hold arbitrary control over the entire Indian Ocean region, over all the waters and shores of the Pacific, and even over the American coasts.

1. Were the cargoes of gold and silver more valuable or less valuable than commerce would have been? 2. Name two of Philip II's wars.

The Dutch, English, and French Become Colonizers

The Dutch Develop Commerce. — During the long struggle of the Dutch for independence, they attacked the colonies of Spain and of Portugal as well, for the crowns of the two nations were temporarily united by Philip II. Within a few years the Dutch had seized nearly all the Portuguese stations in the East Indies, which they have retained to this day.[1] The Dutch, like their predecessors, did not attempt to form real European colonies in the eastern regions; they were content to control the natives, and to enjoy the commerce in spices and other tropical products.

Not satisfied with this trade in the Far East, the Dutch also organized a West India Company to compete with the Spaniards

in the American regions. It was this company which founded New Amsterdam — now New York.

Thus the Dutch defied both colonial powers; they completely overthrew the empire of Portugal in the East, and became a sturdy rival of Spain in the West.

1. Find on a map the Dutch colonial empire of to-day.

England Enters the Colonial Field. — During the reign of Elizabeth, Englishmen for the first time directly challenged the colonial control of Spain and Portugal. Drake's voyage around the world (1577–1580) was followed soon by the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588), which gave evidence of the weakness of Spain's power. From 1607 onward, many English settlements were founded within the regions claimed by Spain. Virginia, the New England colonies, Maryland, New Jersey, and the Carolinas had been established, and tens of thousands of Englishmen had found congenial homes in these temperate regions before Spain was willing to recognize their right to exist at all on the North American continent (1670). As early as 1600 England had organized an East India Company, which for a time joined hands with the Dutch in attacking the Portuguese posts. Quarreling over the spoil, they at length agreed to divide the eastern regions — England promising to confine her commercial enterprises to the peninsula of India, while the Dutch should exploit the possibilities of the islands of the East.

French Colonizing Ventures. — Though the French made early explorations under Verrazano (vĕr-rät-sä′nō) (1524) and Cartier (kär-tyā′) (1534–1540), these ventures lacked permanent results. Even the first colonies in Nova Scotia and in the St. Lawrence region (1604–1608) [1] were soon left almost helpless by the kings and people of France. Not until the reign of Louis XIV were colonial matters treated seriously. Then France awakened to the value of the new colonial lands and feverishly entered the race with the English and the Dutch. In North America the explorations of La Salle (lå sål′) gave the basis for a claim to the great Mississippi region; in the East, especially India, a new French company began the century-long struggle with the

ROCHEFORT, A FRENCH SHIPPING AND TRADING PORT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
From an old engraving.

English; while in the West Indies a foothold was obtained for the establishment of sugar colonies. Thus, at the time when the victory of the English and Dutch over the two earlier colonizing powers seemed most complete, the French began to demand a share in the new worlds.

1. Who were the chief leaders in founding New France?

Decline of Spain and Portugal. — By the middle of the seventeenth century the commercial and colonial monopolies of Spain and Portugal were broken down. The coasts of Asia, Africa, and America were now dotted by settlements of many nationalities; the exclusive trade in tropical products was also shared by other maritime powers. It was especially in North America that the new European colonies succeeded best. Here the old vague claims of New Spain were confronted by a New France, a New England, a New Netherland, and even a New Sweden. Whether these diverse colonies could exist side by side remained to be seen.

A New Commercial Age

More Stable Colonizing. — The year 1600 marks the beginning of the end of the old colonizing systems of Spain and Portugal, followed by the new colonial policy of England, Holland, and France. The new policy was founded on a truer economic basis and was marked by the emigration of thousands of Europeans to many parts of the world. In these distant regions the citizens of each nation retained the national traits of the home land and built up colonies resembling their mother countries. They earned their livelihood, not only by trade and commerce, but also by making permanent settlements for the development of the natural resources of newly opened lands. In many cases, especially in the West Indies and North America, they used large numbers of negro slaves imported from Africa.

Expanding Trade with the Tropics. — Few things so clearly separate the Middle Ages from the modern period as the change in people's food. In the earlier period a monotonous diet of porridges and stews was only occasionally made palatable "by a charitable mantle of Oriental seasoning." But in the two

centuries following 1600, Europe learned to use many tropical vegetable products. Tea, coffee, and chocolate became highly esteemed and generally used beverages. Sugar, another tropical product almost unknown in the Middle Ages, became important in the diet of Europeans.[1] The raising of sugar was now begun in the West Indies by the Spaniards — an industry which in later years grew to such importance that those islands were known as the "sugar colonies." Rice, too, grown in the southern English colonies, found a ready market in Europe.

1. In ancient and medieval times, what sweet took the place of sugar?

Other New Goods Enter into Commerce. — Tobacco, which brought success to the struggling Virginia colony, soon became a staple article of trade. Cotton cloth had for centuries been brought to Europe from the Far East. Later on, the raw cotton was imported and woven in England and the Netherlands. The raising of cotton in the West was begun first in the Mediterranean region, from which it was extended early in the sixteenth century to the West Indies. Cotton did not, however, become a leading product in the New World until about 1800.

Growing importance was attached to the trade in naval stores, — masts, pitch, tar, turpentine, — as the forests of England and western Europe were becoming exhausted. Supplies were sought in Scandinavia and Russia, until England found in the American colonies an almost unlimited source. Dyestuffs, medicinal articles such as licorice and quinine, and all kinds of spices also furnished profits for the merchants of the day.

Distant Trade Becomes a Necessity. — Thus, from 1600 onward, Europe depended more and more upon other parts of the world for many of the necessities of life. The aristocratic pearls, precious stones, silks, shawls, and rugs were now displaced in importance by the popular tea, coffee, and chocolate, by the democratic tobacco leaf,[1] by cane sugar, molasses, and their product, rum, and by raw materials such as cotton, dyes, and timber. In return for these products Europe exported wool and woolen goods, linen fabrics, and iron and steel tools and utensils.

1. Why is tobacco called democratic? What adjective would you use?

How European Nations Treated their Colonies. — As the settlements in North and South America and in the West Indies grew in numbers and wealth, they came to be prized mainly as sources of profit for the mother country. The colonies were encouraged to produce raw materials which would not compete with those of the European country, but they were forbidden to build up manufactures, because these would injure the business of producers at home. Great empires "were established" said Adam Smith, "for the sole purpose of raising up a nation of customers who should be obliged to buy from the shops" of the mother country.

Then, too, the trade between the colonies and Europe was usually limited closely to the citizens of the mother country and sometimes to only a few favored merchants. Foreign vessels arriving at a colony of another nation, even when driven to port by storms or by dire need, were liable to be seized. The English Navigation Acts, although more liberal than those of the other states, were based on the same principle, that the business interests of the colonists were to be regulated so as to be of most advantage to the mother country.[1]

1. Why is this "mercantile" plan condemned? Give definite reasons.

How European Colonies were Governed. — Naturally each European state set up in its colonies a plan of government like that of the home country. The only important exception to this policy was found in India and the East Indies, where English, Dutch, and French commercial companies ruled with the sword over both fellow countrymen and natives in order to obtain a favorable balance upon their ledgers.

French and Spanish colonies in America were governed on the principles of absolutism. Complete powers were given to officials sent out from Europe, who ruled without allowing any expression of popular opinion in the colonies.[1] Indeed, when one governor of New France attempted to start a representative assembly, he was sharply rebuked and ordered to drop the plan. The Roman Catholic Church was the only form of Christianity permitted in the French and Spanish colonies.[2] In Spanish America

especially the clergy directed education and played a very important part in the life of the colonies.

In English America a more liberal spirit prevailed. In every one of the thirteen colonies the people were allowed to elect representatives to assemblies [3] which made laws, levied local taxes, and sometimes even appointed officials. A very considerable part of the population of the British colonies was made up of people who did not agree with the Church of England, although that church was recognized as the state religion in seven of the thirteen colonies.

In general, it may be said that the character of the respective home governments was reflected in the colonies in a magnified form. As in the French and Spanish colonies absolutism became more arbitrary where colonial officers were far removed from the control of their despotic masters at home, so in the British colonies representative government grew more liberal and more democratic when relieved of the restraints of British aristocracy.[4]

1. How much did public opinion count in Spain and France at that time? Why? 2. Why? 3. Where did the English colonists get the plan of elective assemblies? 4. Then what was the most democratic section of the world at that time? Give reasons.

Great Britain Wins Leadership in the Colonial Field

The Colonies as they were in 1750. — During the first half of the eighteenth century colonial rivalries became more and more acute until at length they caused war between several of the nations. In India, the French and the British struggled for ascendancy over the native princes, with the advantage usually resting on the French side. In the West Indies, forbidden trade and smuggling were common among the many islands, divided as they were under the flags of five different nations.

On the North American continent, Spain and France had conflicting claims; Englishmen and Frenchmen alike coveted eagerly the Ohio Valley; and far in the north, French traders competed with the agents of the English Hudson's Bay Company for the valuable fur trade.

In South America, Spanish authority extended over all the continent with the exception of Portuguese Brazil and Dutch and French Guiana.

The African coast was dotted with European trading posts. Portugal still controlled the greatest extent of coast; but the highly profitable slave trade between Africa and America had been seized by English and Dutch traders.

A Comparison of the Two Great Rivals. — The colonial contest was at first only a side issue in the series of general wars in

A View of Fort George in 1740

The city of New York can be seen on the left of the picture. From an old painting.

Europe during the eighteenth century, in which Louis XIV and, later, Frederick the Great figured so conspicuously. But soon after 1750 the colonial question had become the main cause of dispute between Great Britain and France. The conflict of the great Seven Years' War (1756–1763) was now waged in three principal theaters: India and its coasts, the West Indian seas, and the continent of North America. The British fleet was superior in strength to that of France, but its value for distant expeditions was lessened by the need of maintaining a strong force in the home waters to protect the British coasts. Thus it often happened that the French had a temporary superiority in the Caribbean Sea, or the Indian Ocean, or the North Atlantic.

NORTH AMERICA
in 1750
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800 1000
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Hudson Bay
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
Arctic Circle
Mackenzie R.
Nelson R.
Columbia R.
Colorado R.
ROCKY MTS.
LOUISIANA
Missouri R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Mississippi
Ohio R.
Great Lakes
NEW FRANCE
St. Lawrence R.
Quebec
Montreal
Ft. Ticonderoga
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Ft. Duquesne
Ft. Necessity 1754
Appalachian Mts.
Charleston
St. Augustine
FLORIDA
NEWFOUNDLAND
CAPE BRETON I.
Louisburg
NOVA SCOTIA
BERMUDA IS.
BAHAMA IS.
WEST INDIES
Havana
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
SANTO DOMINGO
PORTO RICO
Caribbean Sea
Gulf of Mexico
Tropic of Cancer
New Orleans
Santa Fe
NEW MEXICO
UPPER CALIFORNIA
LOWER CALIFORNIA
NEW SPAIN
MEXICO
Rio Grande
Sierra Madre
CENTRAL AMERICA
ISTHMUS OF PANAMA
Panama
NEW GRANADA
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
Equator
Amazon R.
Andes
PERU
EASTERN
NORTH AMERICA
in 1783
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
CANADA
NEW BRUNSWICK
MAINE
NEW YORK
PENN.
DEL.
Mass. Conn. and Va. Claims
Pittsburgh
UNITED STATES
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
S. CAR.
GEORGIA
Longitude West from Greenwich
REFERENCE
British
French
Spanish
United States

On the continent of North America the population of the British colonies in 1750 numbered about 1,400,000, while the French had about one fifteenth of that number.[1] But the autocratic French government had the advantage of absolute control over the men and resources of New France, while the British generals and governors were compelled to ask for taxes and troops from the jealous representative assemblies of thirteen colonies. The French enjoyed a further advantage in their widespread alliances with the Indians.[2] Yet in the long run the superior numbers of the British assured their success.

1. Why had the French fallen so far behind? 2. Why were the French on better terms with the Indians?

British Colonial Supremacy is Established, 1763. — The treaty of Utrecht in 1713 had begun the transfer of French colonies to Great Britain. But it was the Seven Years' War which proved fatal to French colonial interests. At the close of that struggle France surrendered all her colonies on the North American continent. Great Britain received Canada and the lands east of the Mississippi, while Spain was given the almost unpopulated and unexplored regions west of that river. Spain, on her part, ceded East and West Florida to the British. In India, France agreed to retire from leadership over the natives and to leave the exploitation of that vast country to the English East India Company. Only in the West Indies did France retain any colonies. So the ambitious French colonial empire disappeared, until rebuilt long afterward in new regions.

England emerged from the struggle victorious over all competitors. Spain was decrepit and her colonial trade languishing. Her possessions, as well as those of the Dutch and Portuguese, lay largely in the tropical and semitropical regions where Europeans found the climate enervating and dangerous. Great Britain occupied the temperate North American lands whose climate, similar to that of Europe, encouraged the highest activity of body and mind. Soon she would add to her empire the equally hospitable lands of Australia and New Zealand. Thus, much of the temperate regions available for colonization and

for the development of a high civilization was taken up by Englishmen. So England stood forward in 1763 as the greatest colonizing and commercial nation of the world.

Great Britain Loses the American Colonies

British American Colonies after 1763. — At the close of the Seven Years' War, Great Britain had in America a chain of twenty-eight colonies, which stretched from the tropical West Indian Islands to the frozen Arctic wastes. The northern colonies recently taken from France were peopled mainly by Frenchmen who were content with their new masters, especially since the British government did not interfere with their religion or local customs.[1]

At the other end of the chain, in the British West Indies, there was a loyal population of planters managing slave plantations. These planters, engaged in the raising of sugar, had been greatly favored by the British parliament and king, and had no cause of complaint against the home government.

In the middle of the chain were thirteen vigorous colonies lying along the Atlantic seaboard. The people of these colonies had neither the docile character nor the economic interests which would hold them to England in case of serious dispute.[2] And serious dispute arose almost at once after 1763.

1. Did England generally try to dictate to her colonists what their religion should be? 2. Give meaning of this sentence in your own words.

Causes of the American Revolution. — It has been said that the Americans "rebelled from England because they were such good Englishmen"; but, like most attempts to explain history in a phrase, there is only a certain amount of truth in the statement. The colonists had carried to America the liberal principles of the English system, centering in the representative assembly. Under the democratic equality of frontier life [1] these ideas had developed into a degree of self-government which may rightly be called republican. In old England, aristocracy, class interests, and political corruption were powerful, but in the new England across the water there were to be found fewer distinctions

of wealth and class, less political dishonesty, and a greater degree of simplicity in life and government.

In the growing struggle for their rights, the colonists were usually supported in Great Britain by that group of reformers who wished to make the British government more nearly representative of the people. Thus on both sides of the Atlantic there was a union of sentiment among those who favored popular government. These friends of liberalism in both lands were known as Whigs.[2]

Opposed to the Whigs both in Great Britain and America were the Tories, or the " King's friends " of George III's time, who favored the increase of royal power and a stronger control over the colonies. This Tory element urged taxation of the colonies by parliament, stringent enforcement of the navigation laws, and the strengthening of British authority in the colonies.

Now that France had relinquished New France to Great Britain, and Spain had ceded Florida, there was no fear of foreign attack. The English colonists, relieved from this bugbear of foreign aggression, adopted a more independent attitude toward the mother country, and openly opposed the Tory policy of George III and his " friends." [3]

1. What had frontier life to do with it? How? 2. Name one great Whig leader in England. 3. What was George III's way of controlling the government of England?

The Tax Issue is Joined. — Probably never in history had three million people been so well governed at such little cost to themselves as were the people of the thirteen colonies before the Revolution. The total annual cost of the thirteen colonial governments did not much exceed $300,000. There were scarcely any poor to be supported; only small payments were required in some of the colonies for the church; no large body of priests and friars needed support; no standing armies were maintained; and no elaborate official entertainments and ceremonies were customary, such as were seen in the French and Spanish colonies. There was no taxation at all for the benefit of the mother country, except duties on a few imports.[1]

Upon these liberty-loving and almost untaxed people, the British government determined, after the peace of 1763, to quarter a standing army.[2] The cost of this was to be divided between the colonies and the mother country in the proportion of about one to three. A stamp tax (1765) was levied, and when this was successfully opposed by the colonists, new taxes were levied on certain imported articles (1767).

To these taxes the colonists objected, because they believed that under the English constitution taxes could be levied only with the consent of the popular representatives. The colonies, they said, "are not, and from their local circumstances, cannot be represented in the House of Commons of Great Britain." Hence they held that the power of taxation rightfully belonged only to their own colonial assemblies.[3] Such arguments had no effect upon the king and his friends; but the refusal of the colonists to trade with Great Britain brought appeals to parliament from English merchants and manufacturers.[4] These secured the repeal of all the taxes except that upon tea.

1. A paragraph worth restudying carefully. 2. Why did such an army appear necessary? Why unnecessary? 3. By whom had the colonists been taxed before this? 4. Why did the colonists refuse to buy goods which they really wanted?

Belated Attempts to Enforce the Trade Acts. — The Navigation Acts, by which England hoped to keep the principal part of the colonial trade in her own hands, had, up to 1764, been very weakly enforced. Smuggling was very extensive, often carried on with the connivance of the British officials, and an enormous illicit trade had grown up.

Yet from 1764 to 1774 Great Britain attempted to enforce rigidly her almost forgotten restrictions upon colonial exports and imports.[1] The customs service was improved; admiralty courts, trying cases without juries, were established; naval commanders under new oaths entered with alacrity into the hunt for smugglers; and "writs of assistance"[2] aided the officers in finding smuggled goods. Of the causes of the Revolution none was more influential, perhaps, than this attempt of Great Britain to break down a profitable commerce[3] which she herself,

by her former laxness, had permitted to grow to enormous proportions.

1. Why had the British government permitted such scant obedience? 2. What were these writs? 3. Commerce largely with whom?

Tightened Imperial Authority in the Colonies. — While Great Britain was attempting to tax the colonists and enforce the trade laws, she — or rather the British king — was determined that more respect should be shown to British officials. A standing army was quartered in the colonies; the governors and judges were to receive salaries independent of colonial legislatures; the English Church was strengthened.

In carrying out these policies the British aroused direct con-

A View of Boston Harbor and British Ships Landing their Troops
From an old print.

flicts with the colonists in North Carolina, Virginia, New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. At length, to punish Boston for the destruction of tea, parliament passed the so-called "intolerable acts," closing the port of Boston and curtailing the self-government of Massachusetts. These acts served to unite all the colonies and brought on open revolution.

Results of the American Revolution. — (1) By the war a new nation was created, and a novel experiment in government was launched.[1] The English representative system in America was

separated from hereditary monarchy, and a republic was founded, which in population and area outdid anything the modern world had known.

(2) Great Britain lost the choicest of her colonies, but retained almost to the old extent her trade in manufactured goods with the United States. Efforts of American diplomats in France, Spain, and Holland to turn that trade toward the Continent were dismal failures. For many years England almost monopolized the American market, while she was relieved of the cost of protecting her former colonies.

(3) A large number of American Loyalists who remained attached to the British cause were taken to Nova Scotia and to Upper Canada (Ontario). Over fifty thousand Tories were settled in these provinces. This large migration of English-speaking settlers gave them preponderance over the original French colonists and laid the foundation of modern Canada.

(4) Soon after the Revolution, England turned her attention to the remarkable temperate region in the southern seas, made known shortly before by the voyages of Captain Cook. The beginning of a penal settlement was made near Botany Bay (Sydney) in Australia. Free colonists followed, and out of this beginning the Australian Commonwealth of to-day developed.

(5) The American Revolution had a wide influence in encouraging the spread of republican government in other parts of the world. The American experience was a continual inspiration to the French people in their great struggle against the autocracy of Louis XVI in the French Revolution of 1789. The example of revolt also extended from the British to the Spanish colonies. As a result, early in the nineteenth century, all the colonies of Spain in America, except the islands, won their independence.

1. In what ways was the United States a "novel experiment"?

European Colonies when the Nineteenth Century Opened. — Despite the loss of the thirteen colonies, Great Britain stood forth, at the opening of the new century, as the chief colonizing power of Europe. Spain's control over her colonies was about to be lost. The Dutch, indeed, still retained a narrow commercial

control in the East Indies, but the British soon seized South Africa and some of the Dutch territory in Guiana. France had retired from the colonial field, and retained only a few small islands or ports in the East and West Indies. The power of the British fleet, and the home-making qualities of the Anglo-Saxon when settled in temperate climates, had given a large share of the earth's surface to Englishmen. It was not until far in the nineteenth century that the other European states again became active colonial powers.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Think out as many causes as you can to explain the leadership of Great Britain in 1770 in colonies and in commerce.

2. Imagine yourself an English colonist in Massachusetts in 1750. Write a letter to an imaginary friend in Canada or in Cuba, showing the advantages of English colonies over French and Spanish.

3. Reference: Parkman, *Old Régime in Canada*, Vol. II, pp. 15–23. Tell how some of the lonesome Frenchmen in Canada secured French wives.

4. Using Bourne, *Spain in America*, pp. 280 ff., prepare an account of the treatment of slaves in Spanish America.

5. Using the same book, pp. 303–305, describe the Christianization of the Indians in Spanish America.

6. Find what the great Pitt thought of American resistance to British taxation. Consult Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Reading List

Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America*. Ch. 9, The voyage of Magellan. Ch. 18, Negro slavery in Spanish America. Ch. 22, Educational and missionary work of the Spanish.

Cheyney, E. P., *European Background of American History*. Ch. 4, The search for a new route to the East.

Howard, G. E., *Preliminaries of the Revolution*. Ch. 3, English navigation acts. Ch. 18, The Loyalists of the Revolution.

Parkman, Francis, *The Old Régime in Canada, Vol. II*. Ch. 18, Transplanted feudalism in Canada. Ch. 19, French absolutism in Canada.

Webster, W. C., *General History of Commerce*. Ch. 15, The Portuguese as leaders in commerce. Ch. 18, The Dutch as traders.

French Traveling Coach of the Eighteenth Century
Note that the passengers are standing.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

A Decaying Absolutism

An American's View. — Thomas Jefferson wrote from Paris in 1785 to a friend at home, describing the conditions he saw in France: "The people are ground to powder by the vices of the form of government. Of twenty millions of people supposed to be in France, I am of the opinion there are nineteen millions more wretched, more accursed in every circumstance of human existence, than the most conspicuously wretched individual of the whole United States." Out of the condition thus condemned by Jefferson arose that great upheaval known as the French Revolution.[1] The conditions which caused it must now be examined closely.

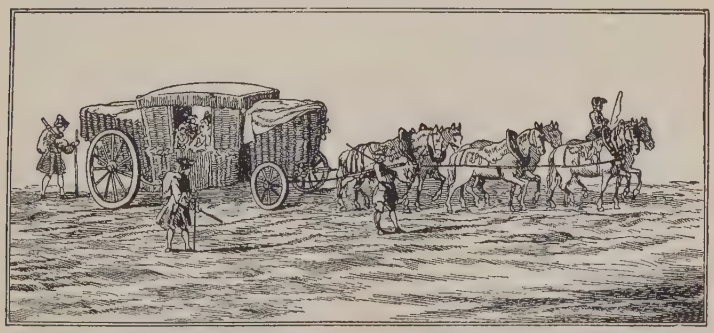
1. Give a simple definition of a revolution.

The Gilded Court at Versailles. — A sketch of the French king and his famous court about 1685 has been given in Chapter VI. Very little change came into that picture during the next hundred years. Versailles was still the center of interest

for all France. The highway, twelve miles long, from Paris to Versailles was constantly crowded with vehicles of business and of pleasure passing to and fro. The whole suburban town of Versailles was occupied in catering to the luxurious desires of the court. The king's household itself numbered four thousand attendants, besides twice as many military officers and guards. For instance, 48 doctors, 75 clergymen, and 128 musicians cared for the health, the religious needs, and the entertainment of the court; and the lackeys numbered 1,458.[1] When a baby daughter was born to the royal pair, eighty persons were at once assigned to wait upon the young princess.

Court life at Versailles was just as stilted as in the time of Louis XIV, with its abundance of formal dinners and receptions, theatrical shows, and stately processions in the parks. Before the courtiers, the king and queen were always on parade, and rarely moved about the palace or grounds without a retinue of at least a hundred attendants.[2] On a trip to a distant palace, the court moved with the luggage and equipment of an army, while all other traffic was driven off the roads. In keeping up this extravagant court, one third of the entire revenue of the government was spent.[3]

1. Who paid for all these? Why? 2. Why do powerful kings generally relish splendor like this? 3. How much of one's income or of a government's income should be spent for appearances?



A More Comfortable Coach of the Same Period
From contemporary drawings.

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. — In 1774, after the death of Louis XV, the least commendable of all the Bourbons,[1] the crown passed to his grandson, Louis XVI. The young king had few of the vices of his notorious predecessor. He was good-natured, well-meaning, and pious; an affectionate husband and father. In private life he would have been rated as an upright gentleman. In less troubled times he might have made an honored and popular king. But now France needed in her king firmness and strength of will to reduce the extravagance of the courtiers and the favors of the privileged classes. For such a work Louis XVI was a complete misfit. "A well-meaning man became the worst of sovereigns."

Marie Antoinette, the queen, was a daughter of the famous Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and as a foreigner was looked upon with suspicion by the French.[2] She had a stronger will than her husband, and during the last years of the reign had much influence in the government. Her influence, however, was rarely used for the good of the country. The queen was woefully ignorant of the problems and needs of the French people. She was, besides, frivolous and pleasure-loving, and surrounded herself with unworthy favorites who wasted much of the hard-wrung taxes of the people.[3]

1. What were the characteristics of the Bourbon family of kings? 2. Why are people likely to be suspicious of foreigners? Is this fair and reasonable? 3. Now describe the character of Louis XVI and of his queen.

A Government of Graft and Favoritism. — The government of France before the Revolution was corrupt and inefficient. In the first place, it neglected its normal duties. In theory, all powers belonged to the king; but since it was really impossible for one man to attend to so many details, the king's power was carried out through a host of appointed officials, high and low, scattered throughout the country. These officials were generally a lazy set, with itching palms.[1] Through corruption, it was always easy to block any local enterprise; it was almost impossible to get it completed. Thus the government was much more likely to obstruct than to carry out public improvements and reforms.[2]

A Fashionable Group of the Eighteenth Century. From a contemporary print.

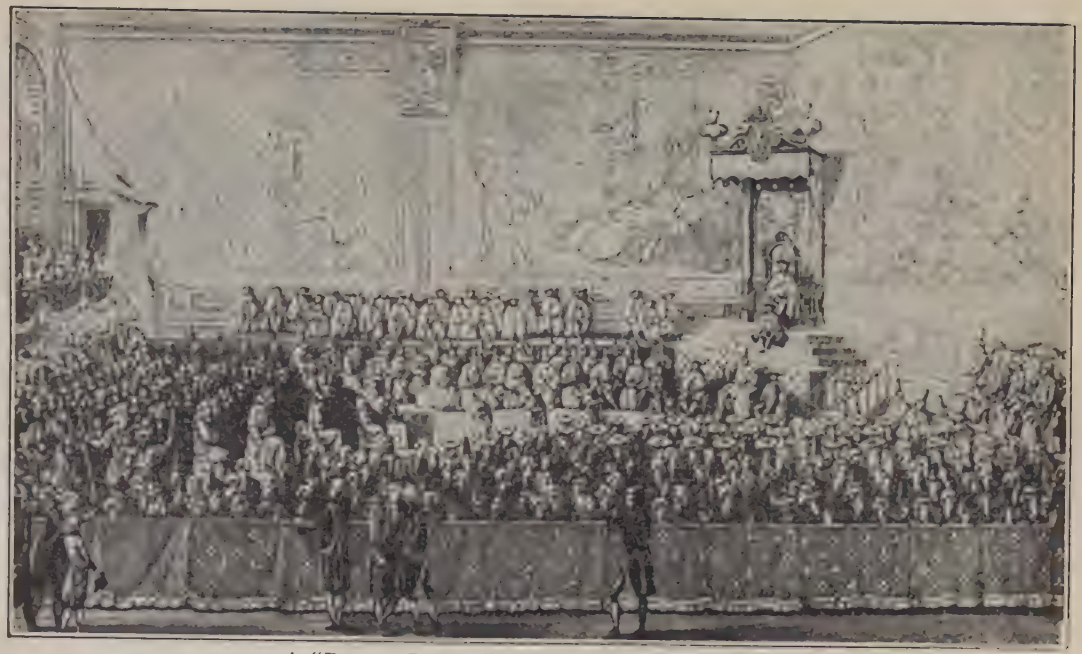
Throughout the government, from top to bottom, the officials used their offices for their own private gain.[3] Around the court many officers served only three months, to provide places for four men in the year, while in the army there was one general to each hundred fifty-seven privates.[4] Offices in the army, the civil service, and the church were sold by the government,[5] and eagerly bought, since by corrupt means the buyers usually made their positions pay for the purchase price, plus a profit. Some of the taxes were gathered by contractors, called "farmers-general," who paid a lump sum to the government, and made as much profit as possible out of the taxes wrung from the people.[6] Pensions ate up a large part of the national revenue. These were granted, not to deserving persons for services rendered, but as the result of "pull," to favored ones among the nobility.[7]

There was no budget system by which the income and expenses might be planned in advance and balanced against each other. Without any regard to the funds on hand, the king at will ordered money paid from the national treasury. From the close of the Seven Years' War down to the Revolution, the government was spending year by year much more than it received. The difference was made up by borrowing at excessive rates of interest, all the time piling up an unreasonably large national debt. The intervention of France in the American Revolution added enormously to this debt. The taxes could not be increased because they were already too burdensome, and the privileged classes, largely exempt from taxes themselves, were unwilling to bear their share of the load.

1. Why were these officials generally lazy? 2. Under what conditions are public officials likely to loaf? 3. Use these words to define "graft." 4. Why? 5. What harm did this do? 6. What have you read about similar tax-contractors (publicans) in Roman history or in the Bible? 7. Who suffers when "pull" controls a government? How?

Gross Inequalities among the French People

Sharp Class Division. — In France before 1789 the population was divided into distinct classes, some of which had many powers



A "Bed of Justice" Held at Versailles in 1776

The king presiding at the registration of a royal decree From an old print.

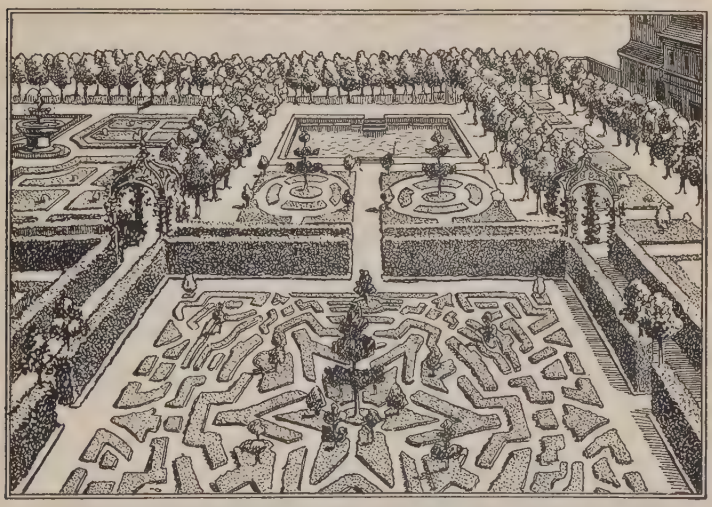
and enjoyed special favors, while others struggled under heavy burdens and responsibilities. Out of a population amounting perhaps to twenty-five million people, one in a hundred belonged to the privileged classes. The clergy constituted the "first estate," who, from the archbishops down to the parish priests, were specially privileged. The "second estate," comprising the nobility, was marked off from the common people by having many exclusive rights. The "third estate" included the great bulk of the population, not only peasants in the country and workmen in the cities, but also professional and business men. The more prosperous "upper" groups of the third estate, such as lawyers, physicians, merchants, and shopkeepers, were known as the *bourgeoisie* (bo͝or-zhwȧ-zē′).

The Unequally Privileged Clergy. — Before the Revolution the French clergy numbered about 130,000 privileged persons,[1] ranging from the 150 princely archbishops and bishops at the top to the 67,000 humble parish priests at the bottom. The church owned nearly one fifth of the land of France and had an income equivalent to $100,000,000 a year. This income was by no means equally distributed. As a result, the higher clergy, sons of nobles, often lived in an extravagant style surrounded by the pomp and show of the aristocrats of the day; while the parish priests, who shared the joys and sorrows of their parishioners, shared also their poverty. Between the aristocratic higher clergy and the hard-working parish priests a deep gulf was fixed. Churchmen were free from personal and property taxes, though the entire body of clergy gave to the king a free gift amounting to somewhat less than $2,000,000 a year.

The vast income of the clergy was drawn from two sources. About half of it was in the form of produce and rents from lands, which included some of the most fertile in the country. The remainder came from tithes, which were taxes varying in different parts of the country, but rarely amounting to the full one tenth, which the word "tithe" [2] implies.

1. On what ground were clergymen permitted special privileges? 2. Explain the tithe. Was it paid voluntarily?

The Nobility All Privileged, but not All Princely. — In the France of the old days there were about 25,000 noble families, numbering perhaps 100,000 persons, all privileged but very far from equal in position or wealth. They, too, like the clergy,



Formal Gardens of the Eighteenth Century in France
Based on the Corinthian style.

were exempt from taxes on real estate, although they owned a large part of the land.[1] Much of this untaxed land was given up to mansions, parks, and hunting grounds, but a goodly part was leased on shares to peasants, or was farmed by peasants and serfs for the owner. The income of some of the higher nobles was enormous. For instance, one of the royal princes had an annual revenue from rents equivalent to over $4,000,000. On the other hand, hundreds of the noble families had very little except their blue blood and their small estates.

The nobles, as already noted, were free from many taxes, especially from the great national land tax known as the *taille* [2] (tāl). They also enjoyed many privileges and monopolies. The favored ones among them surrounded the person of the king, lived much of the time at his court, and had the right, denied to the un-

privileged, of dealing directly with his majesty. In snobbish fashion the nobles considered themselves of different clay from the middle classes, the laborers, and the peasants, and looked down upon them as an inferior race of mortals.[3]

1. Origin of the landed estates of the nobility? 2. Remember this word (French pronunciation is tä′y′). 3. Why are people snobbish?

The Varied Third Estate. — All Frenchmen not members of the clergy or nobility belonged to the "third estate." In this group were found nearly ninety-nine per cent of the population. Among these millions of people there were very marked differences. Lawyers and judges, merchants, laborers, and craftsmen of various degrees of skill — all of these were classed in the third estate. But these groups were far outnumbered by the peasants, who made up the bulk of the third estate. Many of these peasants owned their little farms, which together covered

THE MANOR HOUSE OF CANAPVILLE, NORMANDY
From a French print.

about one fifth of the entire country; others worked on shares upon the lands of the king, the clergy, and the nobility; but over a million were still serfs,[1] bound to the soil and required to toil for their lords a goodly part of the time.

Evidently there were sharp inequalities among the members

of the third estate, just as among the other social classes. The lawyers controlled the courts of justice and handed down their privileges to their sons, forming a special hereditary group sometimes classed among the nobility. Often they were spoken of as the "aristocracy of the robe and the quill." Members of the commercial classes bought government contracts to collect indirect taxes, and kept a large part of the revenue for themselves; others enjoyed monopolies of trade and manufacture, the most unpopular of which was a legalized monopoly of the sale of grain. Even the guilds [2] of craftsmen had privileges which they would not share with outsiders. So the peasants alone were left to bear most of the burdens of taxation.

1. Were these serfs slaves? Define "serfdom." 2. What were these guilds? Investigate.

An Age of Privilege. — From what has been said it will be seen that, before the Revolution, the French were not a homogeneous people with equal opportunities and close-gripping ties. A man was not so much a Frenchman as he was a noble or a priest, a lawyer or a peasant. His position in life, his means of livelihood, his rights and duties, and his sympathies as well, were determined by the class to which he belonged.[1]

The class privileges of the nobility included exemption from the most burdensome direct taxes; the power to act as feudal judges over the peasants, and to exact from them irritating services and payments; and the exclusive right to hold many well-paid or coveted offices in government, church, and army.

The nobility in most parts of France could force the peasants to observe many of the bothersome old feudal customs, such as bringing grain to the lord's mill for grinding, grapes to his wine press for making wine, and bread to his oven for baking. Even when the land was owned by the peasant, it was often subject to the hunting and fishing rights of the neighboring lords. Great numbers of rabbits, doves, partridges, deer, and wild boars were kept by the nobles; yet not one of these animals could be molested by a peasant when he found it in his fields, no matter what damage it might do.

Even among the members of the third estate, privileges were unevenly distributed. Thus freedom of business enterprise, freedom to make one's own way in the world, and almost every other kind of freedom was unknown. Instead, there was a régime of favoritism [2] which extended from the king and the court to every province and community of the land.

1. What good or harm in such a system? 2. Meaning of "régime of favoritism"?

Hard Lot of the Peasants. — Of the French population fully four fifths lived on the farm lands. They fed the whole nation, for they worked not only their own farms, but also the estates of the nobles and clergy. It was the peasants, too, who built without pay the magnificent roads of the country, and who paid the bulk of the taxes which supported all the privileged classes. The French peasant of that age has been likened to a mule bearing the burdens and performing the hard tasks of society.[1]

Although most of the French peasants of this time were personally free, about five per cent of them were still serfs, tied to the land. Many peasants had become owners of their farms, but personal freedom and even ownership of the land had not brought to them release from galling and crushing duties. It was maddening to see the clergy and nobility escape most of the taxes, while these were collected from the peasants with great harshness. There was a tax, the *taille*, on the peasant's lands (not on those of nobility or clergy); a tax on his income; also a poll tax on his person.[2] Indirect taxes, too, were levied on tobacco, wine, and salt, and collected by the grasping tax contractors. The salt tax, called the *gabelle* (gȧ-bĕl′), was especially hateful, since in many districts each person, regardless of his needs, had to buy seven pounds of salt a year, while the taxes on it in some provinces were thirty times as much as in other places. The government's 50,000 watchful agents were always on the lookout for attempts to smuggle salt from the cheaper to the dearer regions, and hundreds of salt smugglers were sent to the Mediterranean galleys every year. Another oppressive tax was the *corvée* (kôr-vā′), or forced labor on the roads. The load

of taxes paid to the government, to the lords, and to the church mounted up to fifty per cent, and more, of the income of many peasant farmers. Besides these taxes, there were internal duties on the moving of produce from one district to another, and even from the country to the towns.[3] Local famines were common, during which the poor would be starving in one province while a surplus in other regions would be going to waste.

The weight of the taxes collected was not the greatest evil of the financial system. Indeed, the total income from taxes in England at the time is said to have been twice as great as the French total. The great evil in the French system lay in the way taxes were allotted and collected. They were so arranged that the burdens fell mainly upon the peasant. The slightest appearance of prosperity on his part, any improvement in his farm or buildings, any increase in his crops, meant heavier taxes. Such a system was like a wet blanket on all betterments in farming and kept the peasants bitter in spirit.

Home comforts among the peasants were few, and usually had to be enjoyed secretly in order to avoid the taxgatherer. Yet the French peasants of that time were probably better off than those of any other part of Europe except the British Isles and a few small sections of the Continent. During the eighteenth century their condition had noticeably improved; but this very improvement made them resent keenly the old feudal customs and the injustice of the system of special privileges.

In 1788 a pamphlet by Abbé Sieyès (syā-yĕs′) with the title *What is the Third Estate?* was widely read in France. The author opened his discussion with three questions and answers: "What is the third estate? Everything. What has it been heretofore in the political body? Nothing. What does it demand? To be something." [4] The French Revolution was the upheaval produced when the unprivileged and burdened classes of the French people attempted "to be something" in the nation.

1. Why is farming always the basic industry? 2. Why were not the peasants excused from some of the taxes? 3. Why not collect an internal tariff as well as a national one? 4. Did these queries refer to the peasants only?

The Need of Reform is Clearly Seen

French Philosophers Make the French Think. — For half a century before 1789, despite the opposition of government and church, French thinkers were putting out an enormous number of works criticizing the political and social conditions of their day. With the usual literary skill of the French, these books and pamphlets were written in a clear, popular style, frequently sparkling with wit and humor. At times they exaggerated the facts and gave biased conclusions, but they were remarkably clever and interesting, and influenced a great part of the reading public.

Three names stand out among the French writers of the period. Montesquieu (mŏn-tĕs-kū′; Fr. pron. môN-tĕs-kē-û′) (1689–1755) is noted chiefly for his work entitled *The Spirit of Laws*. This book stresses the importance of separating legislative, executive, and judicial departments in a government,[1] and is filled with admiration for the limited monarchy of England.

Voltaire (vôl-târ′) (1694–1778) was a bitter critic of government, of society, and especially of the church of his day in France. He was most influential in arousing dissatisfaction with existing conditions; but he did nothing toward creating a better system by constructive ideas. His brilliant wit, biting sarcasm, and perfect literary style were focused in ridicule upon the life and institutions about him. Although believing in God, he was decidedly bitter against the church.

Rousseau (rōō-sō′) (1712–1778) gave imaginary pictures of an ideal society in which the voice of the people was law, and in which a new system of education produced perfect citizens. His most influential work was *The Social Contract*, which was very widely read, and stirred an ardent belief in the rights of the masses. He was the great champion of democracy in that age.

Voltaire, Rousseau, and many other writers joined together to compile the *Encyclopedia*, the greatest summary of human knowledge which the world had yet seen. The first volume appeared in 1751; the last — the thirty-fifth volume — in 1780.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH AUTHORS

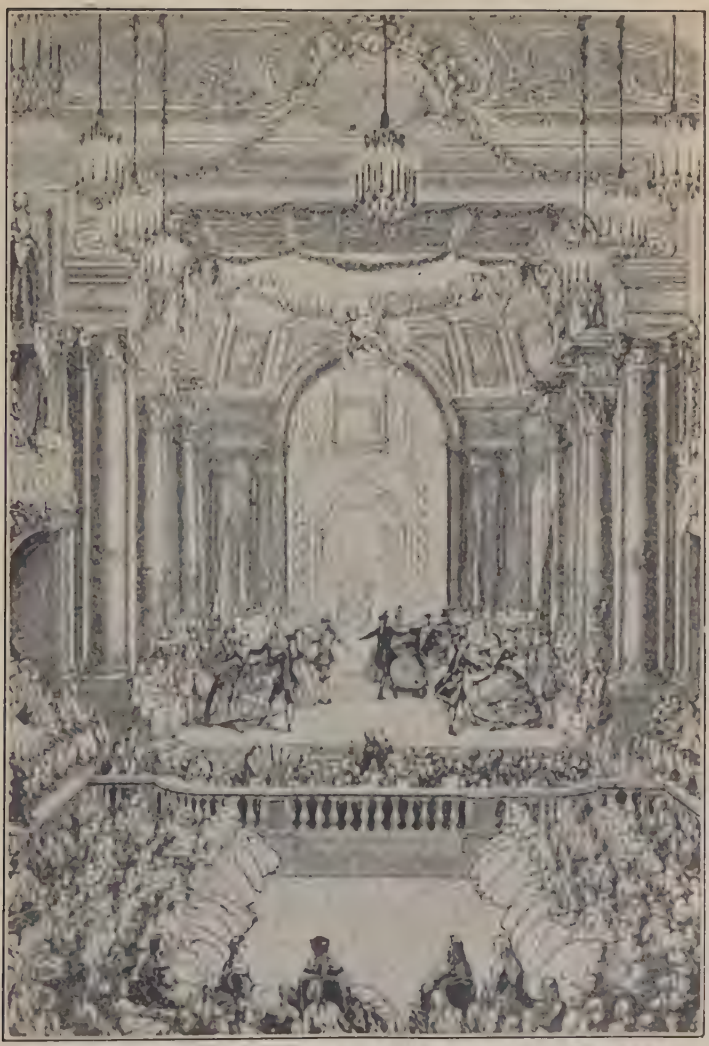
The work, edited largely by a brilliant writer named Diderot (dēd-rō′), was remarkable for its size and comprehensiveness, and for the radical views which the various authors expressed.

Another group of thinkers and writers — " the Economists " — were at work in the two decades before the Revolution. They were interested mainly in needed reform in taxation, industry, trade, and agriculture, that is, in the " bread-and-butter " side of life. These men were pioneers in the field of economics, then a new branch of knowledge.

1. In America do we follow this idea of Montesquieu? Proof.

The Teachings of these Philosophers.[1] — From the great French philosophers noted above and from numberless pamphleteers who copied them, Frenchmen drank in theories radically hostile to the existing forms of government and society. They were taught to believe (1) that long ago man had lived in a state of nature when he was pure, simple, independent, acknowledging no superior; (2) that strife and warfare entered into this ideal primitive life, until for mutual protection a " social contract " was formed, under which the people accepted rulers to whom they promised loyalty in return for protection; (3) that the existing government was an artificial outgrowth of this early compact, perverted by the privileged classes for their own gain, to the injury of the great body of the people. The naturally equal rights of all had been swallowed up in the privileges of a few. So taught the thinkers.

From these theories several practical conclusions followed: (1) That a return should be made to the early equality and simplicity of society. This accounts partly for the French interest in the American Revolution, and for the great admiration of Franklin as typifying the ideal republican. (2) That religion should be simplified and the church shorn of its great power and wealth. (3) That the royal authority should be limited, as in England, by some representation of the people, and that the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government should be carefully separated from one another. (4) That the favored nobility and clergy should surrender their positions of



A Performance at Versailles of Voltaire's "La Princesse de Navarre"
From an old print.

privilege and all be made equal in opportunities and rights. (5) That the old medieval guilds should be stripped of their control over industry; that monopolies in commerce and manufacture should be overthrown; that freedom of trade throughout the country should be established.[2]

Such ideas were widely read and accepted even by many of the privileged classes. Among the wealthier members of the third estate they were quite generally adopted. They even filtered down, often in extreme form, to the peasants and laborers, who discussed them in their villages and communes.

1. Define "philosopher," as used here. 2. Study this paragraph again very carefully to see what the French reformers were aiming at.

The American Revolution Stirs France. — Among a people who were discussing such ideas the success of the American Revolution came as a great practical lesson. Thousands of troops had been sent by France to America, and at Yorktown in October, 1781, there were nearly as many French troops as Americans in Washington's army.[1] Hundreds of French officers became personally acquainted with the American leaders, and imbibed American republican ideas. Scores of Frenchmen, among whom the most prominent was Lafayette (lä-fā-yĕt′), were given commissions in the American army. These military men, as well as occasional travelers, took back to France descriptions of the simplicity of American life, the abundance of food, the absence of poverty, and the liberty-loving spirit of the people.[2] They described American republican ways and translated for French readers the American state constitutions, the Declaration of Independence, and other American documents of the period.

To Frenchmen who were familiar with the writings of the philosophers, it seemed as if the golden age of democratic simplicity was being restored on the other side of the Atlantic. Thus the American Revolution stimulated the demands for reform in France by the force of a practical example, and by furnishing an abundance of revolutionary literature.

1. In what other ways did the French help the Americans? 2. Account thoughtfully and separately for these qualities in American life at that time.

Reforms Proposed and Rejected. — The urgent need for reform in France was now recognized by many, from the king down to the heavily burdened peasants.

During the first two years (1774–1776) of his reign, Louis XVI picked one of the new economists,[1] Turgot (tür-gō′), as his chief adviser and authorized a series of far-reaching reforms. The *corvée* was to be abolished, for the king said the whole burden had fallen on those who "labor for the profit of the rich." The artisans' guilds were to be broken up, for, in the king's own words, "the right to work is the most sacred of all possessions; every law by which it is infringed violates the natural rights of man, and is null and void in itself." Other attempted reforms of Turgot attacked the corrupt government contracts, the idle salaried officials, the grain monopoly, and the other internal restrictions on trade.[2]

But all those who were threatened with the loss of privileges, led by the queen and her friends, soon induced the pliable king to dismiss Turgot. The old burdens were restored, but they were now borne by the people even less patiently than before.

After another liberal minister, Necker, had failed to bring about reforms, the king chose as his chief adviser a man named Calonne (kȧ-lôn′). The new financier believed in keeping up an appearance of prosperity. To do this he borrowed large sums of money for public works, new royal palaces, and court extravagance.[3] But such a ruinous policy could not long continue. Calonne was finally compelled to admit to his royal master that the treasury was bankrupt.[4] In despair he advised the calling together of a group of leading men from the clergy, the nobility, and the wealthier members of the third estate.

This Assembly of the Notables (1787) listened to far-reaching reform proposals from Calonne, who went back to the plans of Turgot and Necker and advocated almost all of their suggestions, as well as adding many of his own. He called upon the nobles to surrender their privileges and to pay their fair share of the taxes. The nobles replied that the government should cut down expenses before asking any increase of taxes.

Nevertheless, important results followed this meeting of the Notables. A program of reforms had again been announced, and, to the intense dissatisfaction of the people, again withdrawn. The privileged classes showed how unwilling they were to yield their peculiar advantages. The king and his ministers once more were found incapable of meeting the needs of the time. From all sides now came demands for a meeting of the states-general, as the partly developed national assembly of earlier centuries had been called.

ASCENT OF A MONTGOLFIER BALLOON

Balloons were invented in 1783 by the Montgolfier brothers, who were richly rewarded by King Louis XVI.

1. What is meant by calling Turgot an "economist"? 2. Did Turgot attack major abuses or petty ones? 3. Did you ever observe individuals or families who followed this way of appearing prosperous? 4. Meaning of "bankrupt"?

A People without Experience in Government. — The nation that in 1787 was calling for representative institutions was one without experience in self-government. Popular local control was almost unknown in France. There was little that resembled town meetings such as prevailed in New England, and no regularly recurring elections of officers and representatives such as were found in England and America.[1] There were no satisfactory organs for shaping public opinion. Unlike Englishmen and Americans, the French had not yet learned to tolerate opposing views, to act in organized parties, or to settle questions

by the votes of a majority. Experienced political leadership likewise was lacking. The nation had plenty of literary men, philosophers, and theorists, but it had no statesmen experienced in guiding public opinion, like William Pitt in England, or Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson [2] in America. When the French nation finally set about reforming the monarchy, neither statesmen nor political parties were at hand to guide the process of reconstruction. Reform under these conditions turned into revolution — the most dramatic revolution in history.

1. What countries in 1787 were most democratic? 2. Just what did Pitt, Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson each do as political leaders?

Conclusion

The French Revolution was the upheaval produced when an intelligent, emotional people refused to tolerate longer a system of antiquated abuses inherited from less enlightened ages. The entire mass of hoary rubbish from the outgrown feudal period still lingering in 1789 in France and throughout the Continent, is generally known as the Old Régime. The central abuse of the entire system lay in the fact that a small portion of the people had exclusive enjoyment of many special privileges, while the great multitudes were weighed down with excessive and aggravating burdens. Thus the Old Régime in France — a system of unfair special privileges over against unreasonably heavy and unevenly distributed duties — was the main cause of the French Revolution.

Problem and Reference Work

1. To appreciate the life and duties of serfs in the days of feudalism, read Chapter 2 in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England.*

2. After studying the first part of Chapter 11 in Robinson and Beard's *Development of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, report to the class on the ridiculous sectional inequalities in France before 1789.

3. From the same chapter, pp. 213–215, learn just how laws were made under Bourbon absolutism.

4. Explain clearly two distinct ways in which the American Revolution helped to cause the French Revolution.

5. Write out a list of all the special privileges of the upper estates which you can find, and all the special duties of the unprivileged in France.

6. In Lowell's *Eve of the French Revolution*, pp. 162–168, read about the daily life of the common people of Paris in 1789.

7. In Chapter 13 of the same book learn about the life of French peasants.

8. Find in Mathews's *French Revolution*, pp. 14–18, a good description of taxes in unreformed France.

9. Before studying the next chapter get a refreshing bird's-eye view of the French Revolution by reading Van Loon's *Story of Mankind*, pp. 334 ff.

10. To see pre-revolutionary conditions as they appeared to careful observers of that day, use Robinson and Beard's *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. I: (*a*) Arthur Young's account of the condition of peasant women, p. 138. (*b*) Arthur Young's impressions of Paris in 1787, pp. 141 ff. (*c*) Turgot's view of the guilds of 1776, p. 145.

Reading List

MATHEWS, S., *The French Revolution*. The best single reference work on the entire period for high school students.

LOWELL, E. J., *The Eve of the French Revolution*. A standard work, although rather advanced for high school use.

STEPHENS, H. M., *The French Revolution*. Authoritative, but advanced.

VAN LOON, H. W., *The Story of Mankind*. A charming, simple narrative.

HEADDRESS OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CARICATURES CRUDELY PAINTED ON POTTERY PLATES
Used to spread revolutionary ideas among the peasants.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION REFORMS FRANCE AND STIRS EUROPE (1789-1799)

An Important Period of History; Pre-View. — No other series of events in modern history before 1914 has had such a far-reaching influence as the revolutionary upheavals in France from 1789 to 1815. Beginning with a demand of the French people for moderate reforms, the Revolution gathered strength until it wrought a complete change in the society and government of the country. The absolute monarchy of Richelieu [1] and of Louis XIV was destroyed; the ancient feudal rights of the aristocrats and of the clergy were canceled; feudal duties of the serfs and peasants were abolished; equality of all Frenchmen in their everyday civil rights was permanently established; and a republic was, for a while, set up in France.

These social and political changes were not limited to France alone. Other rulers of Europe, in alarm lest revolutionary ideas should spread to their own lands,[2] took up arms against France. But successful armies of the newly-made French republic, later led by the brilliant Napoleon, defeated all enemies on the

Continent, and carried far and wide the new French doctrines of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Even to the colonies of France, Spain, and Portugal in the West Indies and on the mainland of America, the revolutionary movement spread, resulting in the creation of the Latin-American republics.[3]

Throughout the nineteenth century, moreover, the theories of the French reformers were gradually accepted in new and more practicable forms by the nations of Europe as they advanced from despotism or aristocracy toward democracy. Thus in many lands the influence of the French Revolution was deeply felt for generations afterward.

1. Who was Richelieu? 2. Why were Continental rulers afraid of reform ideas? 3. Why called "Latin-American"?

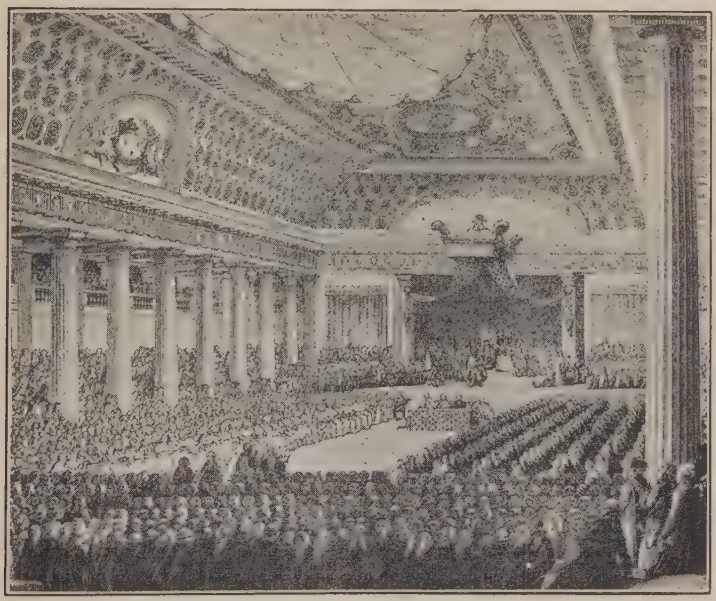
Beginnings of the Revolution

The People Demand a National Assembly. — By 1788 the need for reform in France was acute, and generally recognized. The upper classes and the king's ministers had failed to avert bankruptcy or to reduce the evils flowing from the atrocious system of favoritism and privilege. From every side came the demand that the whole nation should be summoned to undertake the work in which the court had failed. Hundreds of pamphlets, with a freedom unheard of in France before,[1] urged reforms and called for the meeting of the nation's representatives in the states-general. This body had not met since 1614.[2] Moreover, even the best-informed Frenchmen knew little of what sort of body it had been or how it had worked during the three centuries in which it had occasionally met.

Few appreciated what a difficult task it was to start a real representative government in France, but every one saw in the proposed states-general a prospect of clearing away his own personal grievances. The king hoped to avoid national bankruptcy; the nobles wished by moderate concessions to quiet the popular clamor for reform; the merchants looked for freedom of trade; the philosophers longed for guarantees of the rights of man; the peasants hoped to see the feudal customs abolished

and the taxes reduced. Thus each class had its own reason for desiring a revival of the ancient representative body.

1. What had prevented freedom of discussion before? 2. Why had France been without anything like a legislative body for 175 years?



OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL IN 1789
From an old print.

France Has her First National Election. — After much study of old customs, the king issued an order summoning the states-general and fixing the number of members in it as well as the method of election. The clergy elected three hundred representatives; the nobility, the same number; while the third estate had six hundred representatives who were chosen in an indirect manner by all men registered as taxpayers.[1] About six million voters participated, and great excitement prevailed during this, the first national election France had ever seen.[2]

Although the king allowed the third estate as many members as the other two combined, he did not say that the three estates

should form a single body, nor did he specify that they should meet in three groups, as before 1614, each having a veto on the others. The method of voting in the states-general was left to be determined by that body itself. This led at the outset to a memorable struggle between the third estate and the other two.

1. Do you infer that most Frenchmen were allowed to vote? 2. Account for the great excitement. Use your imagination.

The States-General Meets amid High Hopes. — On May 5, 1789,[1] the king opened the sessions of the states-general in the famous royal palace at Versailles. Few assemblages have had such a chance to make history as had this varied group of Frenchmen. The nobles and higher clergy, as directed by the king, appeared in their full dress, brilliant with colors and decorations; the third estate and lower clergy were in somber black. There were endless details of etiquette and hours of waiting before the king arrived. When he finally appeared, his speech, carefully rehearsed in advance, was well received and generously applauded. The three estates then adjourned, and on the following day met separately to begin their work. The sessions of the clergy and of the nobility were held in small rooms behind closed doors; the third estate met in a large hall where hundreds of spectators eagerly watched the proceedings.

Frenchmen and interested foreigners now looked for a rapid solution of the vexing problems of the time. France appeared to be on the road toward becoming a democratic state, where liberty and equality would soon prevail under the leadership of a well-meaning king.[2] Some of these hopes came true; others failed.

1. What was just then beginning in the United States? 2. Why were people so hopeful?

The States-General Gets under Way Slowly. — Wrangling over the method of voting in the states-general now caused a delay of six precious weeks. From the first, the members of the third estate refused to proceed to business unless all three orders should meet in one national assembly,[1] each man having one vote.[2]

Moreover, no one seems to have come to the meeting with a program thought out. In sharp contrast to that small body of Americans who met in Philadelphia in 1787 to make a new constitution, the twelve hundred members of the states-general had no very definite plans for meeting the national needs, although many lists of proposed reforms (*cahiers;* pron. kȧ-yā′) were sent in by different communities. The king and his ministers, who should have been the leaders, also failed to present clear-cut plans for reform or to help in solving the pressing problems of the day. Almost all the deputies wished to abolish at least the worst of the old abuses, but were undecided about a permanent scheme of government for protection against future wrongs.

1. Was this a reasonable attitude? Reasons? 2. If meeting and voting by estates, how many votes would there be?

A Disorderly Group of Debaters. — There were still other reasons for the early failure. The states-general as a whole, and even the delegation of the third estate alone, was too large for thoughtful discussion. Moreover, the states-general had no regular rules of procedure such as had been worked out by long experience in the British parliament and American legislatures. As a result, the six hundred members of the third estate made numberless motions, debate was unlimited, and many young orators delivered long fiery speeches not related at all to the subject in hand. An English visitor, Arthur Young, reported that he saw a hundred clamorous members on their feet at one time, and that the presiding officer was powerless to keep order.[1]

The third estate met in a hall accommodating two thousand people, where the onlookers were allowed to cheer or to hoot at the speeches and votes of the members. Owing to this, the galleries had a great influence over the delegates, who were often overawed by the crowds in the hall.

1. Why does a deliberative body need precise rules?

The Third Estate Seizes Control. — The third estate members, backed by many of the lower clergy, resolutely refused to consent to the division of the states-general into three separate bodies. That would have given the aristocratic orders two votes out of

three. After six weeks of fruitless wrangling, the members of the third estate, as representatives of ninety-nine per cent of the French people, declared themselves to be a national assembly [1] (June 17). The individual representatives of the clergy and the nobility were then invited to join them, and many did so. This was the first step in the Revolution — a momentous step, since it meant that the representatives of the unprivileged people intended to govern and reform France, alone, if need be.

This courageous action aroused the king and his supporters. On June 20 the members of the third estate found the doors of their hall locked to prevent further meetings. Not at all baffled, they promptly adjourned to a neighboring tennis court, where the members took a famous oath pledging themselves never to separate until they had completed a constitution and made plans for reforming France.[2]

Thereupon Louis XVI made a final effort to assert his authority and to preserve the old order of things. Rejecting the plan of a national assembly, he ordered the estates to meet again in their separate halls. Mirabeau (mē-rȧ-bō′), the chief leader of the deputies, replied to the royal command: "We will not leave our places but by the force of bayonets"; and a great shout of the members indorsed this sentiment as the will of the assembly. The vacillating king now yielded. "Well, well," said he, "if they do not wish to go, leave them alone"; and a few days later he directed the rest of the clergy and the nobility to join the third estate. However, many of the higher nobles left the assembly and fled from the country. Thus the states-general was transformed into a national assembly in which leadership passed from the king and his ministers to the representatives of the nation — a real revolution in itself.[3]

1. How was a national assembly any different in principle from a states-general? 2. Why was the tennis court oath famous? 3. What revolution had already been accomplished?

A Preliminary Glance at the Course of the Revolution. — Thus the French Revolution started, not as a rebellion, but as a reform movement in the hands of the high-minded and enthusiastic

national assembly. This body showed little hostility at first toward the monarchy itself. It wished only to correct the existing abuses. In the beginning, therefore, middle-class [1] reformers such as Mirabeau and Lafayette took the lead, aiming to create a limited monarchy modeled after that of England.[2] As time went on, however, the more radical leaders became convinced that the abuses were so interwoven with the whole system of aristocracy that the one could not be removed without destroying the other. So the demand grew stronger and louder that the Old Régime be completely swept away and that a republic be established, based on the principles of liberty and equality. These ideas of the radicals gained many supporters because of the misery of the common people; and the extremists got full control of the Revolution when outside kings came to the support of Louis XVI in 1792.

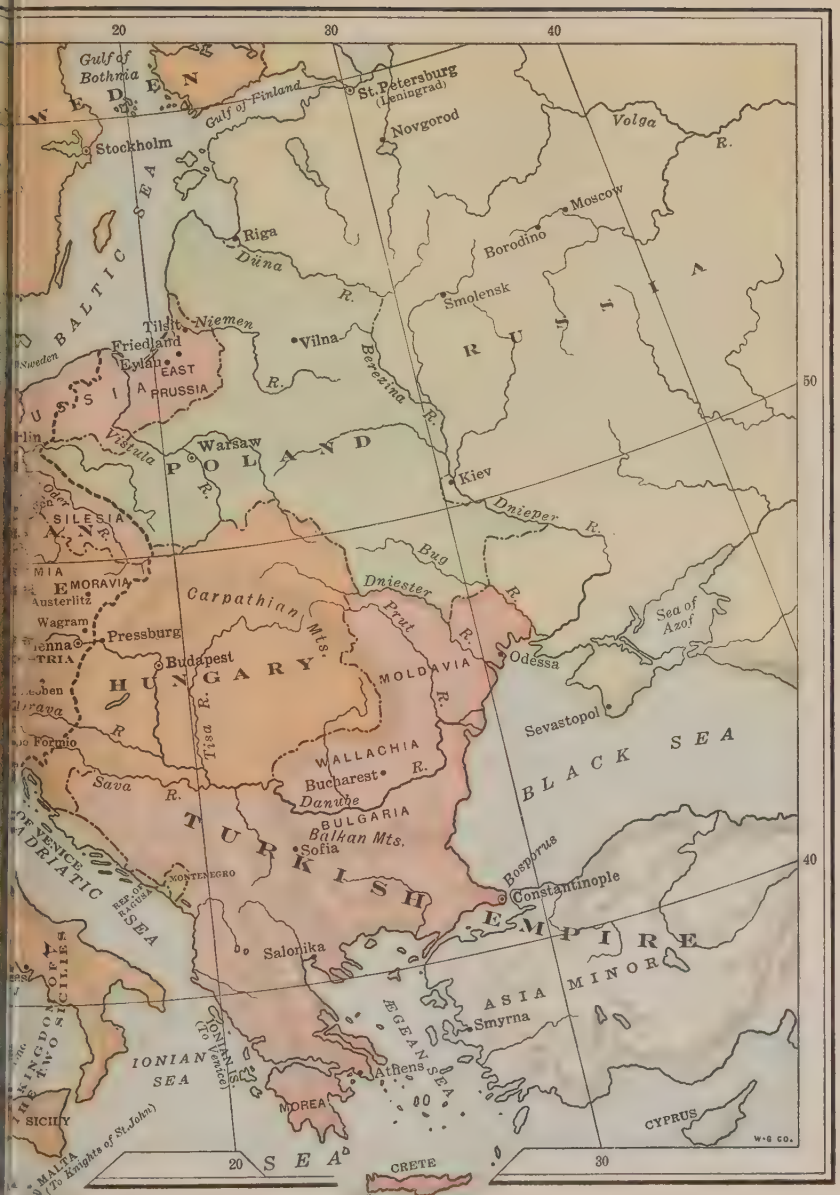
Thus the decade from 1789 to 1799 falls into five divisions: (1) the adoption of moderate reforms, some of them permanent; (2) the growing power of the radicals; (3) the unfortunate intervention of other European states in French affairs; (4) the establishment of a nominal republic (1792), really governed by a body of unscrupulous terrorists; (5) the adoption of a constitution in 1795, under which five men, called the Directory, were given executive powers.

1. Most of the leaders throughout the French Revolution were men of the middle class (bourgeoisie). Account for this. 2. Why was England their model?

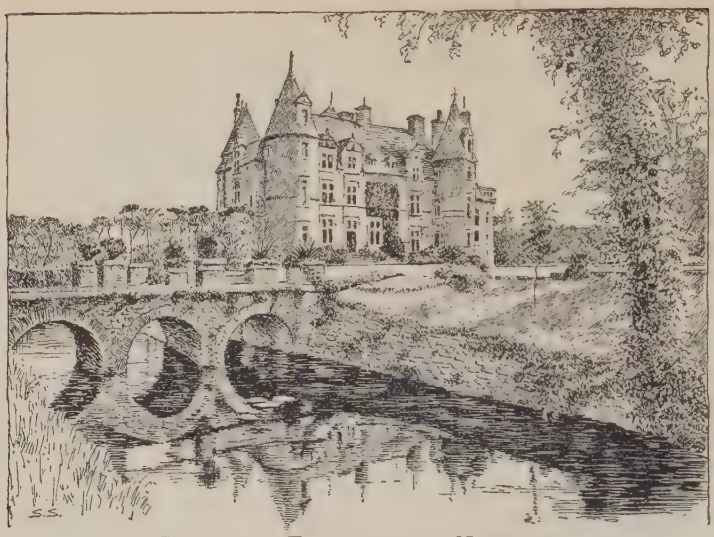
The Bourgeoisie Make Valuable Reforms

Clearing away Feudal Rubbish. — Impatient at the long delay of the assembly in starting reforms, the peasants began to use violence against the old abuses, as the people of Paris had just done in their raid upon the grim fortress of the Bastille (bȧs-tēl′) on July 14. In the closing days of July, 1789, the peasants began burning castles and country homes of the nobility in many sections, in order to destroy the records of irritating feudal duties which the peasants owed to the lords. They refused to perform those duties and ceased paying the government taxes as well.

EUROPE IN 1789
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
SHETLAND IS.
NORWAY
Christiania
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhag
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
Camperdown
NETHERLANDS
HANOVER
Elbe
Leip
Jena
Waterloo
AUST.
Boulogne
HOLY
NETH.
Frankfort
English Channel
Rouen
Amiens
Varennes
Valmy
Sedan
Nurembe
NORMANDY
Seine
Brest
Versailles
Paris
Luneville
Fontainebleau
Brienne
WURTTEMBERG
Ulm
Nantes
Loire
Cholet
FRANCE
Basel
Bern
SWITZERLAND
BAY OF BISCAY
Geneva
Lyon
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Rhone
SAVOY
The Alps
Milan
Turin
Lodi
Po R.
PARMA
MODENA
Coruña
Vitoria
Avignon (Papal)
Nice
Genoa
Pyrenees
ANDORRA
Marseille
Toulon
Leghorn
Florence
ELBA
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Barcelona
CORSICA (To France)
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
C. Trafalgar
Str. of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Longitude West
Longitude East from Greenwich
20
10
0
10
50
40



20
30
40
50
Gulf of Bothnia
SWEDEN
Gulf of Finland
St. Petersburg (Leningrad)
Novgorod
Volga R.
Stockholm
BALTIC SEA
Moscow
Borodino
Riga
Düna R.
Smolensk
RUSSIA
Tilsit
Niemen
Friedland
Eylau
EAST PRUSSIA
Vilna
Berezina R.
Sweden
RUSSIA
Warsaw
POLAND
Vistula R.
Kiev
Oder R.
SILESIA
Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Dniester
Prut R.
MORAVIA
Austerlitz
Wagram
Pressburg
Carpathian Mts.
Sea of Azof
Budapest
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
Odessa
Sevastopol
Tisa R.
Formio
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
Danube
BLACK SEA
Sava R.
BULGARIA
Balkan Mts.
Sofia
TURKISH EMPIRE
Bosporus
Constantinople
MONTENEGRO
REP. OF RAGUSA
ADRIATIC SEA
Salonika
ASIA MINOR
Smyrna
ÆGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
IONIAN IS. (To Venice)
Athens
MOREA
SICILY
MALTA (To Knights of St. John)
CYPRUS
CRETE
SEA
W-G CO.



Chateau of Tourlaville in Normandy

In this crisis crown and assembly alike were powerless to preserve order or enforce law. Some of the more liberal nobles in the assembly believed, however, that the rioting would cease if all feudal privileges were surrendered.

Accordingly, during a most memorable all-night session of the national assembly, on August 4 and 5, 1789, occurred one of those dramatic scenes which show the emotional character of this remarkable revolution. A young nobleman mounted the rostrum and publicly renounced all his feudal rights. One of the richest landlords of the country followed; then others. Soon scores of the nobles and clergy were crowding the steps to the rostrum, each, in a fervor of self-sacrifice, laying his peculiar privileges at the feet of the nation. As the night wore on, an intense excitement and exaltation seized the members. So electrical was the spirit of self-denial that the surrender of privilege seemed like a religious rite, until, in tears of joy, the assembly in the morning closed its session with the Te Deum.

By the decrees of August 4–5, serfdom throughout France was

overthrown; all feudal obligations upon the peasants and payments for the use of their own land ceased; the game laws were abolished; the feudal rights of the nobles to conduct courts of justice were canceled; many taxes, such as the salt tax and the tithes, were annulled, and class exemptions from taxes were swept away. Along with these went the abolition of the guilds, of forced labor on the roads, and of the monopoly of offices by the nobility.[1] The church shared in the equalizing process by the surrender of its tithes and of its freedom from taxation.

Regarding the sweeping reforms of August 4–5 a writer of the time observed, "Never had such an immense work been dispatched in a few hours. What would have required a year of pains and meditation was proposed, discussed, voted, and determined by acclamation." Right here lies the most valuable

MEDAL COMMEMORATIVE OF AUGUST 4, 1789

One side shows Louis XVI, "Restorer of French Liberty"; the other shows the nobles and the clergy surrendering their privileges for the good of the nation.

and enduring work of the whole French Revolution — the act of sweeping away hoary abuses and inequalities, and making all Frenchmen equal in civil rights.[2]

1. Note and remember these reforms — they were permanent. 2. A sentence worth memorizing.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man. — In May, 1789, Thomas Jefferson, then in Paris, had drawn up a brief sketch

of a constitution which he thought fitted the needs of the French nation. But the national assembly proceeded in no such direct fashion. Instead, a majority, led by Lafayette, felt that a statement of human rights should precede constitution-making,[1] and so, on October 5, 1789, the king agreed to the assembly's declaration of the "Rights of Man and of the Citizen." This document was modeled somewhat after the bills of rights in the recently-made state constitutions in the United States.[2] But it went far beyond these in its fullness and in its carefully-worded statements of those rights which had been overridden under the Old Régime.

Among the statements of this declaration of rights are the following: "Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect to their rights." "The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man: and these rights are Liberty, Property, Security, and Resistance to Oppression." "Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another."[3] "The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation."

These and other principles of the declaration have had a continuing influence upon European history. Time and again in later years, they were the ideals held up by reformers in other countries in their struggle for democratic government.

1. Why do you suppose they thought so? 2. Quote Jefferson's own statement of the rights of man. Where found? Read the bill of rights in the constitution of your state. 3. Ponder well this definition of liberty.

The Church is Revolutionized. — During the dramatic overthrow of feudal privileges on August 4 and 5, the clergy had joined with the noblemen in sacrificing their old feudal rights. But the assembly was not content with this. Later in the same year (1789), it declared all church lands to be the property of the nation, and issued a form of national paper money known as *assignats* (ăs'ĭg-năts; Fr. pron. à-sē-nyà'), based upon the value of the confiscated estates of the church. This seizure of the

church lands and issuing of assignats with the land as security was the assembly's way of meeting the problem of national bankruptcy, which had brought on the Revolution in the first place.

Finally, in 1790, the assembly adopted a "civil constitution of the clergy" as its plan for democratic management of the church. This plan ignored the ancient customs of the church by bringing it under the control of the citizens and of the government officials. All bishops and priests were now to be elected by the voters in their several districts, in the same way as political officers.[1] Salaries were fixed by law and were to be paid out of public taxes.[2] To this civil constitution all clergymen were directed to swear their support. Those who refused were known as *nonjurors* — and they numbered a large majority of the bishops and priests. These were deprived of their positions and later, under the republic, were executed or banished in large numbers.

1. Why do *we* not choose clergymen in this way? 2. What was the idea back of this?

The Assembly Gives France a Constitution (1791). — For nearly two years the assembly was engaged in drafting a formal written constitution for the country.[1] In September, 1791, the work was completed and the king, much against his will, added his signature.

The government created by this constitution was an artificial form of limited monarchy. Executive, legislative, and judicial departments were carefully separated from each other, in harmony with the philosophy of Montesquieu. The king was vested with the supreme executive power, not by divine right, but "by grace of God and by the constitutional law of the state." But his authority and that of his ministers were so hedged about that he really could not conduct the government effectively.[2]

The constitution provided for a lawmaking body of only one house of 745 members distributed among the eighty-three newly-created departments of the country. The members were elected indirectly for a term of two years by the "active" citizens, that is, those men over twenty-five who paid direct

taxes amounting to three days' wages of a laborer. "Inactive" citizens had no vote, even though they were men of full age.

Local government, which before 1789 had been controlled by appointive royal officers, was now greatly decentralized. The old feudal provinces of France were destroyed by the reformers,[3] and not one of the old historic names, such as Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine (ăk-wĭ-tān′), and Provence (prŏ-väns′), now remains on the modern map of the country. Their places were taken by eighty-three departments, nearly equal in area, and usually named from a river, or mountains, or other natural features of the neighborhood. "Shores of the North," "Mouths of the Rhone," "Upper Alps," "Lower Pyrenees," "Lower Loire," "Upper Loire," and similar names illustrate how determined were the reformers to destroy all historical connection with the feudal divisions of France. The smallest local government divisions were now the communes, over 40,000 in number. These communes were left in almost complete control of their local affairs, through multitudes of elected officials, with little supervision from the central government — a sweeping change from the pre-revolutionary days.

1. What kind of constitution did France have before? Be sure. 2. Is it necessary to have a weak executive in order to prevent tyranny? Illustrate. 3. What were the reasons for this?

Why the Constitution of 1791 was a Failure. — The new scheme of government was doomed to failure even before it started. Only under compulsion did the king accept it; and the poorer men were dissatisfied because, in spite of the Declaration of Rights, they were shut out from voting. The monarchists and aristocrats naturally thought it swept away too much of the old order of things; while the radicals, few in number as yet, believed that it stood in the way of the republic they so much desired.

The new legislative assembly set up by the constitution began its work with a body of inexperienced men, for one of the last acts of the national assembly was to forbid any of its own members to sit in the new legislature. This action sealed the fate of the new government. Whatever political experience had

been gained in the last two years was thrown away, and the destiny of the nation was entrusted to unseasoned novices. Meanwhile radical ideas had been spreading rapidly among the people.

The Revolution Grows More Radical

Aristocrats Flee; Radicals Take the Lead. — To understand the growing power of the radical leaders we must note the change which took place between 1789 and 1791 in the national assembly. Composed originally of twelve hundred members of the three estates, it soon lost many of the nobility and the higher clergy. Early in the Revolution many of the aristocrats left the assembly in disgust and even fled from France to seek refuge in the petty German states along the Rhine. Here, as "emigrants," they allied themselves with the enemies of the Revolution and of their country.[1] Without these men the assembly was swayed by those who favored thoroughgoing changes.

The radicals also gained by the activity of the mobs in Paris, by the riots of the peasants in the country districts, and by the presence of violent crowds in the galleries of the assembly. Thus the bourgeois (middle-class) reformers of moderate views in the assembly were finally overwhelmed by their more impetuous and radical fellows. This was partly their own fault; for, at times, the middle-class politicians themselves had encouraged mob violence in order to overawe the king and the aristocrats. Soon the mobs got beyond control, and finally turned their anger against the bourgeoisie and the limited monarchy.

1. What were the aims of these emigrants?

The Drift of Poor People to the Cities. — For some years before 1789 the number of laborers in Paris and in other French cities had been on the increase. Poverty-stricken and half-starved peasants had been leaving their country homes to seek a livelihood in town. Once arrived there, however, they found it hard to get permanent work. In the cities, therefore, especially in Paris, many thousands lived wretchedly, working only occasionally at unskilled jobs and often entangled in the vice and crime about them.

The number of these unhappy poor people in Paris was increased by those who came to the capital after the meeting of the states-general; some, glad to throw off the feudal burdens and begin life anew in the city; others, hoping that the new government would do something to help the poor earn a better living. When neither the national assembly nor the new legislature of 1791 did anything to relieve distress or to give the poor a voice in the government, a group of unscrupulous politicians made themselves leaders of the discontented classes, determined to overthrow the constitution and to establish a radical democracy.[1]

1. How was the constitution of 1791 undemocratic?

The Radical Clubs of Paris. — Radical democratic sentiment was stirred up by the discussions and agitation of several enthusiastic clubs which were started in Paris in the summer of 1789 to talk over the strange, stirring events of the day. Members of the assembly, writers, and ambitious politicians met in these debating clubs to discuss all sorts of proposals for social and political reform.[1] Out of these informal societies grew two great clubs which in time came to influence the course of events more than all the orators of the lawful representative bodies.

The *Cordelier* (kôr-dĕ-lēr′) *Club*, formed in one of the quarters of the city, soon took the leadership of the Parisian mobs, and carried on violent agitation against the king, the assembly, and all fixed institutions of society, clamoring for a republic. Without even waiting for the constitution of 1791 to be given a fair trial, they began to denounce it and to demand that the king be guillotined.

The *Jacobin* (jăk′ō-bĭn) *Club*, a group of members of the national assembly, became an even greater revolutionary force than the Cordeliers. The Cordeliers were arousing the bitterest passions of the starving poor and of the criminal classes of the capital. On a broader scale, the Jacobins aimed at a nation-wide influence by starting branches of their club in hundreds of cities and towns throughout the country, thus uniting the dissatisfied classes everywhere. By a thorough system of correspondence

and of messengers, all sections of France were kept in close touch with the revolutionary spirit of Paris. The chief Jacobin leaders were Danton, Marat (mȧ-rȧ′), and Robespierre (rō-bĕs-pyâr′) — leaders who were aiming to bring about both a democratic republic and an equalization of wealth.

1. Was freedom of speech then allowed?

A Jacobin *
From an old print.

Newspapers Suddenly Become a Power. — At the outbreak of the Revolution political parties were unknown in France, and, owing to the old censorship over newspapers, there was no way of creating and controlling public opinion. But during the summer and fall of 1789 the country became suddenly deluged with periodicals.[1] Within a period of twenty-nine months over five hundred newspapers were founded in Paris alone. One paper, the *Revolutions of Paris*, had a circulation of two hundred thousand copies, which, in view of the price and of the difficulties of transportation in those days, was a remarkable achievement.

By means of the radical clubs and radical newspapers the revolutionary principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity were fostered and spread throughout the country. The extreme ideas of such leaders as Marat and Danton at the capital were carried to every village, encouraging the poorer people in their assaults upon aristocracy, monarchy, and wealth. When the French Revolution was all over, one of its lasting results was this

* The bell in his right hand signifies his readiness to give the alarm at the threat of danger. In his left hand he carries papers marked with two significant dates. On his breast he wears the membership medal of the Jacobin Club.

new appreciation of the power of the press in guiding public opinion and action for good or ill.

1. What had evidently become of the old restrictions upon the press and speech? Why?

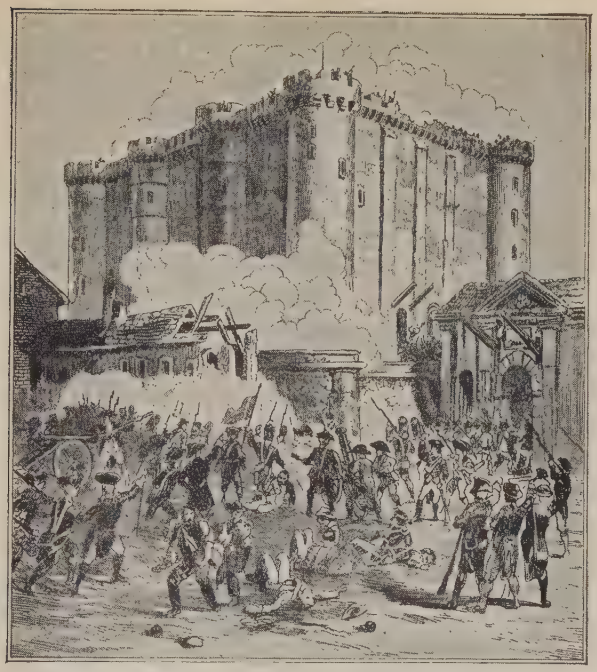
The Radicals Gain Control of Paris. — By degrees the violent leaders obtained control of the government of the city of Paris, known as the commune, and made use of this municipal government to overawe the more moderate classes. Then from the city hall the demagogues [1] engineered a campaign of rioting and bloodshed. At the same time the lawmakers of the nation were cowed by bands of rowdies who thronged the galleries of the assembly. Middle-class business and professional men were frightened into inaction, while the king and the aristocrats were intimidated by a carnival of violence and crime.

By means of the revolutionary clubs, the "yellow" newspapers, the rebellious commune of Paris, and the violence of the city rabble, the extreme radicals came into complete control of the Revolution, and made terror the order of the day. Let us note briefly some of the famous steps on the road to terrorism.

1. What are "demagogues"?

The Fall of the Bastille (July 14, 1789). — Back in the summer of 1789 the king, upon the advice of some of the nobles, began to collect troops near Paris. Angered by this threat of force, a mob rose in arms, took possession of the city, and on July 14 committed the first act of defiance by storming and destroying the old Bastille. This great fortress of Paris was to the people the symbol of royal absolutism, because men imprisoned without trial [1] were sometimes confined there. When the king was told of this attack he said, "Why, that is a revolt." "No, sire," replied his informant, "it is a revolution." [2]

Although it was only a frenzied city mob that wrecked the Bastille, the deed caught the imagination of the people. This violent assault upon the grim old fortress and prison seemed like a thrust at the entire Old Régime itself; and the smashing of the Bastille walls certainly did show how eager the Paris commoners were to make an end to the old abuses and special privileges.



THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE
July 14, 1789.

For this reason the fourteenth of July was chosen as the national anniversary of French freedom and democracy. Bastille Day is still the French day of liberty.

1. What power to imprison people had the king had before 1789?
2. How does revolution differ from revolt?

The King and Assembly Move to Paris. — Again, in the fall of 1789, the court party collected troops about the king at Versailles, where the assembly was in session. Once more the city mobs were aroused. As the poor of Paris had for some time been on the very edge of famine,[1] a siege would quickly subdue them; but if the king were only living in the city instead of at Versailles they thought they would be free from all danger of attack and would be sure of a plentiful supply of food.

Accordingly, on October 5, thousands of the city rabble, mostly women, set out for Versailles, followed, after some delay, by the middle-class national guard commanded by Lafayette. The mob invaded the hall of the national assembly and during the following night gained access to the royal palace itself, demanding bread for the poor and insisting that the royal family should at once move into Paris. Upon the advice of Lafayette [2] the king gave way.

Toward evening of October 6, in one of the strangest processions of all history, that weary and fanatical, but not desperate, mob escorted Louis XVI and his family into the capital. The hungry Parisians were delighted now that they had " the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's children " in their midst and under their control.

1. Why so much poverty in Paris then? 2. To which class of Frenchmen did Lafayette belong before 1789?

The King's Flight and Disgrace (June, 1791). — In Paris the king became almost a prisoner, while the assembly, which had followed him to town, cowered before the power of the clubs and the rioting mobs. This situation seemed intolerable to those moderate men who were then working out the new constitution, and equally so to the aristocratic advisers of the king and queen.

Plans were made for the escape of the royal family to a safer abode. Instead of fleeing to the interior of the country, however, and throwing himself upon the loyalty of the nation as Mirabeau had earlier advised, the king undertook a flight to the northeastern frontier, where the emigrant nobles were collected.[1] The royal family escaped in disguise from Paris in the dead of night on June 21, 1791. Behind him, to his own undoing, the king left a paper in which he showed himself a traitor to the Revolution by declaring null and void all the acts of the national assembly.

The flight was poorly managed. Before reaching the frontier the king was stopped in a small village by the postmaster, who collected the national guards of the neighborhood and turned the royal coach back toward Paris. Escorted by an increasing

number of guards and by the populace, the royal family made another pathetic entry into the city, never to leave it again.

The king's cause was now hopeless, although the new constitution was issued three months later. His promises had been found worthless and it was quite clear that his approval of the assembly's reforms had not been sincere. By his attempted flight he had even shown his traitorous desire to join the "emigrant" enemies of the Revolution, and to get foreign aid against his own people. What respect or loyalty could such a monarch claim? Sentiment in favor of a republic grew apace, led by Danton[2] and other radicals, and the reformed limited monarchy was doomed to be short-lived.

KING LOUIS XVI, THE QUEEN (MARIE ANTOINETTE), AND THE DAUPHIN
Facsimile of a contemporary print.

1. What was the purpose of these emigrant nobles in collecting there?
2. Who was Danton? Why important in the Revolution?

FOREIGN WAR LEADS TO A RADICAL REPUBLIC

The Revolution Alarms Other Nations of Europe. — During these stirring days of 1789–1792 French events had been exciting the keenest interest in other countries. The liberals of Great Britain and America heartily welcomed the early steps toward reform in France. Sympathizers with the Revolution established

WAR DISTRICTS
from 1788 to 1815
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
1788-1795
1796-1797 (Napoleon, Jourdan, Moreau)
1798-1801 (Suvarov, Napoleon, Moreau)
1803-1805
1806-1807
1807-1809
1812
The Peninsular War 1808-1813
In Turkey 1809 1812
1813-1815
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ægean Sea
English Channel
Sea of Azof
Sveaborg 1808
Copenhagen 1801 1807
Königsberg
Tilsit 1807
Friedland 1807
Thorn 1809
Praga 1794
Brest 1794
Kolberg 1807
Hamburg
Amsterdam
Artlenburg 1803
Berlin 1806
Leipzig 1813
Dresden 1813
Warsaw
Breslau 1807 1813
Jena 1806
Waterloo 1815
Coblenz
London
Boulogne 1803-5
Paris 1814-15
Brest 1794
Quiberon 1795
Le Mans 1793
Versailles
Brienne 1814
Valmy 1792
Strassburg
Prague 1813
Ratisbon 1809
Austerlitz 1805
Wagram 1809
Vienna
Cracow 1794
Lemberg
Chotin 1788
Jassy 1792
Odessa 1794
Focsani 1789
Bucharest 1789-1812
Rustchuk 1811
Leoben 1797
Innsbruck 1809
Basel 1795
Lyon 1793
Bordeaux
Milan
Campo Formio 1797
Marengo 1800
Nice
Genoa
Venice 1797
Bologna 1796
Belgrade 1789
Ragusa 1806
Rome 1798
Naples 1799
Marseille
Toulouse 1814
Vitoria 1813
Saragossa 1808-1809
Madrid 1808
Lisbon
Cintra 1808
Oporto 1808
El Ferrol 1805-1809
C. Finisterre 1805
C. St. Vincent 1797
C. Trafalgar 1805
Cadiz
Bailén 1808
Valencia 1812
Minorca 1798
Balearic Is.
Sardinia
Corsica
Elba
Lemnos 1807
Bosporus
Dnieper R.
Duna R.
Volga R.
Moscow 1812
Danube
Tisa R.
Sava R.
Drava R.
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Tagus R.
Douro R.
Vistula R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Oder R.
Vendée
Sea of Azof
Crimea
EGYPT
Acre 1799
Abukir Bay 1798
Alexandria
Cairo 1798
Syria
Egypt
W-G CO.
Longitude East from Greenwich

branches of the Jacobin Club in America, and "revolution" clubs in England.[1] At first, too, the violence of the French mobs did not much alarm such liberals as Jefferson, who thought a little bloodletting might do no harm; and the great British orator Charles James Fox called the storming of the Bastille the greatest and best event in all history. The later excesses of the Revolution, however, caused hosts of well-wishers in England and America to reverse their attitude completely.

From the very beginning the Continental rulers felt no sympathy for the great revolution in France. They feared that such a social conflagration[2] might easily spread and envelop other despotisms. Besides, the emigrant nobles, fleeing in an increasing stream from France, had gathered in the German states[3] along the Rhine and were now urging the neighboring kings to help them regain their old lands and privileges. Especially the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire,[4] who was ruler of Austria and a brother of the French queen, shared his sister's hatred of the radicals, and became alarmed for her safety in Paris. French revolutionists, on the other hand, were inciting uprisings against the rulers of the Rhine countries. Thus, a contest of strength between absolute monarchs and the French extremists was inevitable.

1. Which political party in America favored the French reformers? Which one in England? 2. What does "a social conflagration" mean? 3. Of what did Germany then consist? 4. What was the "Holy Roman Empire"?

French Revolutionists Begin War against their Neighbors (1792). — In August, 1791, after the king's hapless flight from Paris, the Austrian emperor united with the king of Prussia in a famous announcement known as the declaration of Pillnitz. This proclamation called upon all European kings to come to the rescue of Louis XVI, in order to restore "the foundations of a monarchical government." Soon they were massing troops along the Rhine to preserve "the rights of sovereigns."

This threat of foreign intervention made the French people wild with fury. In April, 1792, they forced the king to start war on Austria and Prussia — a war which continued, with brief

interruptions, for twenty-three years. Yet France was ill-prepared to meet an attack, since the old French army had been completely disorganized by the desertion of its aristocratic officers,[1] and the new national guards were sadly lacking in discipline and equipment. Under these circumstances the advance of the foreign allies seemed certain of success. The Prussians even expected to enter Paris, restore the king to power, and return home by fall.

1. Recall the old rule about army officers before 1789.

A Maddening Proclamation. — Yet the days of the Bourbon monarchy were numbered. Its overthrow was only hastened by actions of its rescuing friends. In July, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of the invading allied army, issued a foolish proclamation which aroused the French people to extremes of anger against their king and his foreign helpers. In this manifesto the invaders announced that they were going to restore the French king to his former dignity and power. If the least violence or outrage were offered by the people of Paris to any of the royal family, the allied sovereigns would take an "exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance" upon the city and deliver it over to "military execution and to complete ruin."[1]

This brutal announcement sealed the fate of the monarchy. Not only ardent republicans, but even moderate royalists were enraged by the threats and insults of the king's foreign allies. On August 10 after a period of rioting during which Louis XVI was grossly insulted, he was suspended from power and a call was issued for the election by all Frenchmen of a new national convention to make France a republic.[2]

Meanwhile the Jacobin[3] leaders hurled at the Duke of Brunswick a bloody defiance which made all compromise with the old order impossible. In September, just before the election of the new convention, they began a massacre of those aristocrats and nonjuring priests[4] who had been recently arrested on suspicion of sympathy with the royal cause. Hired murderers went through the prisons and put to death a thousand victims in Paris and hundreds more in the provinces. This ghastly deed

A Battalion from Marseille Fighting in Paris, 1792
From an old print.

was done to terrorize the opponents of the Revolution into inaction and to insure a victory for the republicans in the election.

1. If you had been a Frenchman, what would your reply have been? 2. Why do you suppose all men were allowed to vote this time? 3. Jacobins — who were they? Their chief leaders? 4. Who were nonjuring priests? Why slaughtered?

France is Made a Republic. — The new national convention, which met in Paris on September 21, 1792, showed plainly the effects of the foreign invasion and of the Jacobin massacres,[1] for it promptly and unanimously decreed that "monarchy is abolished" and announced the establishment of a French republic. The reformed monarchy of 1791 disappeared at once, but a regular republican constitution was not adopted until 1795.

1. Do you suppose all the voters dared to vote? Why?

The "Mountain" Kills the King. — The members of the convention were divided into three parties. Taking seats on the president's right was a group of young, enthusiastic republicans of moderate views, known as Girondists (jĭ-rŏn′dĭsts), or "the Right."

In the upper benches on the left of the hall sat the extremists, known, from the position of their seats, as "the Mountain," or "the Left." They were led by the three Jacobin idols of the Paris mobs, Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. By their fiery language, their high-handed acts and the violence of their friends who crowded the galleries, they terrorized the majority in the convention and overwhelmed the moderates, whom they later thrust out and killed.

The great body of the convention, occupying the low seats between the Girondists and the Mountain, were known as the Plain, or in derision "the Frogs of the Marsh." These men of "the Center" [1] had come tremblingly to Paris, the city where the violent commune and clubs had lately carried out the horrible prison massacres, and they were easily frightened into voting for extreme measures.[2]

The men of the Mountain were determined that Louis XVI should be put to death as an enemy of the republic.[3] Robespierre argued that the only possible proceeding against a tyrant was revolution. "Louis must die because the nation must live." The Mountain filled the galleries with its radical supporters, kept the convention in an uproar, and circulated rumors that the September massacres were to be renewed. Soon the radicals had their way. The convention, after some examination of the evidence against the king, voted that he should be put to death, and on January 21, 1793, he was sent to the guillotine.[4]

1. "Right," "Left," and "Center" are still customary divisions of Continental legislative bodies. Show the meaning of each. 2. Was the republic really a democracy? Reasons. 3. Of what had he been guilty? 4. Name other kings you have studied about who lost their lives in revolutions.

The Radical French Republic Tries to Reform Europe. — As the overthrow of the monarchy in the summer of 1792 was hastened by the action of the king's foreign friends, so his execution was due partly to the same cause. In the language of Danton, the radicals wished to throw at the foreign enemies "the head of the king in defiance." And, indeed, the king's execution seemed to be a defiance of all crowned heads. The gauntlet was

COMBAT IN THE STREETS OF CHOLET

Here the republicans were intrenched and fought a battle with the royalists, 1793.

taken up by the other countries, so that the alliance of Austria and Prussia against France was soon joined by Great Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, and other states.

Menaced by so many anti-revolutionary foes, the republicans of France hoped to start a back-fire against the monarchs by inciting their subjects to revolt and by helping them to establish democracies. As early as November 19, 1792, the convention promised "to assist all peoples who wish to recover their liberty." French armies were to bring peace, fraternity, liberty, and equality, and the chance for the people to govern themselves. In other words, the French republic was declaring war upon the Old Régime in other countries. These announcements were widely circulated, and in the regions bordering France where the revolutionary ideas of the age had spread, the invading French armies of 1792–1793 were heartily welcomed.

Thus the stage was set for the general European war which continued with only occasional interruptions from 1792 until 1815. On one side was the spirited new French republic; on the other were the monarchies and aristocracies of old Europe. The one was inspired by love for new-found liberties and by determination to retain and extend them at all hazards; the others were actuated by the fear of change and the dread of revolution.

Double Danger to the Republic. — In the summer of 1792, since the French army was in no condition to meet the invaders, the allies won some early successes. But the radicals, instead of despairing, were stimulated to desperate efforts by such leaders as Danton, who urged "audacity; more audacity; always audacity." Thrilled with this new spirit, with the soul-stirring new martial song — the *Marseillaise* — as their battle cry, the armies of the republic met with remarkable success in the fall of 1792; but in the following spring the tables were turned and France was once more threatened with invasion.

The convention heard the news of the latest disasters at the very time that it was facing serious royalist uprisings at home; for the program of the Paris republicans was vigorously opposed by a considerable share of the people in many parts of France.

Thus Danton and his republicans stood at bay between enemies from without and civil war flaring up all over France.

The Reign of Terror (1793–1794)

Terror Becomes the Order of the Day. — The reply of the French radicals to the challenge of domestic and foreign foes was the Reign of Terror. Terrorism was now deliberately chosen because it seemed to the leaders the only way out of the dreadful predicament. The enemies of the republic within must be utterly destroyed; the lukewarm must be frightened into active support. Marat, the most bloodthirsty of the leaders, day after day shouted that there were still 270,000 nobles, priests, and their followers who were a danger to the state; "therefore those 270,000 heads must fall." Danton said, "Let us be terrible to spare the people from so being. Let us drink, if we must, the blood of humanity's enemies." For a time it was deemed necessary even to "veil the rights of man" in order that those suspected of conspiracy might be seized and executed.

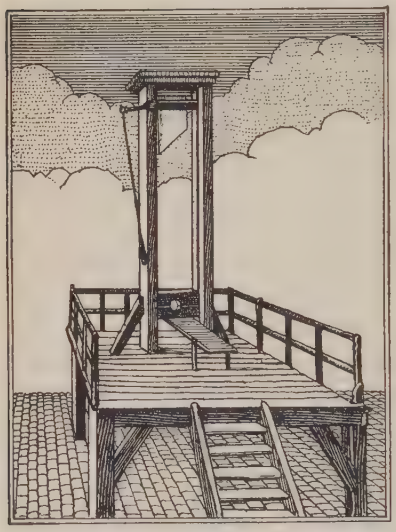
Foreign states were informed that the republic would "sooner be buried under its own ruins than suffer any power to interfere in its internal affairs." Within France the death penalty was pronounced against any one who should even propose treating with the enemies of the state until they had solemnly announced their willingness to leave the republic alone.

The leaders in terrorism now appointed special groups of powerful officials by whom the plan of frightfulness at home was to be carried out, and the country placed in a position to meet its foreign foes. There were four important agencies thus devised to meet the emergency.

The Great Committee of Public Safety, composed of nine to twelve members of the convention, became the chief executive during the Reign of Terror. For a time Danton was the leading member; later, Robespierre. This supremely powerful committee carried on the war — or rather wars, both civil and foreign; it controlled local revolutionary committees throughout the country; and enforced all decrees of the government.

The Committee of General Security, also composed of members of the convention, dealt with individuals while the great committee shaped and carried out plans. It was the business of the Committee of General Security to seek out and bring to trial all persons suspected of opposition to the Revolution.

The Revolutionary Tribunal decided the fate of suspected persons. Its proceedings were simple and direct. It did not feel bound to base decisions strictly upon evidence, but felt that "the conscience of the jurors enlightened by love of the fatherland" was sufficient.[1] From all over France suspects — nonjuring priests, aristocrats, counter-revolutionists, profiteers, unsuccessful generals, slackers, and others — were sent to Paris by the revolutionary committees, until the prisons of the capital were filled to overflowing. The tribunal began its work in the spring of 1793 with much moderation; but from the autumn of 1793 until July, 1794, the number of convictions rapidly increased, showing that the terrorists were growing more and more suspicious and violent. During June and July, 1794, when the Terror was at its worst, 1498 persons were condemned and sent to the guillotine. This was about half of the total number put to death during the Terror in Paris. Among the many victims of the guillotine were the queen, Marie Antoinette, the leaders of the Girondists, and later Danton and Robespierre themselves. Similar tribunals were established in other places, and hundreds were put to death with shocking brutalities, while



THE GUILLOTINE OF THE REVOLUTION
From a contemporary engraving.

THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL IN ACTION
From an old print.

in the most rebellious provinces thousands were executed without pretense of trial.

Deputies on Mission, appointed by the convention under the influence of its Committee of Public Safety, were also sent out to the armies and rural districts on tours of inspection and discipline. These men wielded great powers. They could depose generals, and did so if battles were lost; could direct military operations; and vigorously supervised local officials.

By means of these four agencies the policy of terrorism was extended throughout the country. In only one place was a man free from suspicion — in the army; and in the army the finest men of France were serving to protect and extend the sacred cause of liberty.

1. Would you expect justice in such trials? Give reasons.

What the Terror Accomplished. — For a time the terrorists overwhelmed all their enemies. In the convention, the more moderate Girondists were seized and many of them sent to the guillotine, while the members of the Plain voted meekly for whatever the Mountain desired. A "law of suspects" threw hundreds of thousands into prison, and frightened moderate men into openly supporting terrorism.

The entire nation was called upon to fight the enemies of the republic threatening from within and from without. "All Frenchmen are in permanent requisition for the service of the armies," said the decree of the convention. "The young men shall go to battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothing and shall serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn old linen into lint; the aged shall betake themselves to public places in order to arouse the courage of the warriors and preach the hatred of kings and the unity of the republic."

Profiteering in food and in other things was prohibited by the "law of the maximum" which fixed the prices of many necessities of life. Shopkeepers were not to charge more than the legal rates. Many were executed for breaking this law.

With great ferocity the patriots likewise attacked the counter-

revolutionists outside of Paris. The rebels were defeated, and their leaders hunted down. Marseille, Bordeaux, Lyon, and other cities paid dearly for their revolt from the rule of the radical republic. Everywhere the terrorists were successful.

So effective was the Terror and the republican appeal that by the summer of 1794 eight hundred thousand men were under arms — not only under arms, but well disciplined, enthusiastic, and commanded by able young generals. This rousing and preparing of the nation for war was largely the work of Carnot (kär-nō′), "the organizer of victory," one of the ablest and sanest of the republican leaders, whose new national armies[1] soon proved more than a match for the foreign invaders.

1. Compare these "national" armies with the type of armies used by kings of that age.

The End of the Reign of Terror. — A system of deliberate terror conducted by violent men could not go on indefinitely. Sooner or later the people would grow sick of the slaughter and would take steps to regain the privileges promised them in the "Rights of Man."[1] The excuse for the Terror lay in the peril to the republic from its enemies, foreign and domestic. But after the rout of these enemies, the terrorists could no longer plead patriotism in support of their bloody program. By the midsummer of 1794 this point had been reached.

For some time the terrorist leaders had wrangled among themselves. The most bloodthirsty of them, Marat, was assassinated as early as July, 1793. Danton, head of the less violent party, and really the greatest republican leader, was sent to the guillotine when he tried to end the Terror after its purpose was accomplished. Then the supreme power passed for a short time to Robespierre, the sole surviving member of the original triumvirate.

But he who had brought about the death of so many others, was soon to follow the same road to the guillotine. The convention at length summoned enough courage to accuse him, and after frightful fighting in the streets of Paris, Robespierre and his friends suffered their fate (July 28, 1794).

Thereafter the Terror was gradually relaxed; the prisons were emptied; the revolutionary committees were shorn of their powers; the mobs of Paris were subdued; and the convention once more resumed its authority.

1. What privileges were these?

Reforms Attempted by the Radical Republic

Constructive Work in a Period of Recklessness and Terror (1792–1795). — Although the assembly known as the convention of the republic [1] must be held responsible for the Reign of Terror, it can nevertheless be given credit for much valuable work:

(1) The convention abolished monarchy and established a republic. It is true that this was soon overthrown,[2] but republican ideas persisted in French minds, at length bearing fruit in the founding of the present French Republic in 1870.

(2) Much interest was taken in popular education and in the encouragement of arts and sciences. The convention planned, though it did not carry out, a system of public education [3] to fit the citizens for their new duties. A national institute for the sciences and arts was erected, and museums of natural history and of the fine arts were founded.

(3) The ancient system of weights and measures was abolished and in its place was introduced the sensible decimal, or metric, system, which has since proved of great utility [4] in France and elsewhere.

(4) Slavery in the French colonies was abolished by the republic in this same radical period.

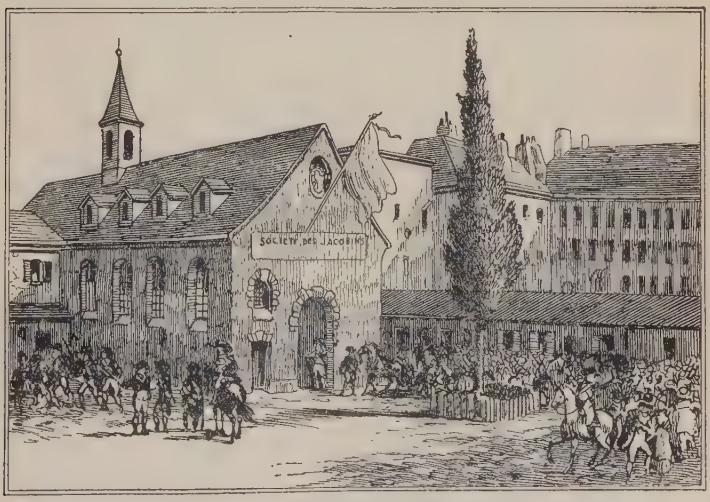
(5) The confiscated lands of the church and the nobility [5] were put up for sale. Although some large estates fell into the hands of speculators, yet many pieces were bought by peasants whose descendants have since continued to be owners of the lands they cultivated. It is estimated that by 1799 there were 1,200,000 new land owners in France; and to this day French farms are generally small homesteads worked by the owners.[6]

(6) The convention at first closed the churches, and en-

couraged atheism. But after the overthrow of the terrorists it permitted freedom of worship and allowed the use of church buildings for religious purposes. The principle of liberty to worship in one's own way has continued ever since in France, although different religions have not always enjoyed equal privileges in the government and in education.

(7) The convention finally adopted a constitution for the republic which was put into force in the fall of 1795, and known as the "Constitution of the year III" of the republican régime.

1. Just why was this convention originally elected? When? By whom? 2. Were republics prevalent at that time in the world? 3. Why is this fact striking? 4. How is the metric system superior to others? 5. Why had they been confiscated? How much land was involved? 6. Is this a wholesome condition? Reasons?



CLOSING THE JACOBINS' CLUB IN 1795
It was closed as a menace to the republic and a supporter of tyranny. Redrawn from an old print.

Attempt to Restore the Monarchy (1795). — Immediately after the overthrow of the Terror there was a strong sentiment in favor of returning to monarchy.[1] Had there been an able candidate for the throne, it is possible that the republic would

have fallen with the Terror, but Louis's only son was supposed to have died in prison and his two brothers had fled with the emigrants and had actively assisted the enemies of France. The monarchists now attempted an uprising in Paris, but the republican leaders entrusted their defense to a young and little known officer named Napoleon Bonaparte. Cannon were hastily brought to the city and by a " whiff of grapeshot " young Bonaparte scattered the attacking parties, October, 1795, thus saving the republic — for the time.

1. Account for this.

A Short-Lived Constitution. — The constitution of 1795, the regular constitution finally created for the republic, showed by its aristocratic tinge the influence of the new anti-radical spirit. Universal manhood suffrage now gave way to a property requirement for voters and officeholders.[1] Executive powers, much broader than those granted to Louis XVI in the constitution of 1791, were vested in five Directors, from whom the period 1795 to 1799 is usually called the Directorate.[2] The legislature was divided into two houses, after the British and American plan, which had been rejected with ridicule in 1791.[3]

The newly-established Directory was torn with dissension within itself, and the new legislative bodies failed to meet the pressing economic needs of the people. The government of the Directory was also honeycombed with graft, so that the constitution of 1795 could probably not have endured long even if it had not been overthrown by Napoleon.

1. Compare this with the arrangement in the constitution of 1791. 2. Note perils in having a committee of five "Presidents" at once. 3. Why are two houses considered better than one?

The French Revolution is Felt in America. — The revolution in France began less than a week after Washington became President of the United States. From that time, events in France were eagerly watched in this country and had marked effects upon the history of our young republic. Some of these reactions may be briefly summarized:

(1) When the French republicans started their attack upon the

Old Régime in 1792, they thought that the American republic ought to be interested in helping such a liberal cause, especially since the alliance which France made with the revolting American colonies in 1778 had never been canceled. In spite of the efforts of Genet (zhē-nĕ′), special French envoy, to stampede our government, President Washington kept the United States neutral.

(2) During the whole course of the Revolution and the period of Napoleon, the American people were sharply divided in their sympathies toward the struggle going on in Europe. The followers of Jefferson, the Republicans, were generally cordial toward the French Revolution and the French side in the European war, while the Federalist partisans of Hamilton and Washington were horrified by the Revolution and its attack upon the old order of things.

(3) Owing partly to irritation at America's constant attitude of neutrality, the corrupt government of the Directory in 1797 declined to receive the newly appointed American minister unless a bribe should be paid, partly to the Directors personally and partly to the French treasury. This was the famous X Y Z episode, which was followed by a very brief naval war in 1799 between the United States and France. When Napoleon came into power he promptly stopped the war by agreeing to receive the American envoy — with no bribe. The old alliance of 1778 was definitely canceled at this time.

(4) During the European war the rights of Americans on the high seas were often roughly abused by the powers in strife. The most serious cases were the interference with American commerce during the commercial struggle between Great Britain and Napoleon (described in the next chapter), and the impressment of seamen from American ships. In this Great Britain was the chief offender.

A Summary of Lasting Results of the French Revolution

A. *Within France:*

(1) France was permanently freed from that collection of inherited abuses known as the Old Régime.

(2) Thereafter France was a closely-knit modern nation in which all parts were on an equal basis.

(3) Equality of personal and of property rights for all citizens became the basic principle of the French nation, and has so remained.

(4) A passionate national patriotism became a characteristic of the French people.

(5) Through the confiscation and sale of the lands of the clergy and the nobility, France came to be in a very unusual degree a land of many thrifty, independent, small farmers. What we may call the landed democracy of modern France rests upon the basis of this ownership of land by the farmers of the nation.

(6) Owing to the excesses of the radical republic of 1792–1794, the idea of a republic became discredited for years in France, as well as elsewhere in Europe. Republicanism and destructive radicalism were thought to be synonymous.

B. *Outside of France:*

(7) In some regions beyond France, as in Belgium, Switzerland, and the Rhine country, the feudal inequalities of the Old Régime had been permanently destroyed; while in others, such as Germany, Spain, and Italy, they were soon to be pushed aside by the Napoleonic policies.

(8) Throughout western Europe the revolutionary period stirred up at the time, and later, an undying spirit of liberty and longing for freedom among oppressed peoples.

(9) On the other hand, the violence of the Revolution in France stiffened the reactionary tendencies and convictions of the ruling classes throughout Europe, so that in the first quarter of the nineteenth century they set their faces against all reform.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Weigh carefully all you have learned about the French Revolution and decide whether you rate it as a step forward or backward in the world's progress. Give reasons.

2. Make a summary of the reforms of the French Revolution which you think deserve praise.

3. A vivid account of the capture of the Bastille is in Mathews's *French Revolution*, pp. 128–134. Read it carefully and be prepared to talk to the class five minutes on this dramatic event.

4. Using the same book, pp. 198–201, prepare to tell the class about the appearance of the Marseillaise Hymn in the French Revolution.

5. Get an indelible image of that great history-making night of August 4–5, 1789, by reading other vivid descriptions of it. Use Mathews's *French Revolution*, pp. 138–141, or Hayes's *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 480 ff.

6. Explain clearly how the French Revolution brought on a general European war.

7. In Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. I, read these at first hand:

a. The famous reforming decree of August 4–5, 1789, pp. 255 ff.

b. The Declaration of the Rights of Man, pp. 259 ff.

c. The appeal of the French Convention to the people of Europe in 1792, pp. 298 ff.

d. Arthur Young's description of the National Assembly at work, pp. 253 ff.

Reading List

MATHEWS, S., *The French Revolution*. The best.

HAYES, C. J. H., *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I. Authoritative, but rather advanced.

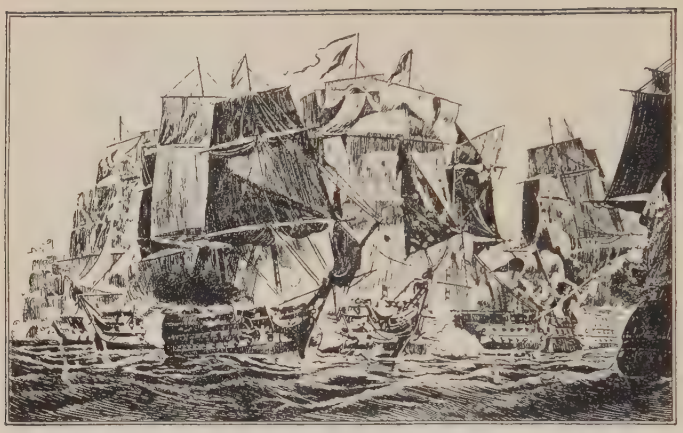
JOHNSTON, R. M., *The French Revolution*. Easy to understand, but lacking in dramatic power.

MUIR, J. R., *National Self-Government*. Chapter 4 contains an excellent, brief interpretation of the French Revolution as a whole.

HAAREN and POLAND, *Famous Men of Modern Times*. Simple and uncritical.

TAPPAN, EVA, *Hero Stories of France*. Clear and elementary.

FICTION: Belloc, H., *The Girondin;* Dickens, C., *A Tale of Two Cities;* Gras, F., *The Reds of the Midi;* Sabatini, R., *Scaramouche;* Seaman, A. H., *When a Cobbler Ruled the King*.



Beginning of the Battle of Trafalgar
From a colored etching of 1837.

CHAPTER X

THE ERA OF NAPOLEON (1799–1815)

Why the First French Republic Did Not Last

Reformed France Becomes Imperialistic. — Up to 1795 the French Revolution had been more successful in destroying the abuses of the Old Régime than in building new institutions. The work of destruction had been thorough.[1] The despotic monarchy of the Bourbons, together with old feudal inequalities and special privileges, had been overturned; the royal family, the aristocracy, and many of the clergy had been driven into exile or had suffered death on the guillotine; while their great holdings of land had been seized by the government or by individuals.

A new equality of civil and political rights[2] had been promised by the Declaration of Rights, and a republican form of government had been established. But there was little real progress toward democracy; for the despotism of Louis XVI

was succeeded by the despotism of the terrorists, and this in turn gave place to the despotism of Napoleon.

Outside of France the revolutionary ideas had spread to the Netherlands, to the small German states, and even into Italy. On the other hand, the crusade of the French republicans against the Old Régime in neighboring lands had aroused the leading monarchs of Europe and had led to a powerful alliance against France. To meet this foreign danger, the leaders of France called the entire nation to arms. They used the fresh enthusiasm of those republican days to clear their country of invaders and even to attack foreign lands, in order to spread afar the principles of equality and to annex new territory to France.

Thus the Revolution was not merely a French affair purging France of old abuses. It became an imperialistic enterprise aiming at national expansion. This change from pure republican ideals came slowly and unconsciously; but the success of the French armies was so marked that the natural fruits of victory could not be rejected. Conquest, annexation, and the exploitation of adjoining lands were temptations which even French republicans could not resist.

1. Why was this natural? 2. Distinguish between civil rights and political rights. Illustrate.

Perils to Life and Property Create a Desire for a Strong Government. — Neither the Reign of Terror nor the government of the Directory after 1795 satisfied the French people. During the Terror, life was uncertain; property was liable to be confiscated; religious liberty was denied. Under the Directory the country dreaded a renewal of foreign invasions, a possible return of the emigrant nobles, and the restoration of their old feudal rights. The government was too weak and corrupt to guard against such dangers. So people lost confidence in the Directory, and began to feel the need of a man who could preserve the civil and economic gains of the Revolution.[1]

If the Directory was abolished, should the Bourbons be recalled? If so, a brother of Louis XVI who had been a leader of the emigrant nobles, was heir to the throne. Such a restoration

was desired by many, but it would mean the return of the nobles and nonjurors from exile, and an effort to restore confiscated lands to the aristocracy and clergy. Clearly such a return would be vigorously opposed by the new landed peasantry [2] who were now owners of the former property of the nobles and clergy.

The hour demanded a great statesman with broad outlook who could serve the people not only by preserving the best of the Revolution, but by maintaining order with a strong hand at home and by compelling respect abroad. Where could such a man be found? When he appeared, would he show the wise self-restraint of a Washington,[3] or would he play the part of a Cromwell?[4] These were the problems of the time. They were solved not by the choice of the French people, but by the ability and ambition of one man — Napoleon Bonaparte.

1. List separately those civil and economic gains. 2. Define "landed peasantry." 3. What self-restraint did Washington show? 4. What part did Cromwell play? When? Where?

Napoleon, the Man of the Hour

A Surly and Unhappy Schoolboy. — Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Corsica in 1769. Only a few months before, that island had been acquired by France. Thus Napoleon, although of Italian blood, was legally a Frenchman. The prominence of his family gained for him early entrance into French military schools at Brienne (brē-ĕn′) and Paris. Here he was quite unhappy. He scorned to toady to the noblemen's [1] sons about him. They, for their part, cared little for the small, pale-faced, unfriendly youth whose accent betrayed his Italian origin.

A commission as lieutenant of artillery was the reward of his studies; but he was still dissatisfied. His paltry salary forced him to live on a meager diet and to dress shabbily. His health failed through self-imposed overwork, for he was much of a "grind," always studying military or mathematical problems or the famous campaigns of history. He scarcely thought of himself as a Frenchman, but was pondering deeply on the history of Corsica, and longing for the day when he might free his native

island from French rule. At that time no one would have picked this morbid young man as destined to lead the French nation in an unparalleled career of military conquest.

1. How do you know that the students here were sons of noblemen?

A Small Man of Giant Ability. — Napoleon was only a little over five feet tall, yet in spite of his puny body he early dis-

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AS A YOUNG MAN
From a painting by Andrea Appiani.

played remarkable qualities which were to carry him to the pinnacle of fame. He could keep his mind long riveted to a task without fatigue, and needed only four to six hours of sleep a day. Besides gaining several hours which other men spent in sleep, he also made good use of the time which they spent aimlessly in pleasure-seeking. His self-restraint, indeed, was seen in everything except his appetite for brain work. There seemed no possibility of satisfying that craving.

He had amazing powers of concentration, and would give undivided attention to any problem until he worked his way through it. Perhaps no man in history has been Napoleon's equal in seeing all sides of a question and grasping it in all its relationships.

Napoleon was a keen judge of men. He studied human nature deeply and learned how to control skillfully the opinions and acts of others. Especially as a general he understood the feelings of the common soldier and used a dramatic way of touching their emotions. His addresses to his troops at critical points of his campaigns are still worth reading as models of appealing speech.

In will power Napoleon stands unexcelled. Time and again his armies performed feats seemingly impossible, driven on by the sheer impelling force of his mighty will. This overpowering mastery of will was his special badge of superiority.

The Revolution Gives Napoleon his Opportunity. — The early days of the Revolution were watched by Napoleon with interest and approval. He even joined a Jacobin club. But he despised the rough mob rule in Paris during the years 1793–1794. Yet he retained his commission in the republican army and won some reputation by efficient handling of artillery in one campaign. The year 1795 found him again in Paris in the unsettled times after the Terror. Here in October he defended the convention by bringing up cannon, and firing into the attacking crowds.

Shortly afterwards (March, 1796) the Directory gave him command of the army in the south, long since assigned to invade Austrian Italy, but lying idle, discontented, and ill-supplied in the towns of the French Riviera (rē-vyā′rä). Napoleon quickly recognized his golden opportunity. In an address to the hungry and ragged soldiers he at once fired them with enthusiasm. "Soldiers! You are naked and starving; the government owes you much and can give you nothing. I will lead you into the most fertile plain of the earth. Wealthy cities, great provinces, will be in your power; and honor, glory, and riches await you. Soldiers of Italy, will your courage, will your constancy fail?"

Napoleon Wins his Spurs in Italy (1796–1797). — Off thus with a command, Napoleon said to his bride Josephine, "My sword is at my side, and with it I shall go far." This was the lover's way of saying that his campaigns against the Austrians and Piedmontese [1] in northern Italy were giving him the chance to display his remarkable genius on a large scale. This campaign astonished Europe and made Napoleon the idol of the French.

Throwing his own forces between those of his two enemies, he defeated each separately. The Piedmontese were forced to make peace and cede to the French the control of their mountain passes. He then pursued the other enemy down the valley of the Po. Reënforcements sent from Austria availed nothing. Four armies in succession were put to rout, although in every case the enemy outnumbered the French. Up through the eastern mountains Napoleon followed the retreating Austrians into their home provinces, until even Vienna itself was threatened. In 1797 the Austrian emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was forced to sign the peace of Campo Formio, by which Austria surrendered all her territory in northern Italy, receiving in return the lands of the venerable republic of Venice.

The war of Napoleon in Italy had important results. Some of the conquered lands were formed into petty republics patterned after France.[2] The world now beheld a new way of fighting by which, as Napoleon said, "war was made to nourish war." The French armies had drawn their supplies from the country they traversed; but in addition to this, Napoleon fostered a systematic looting of the Italian cities. Scientists and artists following his army sought out the best of Italy's treasures to be sent as plunder to Paris. Among the loot thus gathered were masterpieces of painting and sculpture, medieval manuscripts, and millions of dollars' worth of precious metals and gems.[3] Thus the Italian campaigns showed the French people how war might be made profitable. The country yielded to the temptation, and indorsed the policy of its successful general.

Upon Napoleon also the Italian campaign had its effect. He was not fighting for France alone, but even more to advance his

BONAPARTE AT THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLA

Here in October, 1796, Napoleon's officers sought to protect him while leading a foolhardy attack across the bridge.

own personal fortunes. Each victory strengthened his popularity at home and brought nearer to his grasp that political power which he coveted. A few years later he said — what already was true in 1797 — "My power proceeds from my reputation, and my reputation from the victories I have won. My power would fail if I were not to support it with more glory and more victories. Conquest has made me what I am; only conquest can maintain me." [4]

1. Meaning of this word? Use map. 2. Was France then a republic? Be sure. 3. Account for the presence of so many masterpieces of art in Italian cities. 4. What does this add to your opinion of this great man?

Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign, 1798–1799. — Returning to Paris fresh from his victories, Napoleon became the hero of the people — much too popular to suit the officials of the Directorate. In order to be rid of him, they suggested an invasion of England, but to this he objected owing to an insufficient navy. Much to the relief of the politicians, however, Napoleon proposed instead a conquest of Egypt,[1] from which country an attack might be launched against the British possessions in India.[2]

THE "HERCULE," A FRIGATE OF 58 GUNS
From an old print. A man-of-war of the type used in the French navy.

The expedition reached Egypt in safety, and quickly subdued that country, notably in the Battle of the Pyramids, made famous by Napoleon's dramatic appeal to his men in the words, "Forty centuries are looking down upon you." [3] But commu-

nication with France was cut off through the destruction of the French fleet by the English Admiral Nelson in the Battle of the Nile (August 1, 1798). Then the venture was doomed to failure. At length Napoleon slyly deserted his army in Egypt,[4] and, sailing in a fast vessel, slipped past the British cruisers and reached France in safety (1799).

1. Did Egypt then belong to Great Britain? Does it now? 2. When and how did England gain Indian possessions? 3 Explain just what Napoleon meant by this. 4. Give your opinion of this move.

Napoleon Seizes Power over France, 1799. — For most men, such a disaster as Napoleon had met in Egypt and such a desertion of his followers would have destroyed all hope of further advancement; but fortune once more favored Napoleon. A second coalition of allies against France, backed by the money of Great Britain, had been formed while he was in Egypt. Since the inefficient Directors were unable to cope with the new peril, public opinion called for the leadership of the young general.

Determined to be supreme in the government before he undertook another distant campaign, Napoleon now plotted to overthrow the Directory and the constitution of 1795.

The two houses of the legislature were called to meet outside of Paris, and there, aided by Napoleon's soldiers, by his brother Lucien, and by fellow conspirators within the Directory and the legislature, the *coup d'état* (kōō-dā-tȧ′) of November 10, 1799, was carried through. A new constitution, of Napoleon's handiwork, was now made in which the vital powers of government were given to a "first consul," while the representative assemblies were shorn of most of their authority. These changes were by a plebiscite or referendum [1] submitted to the French voters, who approved overwhelmingly — 3,000,000 to 1,500![2] Napoleon, as first consul, entered at once upon his duties as ruler of France. Thus far had the rare opportunities of the time, united with his own ability and ambition, carried the young Corsican.[3]

1. Define "referendum" and "plebiscite." 2. Ponder these figures. What conclusion do you reach? 3. How old was he then?

Napoleon the General and Conqueror

Napoleon's Military Genius. — Napoleon is reported to have said that Hannibal and he were the greatest generals of history. In the planning of a campaign, in the conduct of troops on the march, and in the handling of an army on the field of battle, Napoleon has had no equal in modern times, as Hannibal had none in ancient days. Although Napoleon studied deeply the campaigns of the great Carthaginian, he was not the man to accept as his hero the leader of a lost cause. He patterned his life rather after the two great conquerors of the ancient world — Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar. Each had been more than a victorious general; each was a statesman who used his military successes to construct a great empire of many peoples. Napoleon aimed to unite the great generalship of a Hannibal with the political skill of an Alexander or a Cæsar. In this ambition he seemed to be succeeding — for a time. It is important to realize how he so nearly brought all Europe under his rule.

Napoleon's Way of Making War. — Napoleon's type of fighting was something new — a complete contrast to the formal, leisurely methods of his time. He showed so much originality in his plans and such dashing swiftness in his attacks that he threw his enemies into a panic. An Austrian prisoner, not knowing who Napoleon was, once said to him: "This way of making war is insupportable, and violates every usage. We have to deal with a young general, who is sometimes before us, sometimes in our rear, and then again on our flanks. We never know how we ought to place ourselves." Some of the reasons for Napoleon's military success were these:

(1) He made "war nourish war." That is, he did away with great baggage trains and warehouses of provisions, and supported his army by levies upon the country he was in. While in this way he was able to move with astonishing speed, yet such a method was possible only in thickly settled regions. It failed later in the mountainous districts of Spain, and brought appalling disaster in the Russian campaign of 1812.

(2) It was Napoleon's fixed policy to "surprise the enemy by strategy and secrecy, by the unexpectedness and rapidity of operations." "Find out what the enemy expects you to do," he said, "and then do anything but that."

(3) An even more important item in his tactics was the massing of forces at a desired spot. No matter how inferior in numbers he might be, he always aimed to outnumber the enemy at the fighting point. Said he, "The art of war consists in always having more forces than the enemy at the point where you attack or where you are attacked."

(4) Napoleon's success was due also to his ability to look after the minutest details and to hold the confidence of the common soldier. While on campaign he was continually inspecting the forces and traveling over the field of operations. His usual hours for sleep were from eight in the evening until midnight. Then he was up again, hearing reports from distant points and issuing his orders for the coming day, while his enemies were sleeping on through those early morning hours.

Napoleon's influence over his soldiers was electrical. By stirring appeals to their honor and bravery in the most dramatic surroundings, he thrilled their emotions and encouraged them to "a firm determination to perish with glory." Every soldier, he told them, carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack. Indeed, he granted honors and rewards lavishly to those who distinguished themselves, with complete disregard of a man's social rank or ancestry. For instance, his most famous marshal — Ney (nā) — was a cooper's son. All Napoleon asked was that a man should make good and be loyal to him.

His presence with the army had such an inspiring effect upon the soldiers, that he counted himself worth a hundred thousand men, and even his ablest opponent, the Duke of Wellington, placed the figure at forty thousand.

Napoleon and the Kings of Europe. — Using his wonderful military genius and backed enthusiastically by the French people, Napoleon met one combination of kings after another, and always, until 1809, victoriously. Of all the European states,

only Turkey in the southeast and Great Britain in her island security were free from his overwhelming attacks.

The first coalition, formed against the French revolutionists at the opening of the war in 1792, was broken up in 1797 by Napoleon's Italian campaigns against Austria. A second combination was made while Napoleon was absent in Egypt; but on his return this too was shattered by attacks upon Austria, delivered first in Italy at Maren'go and then on her own soil (1800–1802). When a third coalition was organized in 1805, Austria once again was defeated at Aus'terlitz and her capital was occupied by the French. Following up this victory, Napoleon overwhelmed the Prussian armies at Jena (yā'nä) and entered Berlin (1806). Then he proceeded eastward and defeated the Russians at Friedland (frēd'länt) (1807). Finally, in 1809, Austria for the fourth time challenged the conqueror of Europe, and for the fourth time suffered defeat, at Wagram (vä'gräm). These four battles — Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram — rank high among Napoleon's important victories.

Keystone View Co.
THE COLUMN OF AUSTERLITZ, IN PARIS

During these years of military success French armies also

overran Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Switzerland, and the smaller German states. Even Denmark and Sweden felt the prowess of Napoleon and succumbed at times to his authority without being invaded by his armies.

France Annexes Neighboring Lands. — From time to time during these wars, large regions were annexed to France. Before Napoleon's rise to power, the republic had occupied the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium).[1] Much later (1810) Napoleon annexed to France the lands of Holland, saying sarcastically that they were "the alluvial deposits of French rivers." Even beyond Holland, French territory was extended along the North Sea to the mouth of the Elbe. Moreover, from the lands of the Dutch southward to Switzerland, the river Rhine became the eastern boundary, thus destroying a large number of petty German states and fulfilling for a time the age-long ambitions of France.[2]

In addition to these outright annexations, Napoleon made his brothers and favorite generals rulers over various countries, in order to hold these lands under his authority. He himself became king of Italy (that is, northern Italy); his brother Joseph was made king of Spain; Jerome, king of Westphalia; Louis, for a time king of Holland; while his sister Caroline Bonaparte became queen of Naples. The Confederation of the Rhine was formed of subject German states east of that river; and a large part of Poland was made into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Even the Papal States in Italy were seized and annexed to France. On all sides Napoleon overthrew ancient royal families, wiped off the map hundreds of small German states, and changed the centuries-old boundaries to suit the dictates of his own ambition. (Map, page 225.)

1. To whom had Belgium belonged before the Revolution? 2. Why did many Frenchmen consider the Rhine their "natural boundary"?

Napoleon Aims at Far-flung Power. — Not content with making himself the master of Europe, Napoleon hoped to control the other continents as well. Forcing Spain to cede Louisiana back to France, Napoleon made plans for a secondary French empire in the West Indies and the Mississippi Valley. In

AFTER THE BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND. Napoleon reviewing his victorious troops. Painting by Meissonier.

developing these plans he was blocked by the British fleet and by the opposition of the United States. The plan for a New World empire was at an end when Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States in 1803.

It was in the Oriental regions, however, that Napoleon hoped to work out his dreams for universal dominion. "There is nothing left to do in Europe these last two hundred years; it is only in the Orient that a man can accomplish great things." Throughout his life he aspired to repeat the campaigns and conquests of Alexander the Great. It was with this purpose in mind that he undertook the ill-fated Egyptian expedition. And time and again in later years he felt the allurement of this Eastern will-o'-the-wisp. But his dreams of such conquests never came true. The British fleet prevented his invasion of the East, while on land the Russians and Turks opposed his plans. So he was compelled to remain in Europe; and in Europe at length he was called to account.

Napoleon as Statesman and Emperor

Napoleon an Active, Autocratic Ruler. — From the close of 1799 onward, Napoleon was the real ruler of France. His active, penetrating mind adjusted questions of economic and social reform as easily as it solved the problems of a campaign. But as he accepted no advice when on campaign, so in civilian matters he ruled with autocratic power. Into politics, art, religion, and education he carried the direct, personal will of a general.

In the civil life of France there was scarcely a field untouched by him. He determined what roads, bridges, and canals should be built or repaired; what the editors should say in their newspapers; what should be taught in the schools; what songs should be sung on public occasions; what manufactures should be promoted; what forms of art should be patronized. For instance, he ordered that every two years the government should buy four historical pictures, each of which should be four by five meters in size; and two statues, each two meters high. Yet the doings of Napoleon as a ruler were by no means all of this petty character.

Some had a far-reaching influence upon France and Europe for generations to come.

Napoleon Becomes an Emperor. — The constitution of 1799 [1] had placed broad powers in the hands of Napoleon, but it had given him only the title of first consul — there were two other consuls. In 1802 he was made consul for life; and finally in 1804 the title of emperor was bestowed upon him by a new constitution.[2] The people ratified the new office and title by plebiscite with an astonishing vote of 3,500,000 to 2,500.[3] The constitution of 1804 made the imperial throne hereditary in Napoleon's family; it established a new aristocracy with high-sounding titles, thus surrounding the new monarchy with much of the court life and etiquette of the old Bourbon dynasty. Napoleon's coronation ceremony showed clearly his self-confidence. In the cathedral of Notre Dame, surrounded by all the splendor of royalty, with the pope ready to officiate, the emperor-elect suddenly snatched the golden wreath and crowned himself.

Under the imperial constitution the government of the country was "entrusted" [4] to Napoleon and his heirs after him. Other departments of government existed, to be sure, but with such limited powers that they were completely dominated by the emperor. The scheme of government was cunningly devised so that neither the people nor the assemblies could express their will contrary to the wishes of the emperor.

Thus Frenchmen, during the rule of Napoleon, lost all vital control over their government, whether local or national. Real popular elections and real representation were wholly lacking. Yet it is only fair to add that, in appointing to high office, Napoleon chose capable men regardless of their social standing, and kept long in office those who served him well. Careers were really open to merit.

1. Who controlled the making of this constitution? How so? 2. What other constitutions had France had since 1789? 3. Note these figures and draw conclusions. 4. Was Napoleon's power founded on "divine right"?

The Concordat, Napoleon's Treaty with the Pope. — During his campaigns in Italy, Napoleon had not hesitated to occupy

the Papal States, and to exact from the pope millions in money and hundreds of paintings and old manuscripts. But by 1800 Napoleon had changed his attitude toward the Catholic religion, as he came to believe that religion was necessary for the good of society. "If I ruled a people of Jews, I would rebuild the temple of Solomon," said he. Since France was overwhelmingly Catholic, Napoleon had to make terms with the pope. Yet in these terms, not the pope, but Napoleon kept the upper hand. "The nation requires religion and this religion must be in the hands of the government." [1]

The *Concordat*, or treaty between the pope and Napoleon, was concluded in 1801. By this agreement the Catholic faith — the belief of the great majority of Frenchmen — was recognized as the official religion. The pope accepted the confiscation of church property made during the Revolution.[2] On the other hand, the government agreed to pay the salaries of the bishops and priests, and kept control over the appointment of these clergymen. This Concordat continued in force until 1906.

1. Do you imagine that Napoleon was a religious man? Reasons.
2. By this time, who owned most of these lands? How so?

The Famous Codes of Napoleon. — Having placed the support of religion in France upon a secure basis, Napoleon next aimed to give permanence to the civil rights which had been gained by Frenchmen during the Revolution. To this end the Civil Code was put into effect in 1804, after being carefully studied and revised by Napoleon and his personal advisers. This great code is still in force in France, as the system of law governing everyday civil relationships. It was followed in later years by similar codes dealing with court procedure, with laws against crimes, and with regulations of commerce. Some central principles in these codes are worth noting:

(1) In dealing with the legal rights of members of a family, the Code Napoleon restored to the husband and father much of the control over his wife and children which he had lost during the Revolution. Said Napoleon, "the family should be absolutely at the disposition of its head." [1]

(2) It fixed the rules for the inheritance of lands and for the settlement of estates. In these important matters equal rights of all the children in a family was the basic principle.[2]

(3) Arbitration was favored in the settlement of civil disputes. When this failed, cases were to be decided by the judge. In criminal cases, a jury trial was guaranteed, the verdict to be given by a majority.

(4) Voluntary associations and public meetings were discouraged. "No association of more than twenty persons, whose aim is to unite every day or on certain fixed days to occupy itself with religious, literary, political, or other objects, can be formed, except with the consent of the government or under such conditions as public authority may impose." [3]

(5) In the business relationships of life and in the great sweep of personal rights, all Frenchmen were guaranteed equal standing.

These codes of law were the most valuable and lasting part of Napoleon's work. By them the principles of equality decreed by the Revolution were woven deeply into the laws of the land. As his conquering armies swept over Europe and overturned old feudal laws and special privileges, the codes were everywhere introduced to insure the legal equality of all men and to establish a system in harmony with that of France.

Thus the codes were carried by force of arms into many countries. In other places they were accepted because of their evident superiority over the local customs. Even to-day their influence is felt in the legal systems of western Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Greece, the Balkan states, and even in far-distant Japan and Siam.

1. Account for such an opinion from Napoleon. 2. Why equality? 3. What objection did Napoleon have to unregulated meetings?

Napoleon's Plans for Education. — Elaborate plans for education in France had been made by the revolutionary assemblies,[1] but before Napoleon's time little besides planning had been done. It was left for the emperor to shape the educational system. A decree of 1808 brought all schools under one national department of education known as the Imperial University. From the lowest

primary schools, public or private, up to the highest professional institutions, all teaching was supervised by this national organization. It licensed the teachers and professors; it determined the courses of study; it inspected the buildings and the use of school funds; it even kept control over textbooks and school libraries. The educational system was marked by the same centralization as the constitution of the empire.[2]

Napoleon, as noted above, took away from women the liberties they had enjoyed during the Revolution, and allowed the head of the family to be a despot over his wife and children. In a similar manner he set himself against the higher education of girls and women. Napoleon once remarked that it was unnecessary even to consider a system of education for girls. "They can get no better instruction than that of their mothers. A public education does not suit them, for the reason that they are not called on to live in public; for them habit is everything, and marriage is the goal." To his comprehension of the feelings of the common man in the army or in business, Napoleon never joined any appreciation of the higher qualities of womanhood.

Throughout the educational system Napoleon required the teaching of the Roman Catholic religion, fidelity to the emperor, and acceptance of the liberal ideas proclaimed in the national constitutions. An "Imperial Catechism" injected into all religious instruction respect for Napoleon and the dynasty. Thus the child, when asked what were the duties of all Christians toward the emperor, was taught to reply: "Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we owe in particular to Napoleon I, our Emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes laid for the preservation and defense of the empire and of his throne." (Continued on page 239.)

In this way Napoleon sought to lay the foundations of his empire in the minds of young people.

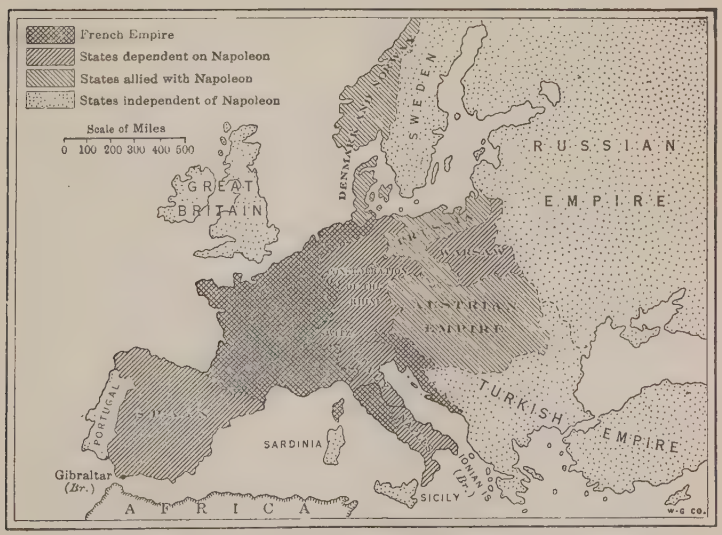
1. Account for the interest of the Jacobin leaders in education. 2. Make comparisons with the system in our country.

The Legion of Honor. — Another permanent creation of Napoleon was the Legion of Honor, which still occupies an im-

portant place in French life. He believed that Frenchmen might perhaps care for liberty and equality, but much more for honor. Accordingly, the Legion was formed to set off from the rest of the soldiers those who had shown conspicuous bravery. But Napoleon extended the Legion also, although rarely, to citizens who by their knowledge or talents had contributed to the strength or prestige of the nation, or who had served conspicuously in public office.

Thus the Legion became a means for giving suitable rewards and decorations to citizens who excelled in any public capacity, and as such it has continued to the present day.

The Grand Empire. — Napoleon, in addition to his position as emperor in France, looked upon himself as the successor of Charlemagne in all of western Europe. Thus when he imposed his relatives and generals upon the neighboring peoples he did not intend that they should occupy independent thrones. Rather he looked upon himself as supreme over all of them, and at will interfered personally in the affairs of the subject states.



Napoleon's Sway at its Height, 1810–1812

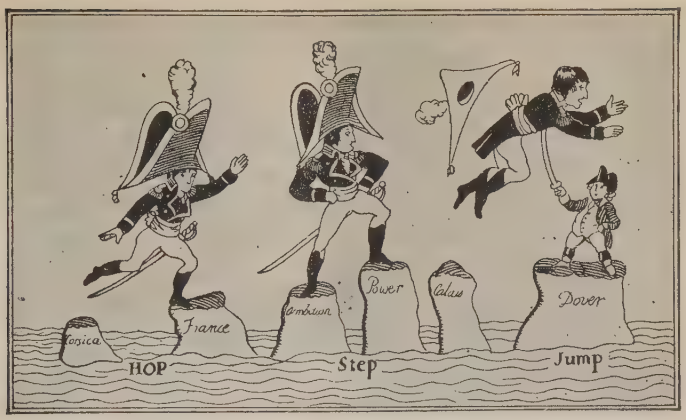
He was really creating a group of new monarchies upon the foundation of his own military prowess. There was in fact no French empire, but simply a *Napoleonic* empire.

In establishing a personal rule over many different peoples, Napoleon was directly ignoring the existence of any sentiment of race or nationality in western Europe. He believed it possible to compel the Dutch to support French troops within their country; to require the Spaniards to accept his brother Joseph as king; to draft armies of Germans to fight his battles for him; to collect taxes from Italians to support his generals in extravagant living; to compel the Russians, Germans, and Dutch to give up their long-established trade with England and to accept French goods. He thus openly flouted all national sentiment. In the end, however, it was the peoples imbued with strong national patriotism who overturned his empire. Before seeing how this came about we must note his relations to his one irreconcilable enemy — England.

Napoleon's Life-and-Death Struggle with England

A Peculiar Contest. — Throughout his entire career Napoleon's one most stubborn enemy was Great Britain. This was because the British felt that it would be fatal to their very existence as a nation if Napoleon should snatch away their commerce or their colonies. Although all the nations of the Continent felt the stroke of Napoleon's military genius, Great Britain lay beyond his direct influence. His armies could not march across the English Channel, and never was he able to command a fleet which could ferry them over to the tight little isle. Great Britain, on the other hand, was powerful on the sea but unable to cope with Napoleon single-handed on the land.

For a naval contest with England Napoleon lacked two things. The first deficiency was within himself. Wholly without naval training, he could not think in terms of ships, winds, tides, and currents. He ordered his admirals about as he ordered his generals, and was much disgusted when they could not or would not follow his orders to the letter. The second lack was in the



ENGLISH CARTOON OF NAPOLEON, 1803

From indigence in Corsica to affluence in France. From aspiring ambition to the summit of power. From Calais to Dover, where little John Bull does the Corsican over.

French fleet, which never equaled the British navy in ships, men, or discipline. The continuous wars on the Continent called for such a steady stream of men and supplies, that the resources even of a Napoleon were unequal to the twofold task of maintaining a successful army and creating an overpowering fleet.

Would Napoleon Invade England? — Napoleon, in his ignorance of naval warfare, seems to have thought that the English Channel could be treated as a river, across which his army could be ferried to the British shore. Accordingly, in 1804 and 1805, he made vast preparations for an invasion of England.

He formed the plan of luring the British fleet away from the Channel by means of his own fleet, hoping by this strategy to win a temporary superiority in the narrow waters, and to pilot his army across in safety. But his complicated orders could not be followed out by the admirals; and at length all hope of invasion was lost when Nelson defeated the combined French and Spanish fleets in one of the important sea fights of history, off Cape Trafalgar (October 21, 1805).[1] Never afterwards

did Napoleon have opportunity either to meet the British fleet on equal terms, or to consider seriously an invasion of England.

1. Locate Cape Trafalgar on map. Show importance of this battle.

Napoleon Attacks English Commerce. — Napoleon had failed to defeat the British navy,[1] or to build up a colonial empire to rival England's. But there remained one place in which England was vulnerable, her commerce, and during 1806 he determined to attack her in that spot.

He saw clearly that England's prosperity depended upon her

COMBAT OF THE FRENCH FRIGATE "LA CANONNIÈRE," WITH THE BRITISH VESSEL "THE TREMENDOUS," APRIL 21, 1806
From a painting by Gilbert.

commerce with other nations, and upon the manufactures[2] which furnished so large a part of the materials for that trade. The destruction of these would mean bankruptcy and starvation for England.

Napoleon, by a new device known as the "Continental Blockade," or the "Continental System," aimed to close all European ports against British vessels and goods, and also sought to prevent the Continental countries from trading with Great Britain.

Then the British would be isolated from the rest of Europe, their colonial produce could not be sold, their manufactured goods could find no market, their supplies of raw material would be cut off, and the industrial and commercial classes — England's mainstay — would be ruined.

1. What earlier victory of Nelson over Napoleon? Importance? 2. What striking modernizing of manufacture was then being made in England? Glance at Chapter XI.

England and Napoleon Hit Neutrals in their Duel. — Always striving for dramatic effect,[1] Napoleon waited until after the defeat of Austria and Prussia in 1805–1806,[2] before issuing his first decree against British commerce. Having humbled the two great military states of central Europe, he launched from Berlin his thunderbolt against England, following it a year later by a decree issued at Milan.

By the Berlin and Milan decrees, Napoleon tried to exclude British goods and British ships from all parts of the Continent. British subjects were to be taken prisoner, and British goods confiscated, wherever found. Even the English language was forbidden on any mail accepted by the post offices. Neutral vessels which had touched at a British port or at a port in any of the British colonies, or which had been searched by a British vessel, were declared liable to confiscation when they reached a French port.

Before the publication of the Berlin decree the British had already taken steps to blockade some of the French ports. Thereafter, by a series of orders in council,[3] the British government aimed to prevent neutral vessels from reaching any Continental port from which British vessels were excluded.

Thus the commerce of neutral nations, of which the United States was the most important, was caught between the upper and nether millstones of French decrees and British orders in council. Seizure of ships, confiscation of cargoes, and indignities inflicted upon seamen became the common fate of neutrals.

1. Find and list other dramatic moves of Napoleon. 2. By what battles were Austria and Prussia defeated in 1805–1806? 3. Find out what "orders in council" are.

The Commercial War a Duel of Giants. — Napoleon, accustomed to seeing his orders obeyed briskly, found immense difficulty in enforcing his decrees against England. For centuries there had been profitable lines of trade between England and the Continent. Northern Germany, the Baltic regions, and Russia had especially benefited by this traffic, which gave an outlet for their raw materials, and brought to them English manufactures and colonial goods (sugar, tea, spices, etc.). Now, by a despotic decree, Napoleon sought to destroy this well-established, profitable commerce.

French Soldiers Searching for British Goods in Leipzig

From a copper engraving.

On every hand Napoleon met resistance to his will. Smuggling was practiced on an enormous scale, often with the connivance of the French officials, and even of Napoleon's own brothers. Frauds and tricks of every imaginable sort were employed in order to maintain the forbidden traffic. By such means British goods still found their way into the Continental countries. Driven to greater extremes, Napoleon finally ordered all articles of British origin to be seized and destroyed. His soldiers then searched shops and dwellings not only in France, but also in Holland, Germany, and other regions, pulling British goods out of hiding places and burning them in huge bonfires.

This effort to control international trade in an unnatural way had far-reaching effects upon the history of Europe and the life

of Napoleon. (1) For a while it gave an artificial stimulus to French manufactures and brought industrial prosperity to France at the expense of her subject and allied nations. (2) For the time it worked grave injury to England's trade and industry, and pinching privations to many English families, but it never brought England to her knees as Napoleon had anticipated. (3) It led both France and Great Britain to be harsh and unreasonable toward neutrals. This bully-like attitude on Britain's part at length brought about the War of 1812 with the United States. (4) It created much suffering and discontent throughout Europe and stirred the peoples to desperate opposition against Napoleon. (5) It led Napoleon to be increasingly arbitrary toward other countries, such as Portugal, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, and Germany, where the decrees were not well obeyed. (6) At length the Continental System led to a new war against Russia (1812), with fatal results to Napoleon.

The Uprising of Europe against Napoleon

Napoleon at the Zenith of His Power. — The years 1810–1811 saw Napoleon at the height of his power, although not at the pinnacle which he was hoping to attain. He openly planned conquests in Asia, Africa, and the Indies, and boasted that in a short time he would be "master of the universe."

But with his advance in power Napoleon himself was changing. He grew more arrogant and despotic, and refused to be balked in anything, great or trivial. Worst of all for his own future, he came to believe, as time went on, that his success was habitual and would not change. He no longer faced facts squarely or sought truth with his old alertness. Instead, he placed his own judgment above all information others might bring him. So colored by success was his outlook that he failed to see the great changes taking place in the world about him.

It was not the opposition of princes which finally overthrew Napoleon, but a new power which he could not understand — the patriotic impulses of the peoples he had conquered. Showing itself first in Spain, this national spirit next appeared in Prussia,

then in Austria and other German states, until finally Napoleon faced an aroused national sentiment in every subject country. Without knowing it, he had himself prepared the way for this new patriotic movement. For the Code Napoléon, which was

NAPOLEON AS EMPEROR
From a painting by David.

forced upon the neighboring countries, helped to break down the barriers between common people and aristocrats, and made more easy a union of all classes against the oppressor.[1]

1. What was there in the Napoleonic code to break down social barriers?

Napoleon's Disastrous War in the Spanish Peninsula. — In a most high-handed way, Napoleon, in 1808, deposed the king of Spain and placed his own brother Joseph upon the throne of that country. The change was unpopular and the Spaniards rose in revolt against the Bonaparte king.

With a great army Napoleon then invaded the country and reinstated Joseph in Madrid. But his task was not ended with this. When he returned to France the Spaniards started a guerrilla warfare against the remaining French troops — an effort which received support from a quarter least expected by Napoleon. For a small British army under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley (later known as the Duke of Wellington), which had been operating successfully in Portugal, became a rallying point for the Spanish nationalists, and under its famous commander defeated Napoleon's best generals.

The Spanish and Portuguese campaigns, known as the "Peninsular War," continued for years. They broke the spell of Napoleon's success and pointed the road to freedom from his power. By their continued drain upon his resources they also weakened his fighting strength when at last he stood at bay against the other nations of Europe.

The Fatal Russian Campaign, 1812. — Russia was the most independent of Napoleon's Continental allies. The army of Czar Alexander had been defeated by Napoleon early in 1807, but shortly thereafter the two emperors made an alliance in the famous Treaty of Tilsit. The Russian ruler, however, received the short end of the bargain. His country suffered severely from the Continental System, which closed the English market for its raw material. Then, too, the "autocrat of all the Russias" was reluctant to follow in the train of an upstart conqueror. So the relations between the two rulers gradually became strained, until Alexander began to prepare for war.

In answer to this threat, Napoleon laid plans for an invasion of Russia by assembling over half a million men, the finest army Europe had ever seen. Less than half of these were Frenchmen, however, the major part consisting of Germans, Poles, Italians, Dutch — contingents from the subject states. With this "Grand Army" Napoleon expected to overturn the empire of the czars, and perhaps also to conquer the Far East.

In June, 1812, the great armament began its advance into Russia. But the Russians, avoiding battle, retreated before

the invaders, destroying or carrying away all available food supplies as they withdrew. The czar declared that he would retire to Kamchatka rather than make peace with Napoleon.

With considerable losses the French army pushed on until it reached Moscow in September. But a few days later a great fire was started among the flimsy houses of the city, and soon little was left but a mass of ashes and blackened ruins. For five fatal weeks Napoleon lingered at Moscow, hoping that the Russians would agree to an armistice.

Then, when it was too late, the army began its tragic retreat. They were harassed by swarms of Cossacks, and soon " General

THE FRENCH RETREAT FROM RUSSIA (1812)
From a painting by Ary Scheffer.

Winter " came to the aid of the Russians. On November 6 severe cold weather set in. The retreat became a horrible flight in which each man sought to save himself from cold, hunger, and the Russians, and to reach the shelter and food supplies of Poland. It is estimated that the expedition cost the lives of at least 300,000 Frenchmen and their allies. In the face

of this unspeakable tragedy, Napoleon's message sent home to France was that his own health was unusually good!

Before the retreat was over, the emperor left his troops, having heard of a conspiracy in France, and traveling rapidly, was soon in Paris. Here he published false accounts of the expedition, and feverishly busied himself in raising new troops.

The War of Liberation, 1813–1814. — The disaster in Russia furnished the long-wished-for opportunity to revolt against Napoleon's autocratic rule. The movement started among the Prussians, who had learned much from their French masters. Since Prussia's defeat at Jena in 1806, thoroughgoing reforms had been adopted in that country at the suggestion of the statesmen Stein (shtīn) and Hardenberg (här'dĕn-bĕrĸ). Serfdom was abolished, equality of civil rights established, and a modern army based on the principle of conscription was organized. These reforms aroused great enthusiasm among the people and created a new feeling of nationality.

After Napoleon's retreat from Russia a body of Prussian troops refused any longer to follow the dictates of the French. This action aroused the peoples of central Europe to a state of great patriotic fervor; poets and statesmen, students and military men fanned the flame; and popular clamor forced the timid rulers into resistance to French rule. By the summer of 1813 an alliance, formed between Prussia and Russia, was joined by Austria, Sweden, and by Napoleon's implacable enemy, Great Britain. To the fervent appeals of kings, the people everywhere made ready response by voluntary enlistment in the war of liberation. " The sons of laborers enter the army with the sons of princes; every distinction of rank is effaced by these great ideas: the king, liberty, honor, and country," said a German patriot. In Spain, Italy, and Holland similar popular movements were threatening Napoleon's power.

At Leipzig (līp'sĭk), in Saxony, occurred the great " Battle of the Nations," in October, 1813, where Napoleon was decisively defeated by the allied enemies and compelled to retire toward France. His power and prestige had clearly passed the peak.

Napoleon Abdicates, 1814. — Several times during 1813 and 1814, as Napoleon was being forced back toward Paris, the allies were willing to grant him favorable terms and allow him to remain on the French throne. But he never dealt with them frankly and sincerely. Always he was trying to gain time or to arouse jealousies among the allies. By such moves he showed clearly that he could not be trusted.

At length the allies refused to treat longer with him, but advanced upon Paris, proclaiming to the French people that the time had at last come when "nations should respect their mutual independence, when social institutions should be protected against daily assaults, property should be secure, and commerce free."

Napoleon's armies, retreating and fighting brilliantly, were at last defeated on French soil. The politicians in Paris accepted the terms of the foreign leaders, and Napoleon's own generals deserted him. Finally, on April 6, 1814, he renounced for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy. The allies then assigned to him the little island of Elba [1] and a generous money allowance.

1. Locate.

The Hundred Days, Waterloo, and St. Helena. — From May, 1814, until February, 1815, Napoleon was busy governing his tiny island-kingdom and watching eagerly the friction among the allies in arranging peace terms. Through their disagreements he still had hopes of regaining his former power. On March 1, 1815, Europe was alarmed and thrilled by his appearance once more on French soil. The soldiers sent to capture him he received by opening his old gray overcoat and asking "Which of you will fire on his emperor?" A cheer for the emperor went up, and the troops joined his company. Similar dramatic scenes were enacted all along that triumphant return to Paris. The Bourbon government of Louis XVIII, set up by the allies, fled from the city and Napoleon was again in power.

The allied kings and leaders in congress at Vienna pronounced Napoleon an outlaw, "the enemy and destroyer of the peace of the world." Immediately their armies were prepared for

NAPOLEON ON THE BRITISH SHIP "BELLEROPHON" AFTER HIS SURRENDER IN JUNE, 1815
Painting by Orchardson.

another conflict with him, to begin about July. Napoleon, as ever, hoped to defeat them separately before they could join forces. With about 125,000 troops he advanced across the Belgian frontier and joined battle with Wellington at Waterloo.

In this plan Napoleon almost succeeded. But on June 18, 1815, the fourth day of the famous Waterloo campaign, the Prussian army under Blücher (blü′kēr) came to the assistance of the English and other allies under the Duke of Wellington, turning what seemed certain victory for Napoleon into complete defeat and rout. Paris again fell into the hands of the allies, and Napoleon gave himself up to the British. This time he was sent to the forlorn little island of St. Hele′na, in the Atlantic west of Africa, where he remained a prisoner until his death at the age of fifty-two (May 5, 1821). As a French writer said of him, he was as great a man as one could be without virtue.

Summary of the Napoleonic Period

Few men in history have earned such extremes of praise and condemnation as Napoleon Bonaparte. A man of amazing intellect and will, a military genius of the highest rank, a statesman of rare sagacity and breadth — he was at the same time a scheming, heartless, selfish, conscienceless adventurer. Such a man in the exalted position of power which he held was sure to influence history deeply for both good and ill. Of the long-continuing results of his career a few deserve special emphasis:

(1) Through his great codes of French law Napoleon preserved and fixed in enduring form some of the major gains of the Revolution, especially the principle of the equality of Frenchmen in their everyday rights.

(2) The highly centralized type of internal government which the régime of Napoleon fixed upon France has continued to the present, with all local government constantly under the close supervision of the national officials.

(3) By abolishing scores of small German states and merging them with others, Napoleon prepared the way for German unity in the nineteenth century.

(4) Through the selfishness and tyranny of his rule over the regions he brought under his sway, Napoleon did much to arouse a spirit of national loyalty within the different nations.

(5) The British Empire became, through the conflict with Napoleon, the greatest maritime power in the world. Great Britain was actually stronger in 1815 in colonial possessions, in commerce, in naval power, than she had been in 1792.

(6) Napoleon's worship of worldly success and his victorious though unprincipled career contained the germ of later imperialism. Often in the years before 1914 his methods were held up for admiration by statesmen and writers who taught that success in national expansion justified the use of any means, no matter how immoral.

(7) To France Napoleon bequeathed a glittering tradition about himself, known as the Napoleonic Legend. This tradition came to represent the great conqueror as an idealized national hero of the French race, the champion and preserver of the reforms of the Revolution, who had given real greatness to France before being crushed by jealous unreformed enemies.

Some of Napoleon's Additions to the French Catechism

Question: *Why are we bound to perform our duties to our Emperor?*

Answer: First, because God, who creates empires and distributes them according to His will, by heaping gifts upon our Emperor both in peace and in war, has established him as our sovereign and has made him the minister of His power and His image on earth. To honor and serve our Emperor is, therefore, to honor and serve God Himself . . .

Q. *How should we look upon those who are lacking in their duty to our Emperor?*

Ans. According to the Apostle St. Paul, they resist the order established by God Himself and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.

Q. *Will the duties which we owe our Emperor be equally binding with regard to his lawful successors . . . ?*

Ans. Yes, without doubt; for we read in the Holy Scriptures that God, Lord of heaven and earth, by an order of His supreme will and by His providence, gives empires not only to one person in particular, but also to his family.

— Larousse: *Grande Dictionnaire Universelle*, under "Catéchisme."

Problem and Reference Work

1. Read a supplementary account of the early life and school days of Bonaparte. Use Tarbell's *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, Chapter 1, or Johnston's *Napoleon*, Chapter 1.

2. Compare Napoleon's military career with the careers of Alexander, Hannibal, and Cæsar, as to what each attempted and what each accomplished.

3. Using Joy's *Ten Englishmen of the Nineteenth Century*, tell the story of the Duke of Wellington.

4. After reading the chapter on Nelson in Haaren and Poland's *Famous Men of Modern Times*, tell why England highly honors this admiral.

5. Make a study of Napoleon to decide what you can admire in him. Do the same for what you despise in him.

6. Account for Napoleon's final failure. Use Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 544 ff., if necessary.

7. Read a supplementary account of Napoleon's disastrous retreat from Russia. Use Johnston's *Napoleon*, pp. 175–187; or Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 561 ff.

8. Tell the class about Napoleon on St. Helena. Use Johnston, pp. 234 ff.; or Tarbell, Chapter 22.

9. Learn how Napoleon's imperialistic plans on the island of Haiti were foiled by a negro named L'Ouverture. Use *The National Geographic Magazine* for December 1920, pp. 497 ff.

Reading List

JOHNSTON, R. M., *Napoleon.*
TARBELL, I. M., *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte.* } The most satisfactory biographies for high school use.

FISHER, H., *Napoleon* (Home University Library).

TAPPAN, E., *Hero Stories of France.* Contains a good, but brief story of Napoleon's career.

PRIEST, G. M., *Germany since 1740.*

VAN LOON, H. W., *Story of Mankind.*

HAYES, C. J. H., *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I.

ROSE, J. H., *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era* — a brief, not elementary, treatment of the period by a British scholar.

Fiction: BILL, A. H., *The Clutch of the Corsican;* BROOKS, E. S., *A Boy of the First Empire;* CONRAD, J., *The Rover;* LEVER, C., *Charles O'Malley;* MADDEN, E. A., *Two Royal Foes;* MERRIMAN, H. S., *Barlasch of the Guard.*

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY LABORERS REAPING GRAIN WITH SICKLES

Even down to the nineteenth century the primitive sickle was used in Europe and America. From an old manuscript.

CHAPTER XI

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THE AGE OF MACHINERY BEGINS IN ENGLAND

The World Completely Changed by Modern Inventions. — Mark Twain has a delightful though extravagant story sketching the experiences of a Connecticut Yankee who, with all the knowledge of modern science, was transported back to the times of King Arthur. The contrast which he sees between modern ways of doing things and the habits and superstitions of the Middle Ages is very marked and amusing.

If we were now to reverse this story and bring an ancient Roman or Greek or even an Egyptian into English life of, say, 1750, no such marked contrast would appear; for the long intervening centuries had brought about extremely few advances in the ways of doing the daily work of the world. A farmer's plow of 1750 would be recognized instantly by the transplanted man of the ancient world. He would know most of the tools of the craftsman. The weaver's hand loom would be perfectly familiar. The carrying of goods on horseback or by small

coasting vessels would seem altogether natural. Only in navigating the high seas might he be puzzled by the use of the compass, the quadrant, and the new kinds of sails and yards. The Egyptian or Greek or Roman would, no doubt, notice that English goods in 1750 were not so artistic as those his people

Egyptians Making Cloth

From models in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, taken from an Egyptian tomb.

used; but he would see very little change in the way these goods were made.

But if we were to take the same Egyptian or Greek or Roman and put him in the England of only a century later, imagine his astonishment! In 1850 he would be bewildered by intricate, high-speed machines run by some mysterious power. He would see ships hurrying on the water without sails, trains of cars moving along without horses. He would find great factories taking the place of the humble cottage or shop in manufacture, and would be amazed at the complexity of factory machines and the vast amount of goods turned out. Even on the farms he

would find tools, methods, and products altogether strange to him. Indeed, the men who built the pyramids would have felt more at home in the Europe of 1750, than the men of 1750 would feel in the life of to-day.

What the Industrial Revolution was. — The sweeping change known as the Industrial Revolution began in England. In the first half of the eighteenth century a few improvements were made; in the last half, the advance was very rapid; from then to the present day, inventors have been multiplying the countless machines and conveniences of the modern mechanical age. Although we still live in this age of invention, yet, in its usual meaning, the Industrial Revolution is the name applied to the transition from hand labor to machine production in England between about 1750 and 1850.

The main changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution were: (1) new and widely applied sources of power; (2) the invention of new machines, especially for manufacture; (3) new means of transportation on land and on water; (4) the rise of the modern factory system; (5) great social changes in the life of cities, in the conditions of working people, and in the whole character of society.

Why did the Industrial Revolution Begin in England? — Before studying the Industrial Revolution more fully, let us first see why these great changes appeared in England much earlier than on the Continent. In the first place, feudalism with its unprogressive manor type of farming,[1] and the craft guilds with their narrow control over manufactures,[2] both had disappeared in England sooner than on the Continent. In their place came a degree of industrial freedom unknown anywhere else in Europe.

Again, the expanding overseas trade of England in the eighteenth century created a call for English manufactures which could scarcely be met by the old hand methods. On the one hand, the Englishmen living in the colonies needed the goods made in the home country, since in the new regions of the world the main business of the settlers was the production of raw materials.[3] On the other hand, the increasing trade with

India and other parts of the East required large quantities of goods which natives of those regions could use.

The growth of British commerce was creating a vast supply of capital for new enterprises. In the years just before 1800 these new funds were freely invested in farm improvements, in new factories, and in improved highways and canals. Nowhere else in Europe was there so much ready capital to meet the needs of the new industrial conditions.

Again, the new industrial age called for greatly increased use of coal and iron,[4] in the production of which England enjoyed unrivaled natural advantages. Her deposits of coal and iron were abundant, and lay side by side, sometimes even in the same mine. England thus gained a leadership in the metal industries which she held until late in the nineteenth century.

Englishmen, too, are a practical race. Others might distance England in the realm of pure science; or, like France, excel in artistic workmanship; but the English have been most successful in applying science to practical uses. Their peculiar field was found in the production of articles of wide popular use at low prices and in large quantities. To this quantity production they joined successful methods of banking and of merchandising.

Lastly, England's industry and commerce were free from such crushing taxes as were levied on the Continent to support extravagant court life and large standing armies. Her insular position freed her from the burdens of militarism,[5] so that her men and her money could be employed more fully in business.

Thus by natural advantages and by national characteristics England was fitted to become the first great industrial and commercial nation of the modern world.

1. What restrictions did feudalism place on agriculture? 2. How did the guild system restrict manufacture? 3. Was this true of the American colonies of that time? 4. Why did new machines require so much iron and coal? 5. What is meant by "burdens of militarism"?

New Kinds of Power are Found

Animals and Men Furnished Power for Ages. — From prehistoric times, through the periods of classical Greece and

Rome, the Middle Ages, and modern times to about 1700, man had discovered no important mechanical sources of power. He had, indeed, learned to use a few contrivances, such as the wheel, the pulley, the wedge, the lever, and the treadmill, by which power could be applied more economically. But he still remained almost entirely dependent upon the muscles of men or of animals.

Long before 1700 clumsy windmills and water mills had been in use, mainly for grinding grain. The heavy stones, moving slowly with much noise and dust, and the creaking timbers, clumsily transmitting the power from the old wooden water wheel to the millstones, gave little hint that here was a future source of power to meet all the needs of industry. No, for some time yet men and animals had to furnish the motive power. The light spinning wheel was run by nimble women and children; the heavy loom was managed by muscular men. Pack horses carried goods by land. Slow-moving oxen drew the plow and pulled the cumbersome wagons of the time. Much of this heavy drudgery was later passed over to power machinery invented during the Industrial Revolution.

A Tower Mill in England in the Eighteenth Century

Better Water Wheels. — From time to time many improvements were made in the water wheel, so that soon after 1800 it furnished the principal power for the new factories. Larger and better wheels were made; improved mechanism with ropes and

belts carried the power to rapid-running machines. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, also, the turbine [1] water wheel was invented in France. In the next century this became the usual means for utilizing water power. The search for good sites for water wheels now led to the transfer of many industries from the east and south of England to the hilly regions of the north and west, where the streams flowed rapidly.

1. Use dictionary, and find a picture of a turbine.

James Watt Perfects the Steam Engine. — This harnessing of water power freed man from much of the old muscular drudgery. But water-power factories had to be located close to swift streams. The perfection of the steam engine during the Industrial Revolution, however, brought more freedom to man by furnishing power wherever there was a supply of fuel.

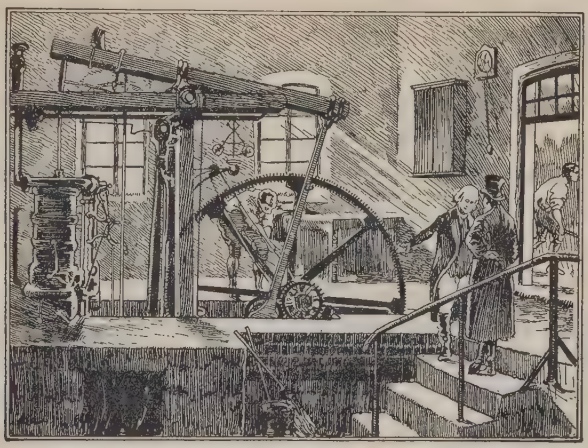
To a Scotchman, James Watt (1736–1819), belongs the credit of creating the modern steam engine. From boyhood Watt had been interested in machinery. He became mechanical expert in charge of physical and chemical apparatus at the University of Glasgow. Here he carefully investigated the principle of the crude steam engines [1] which had been invented as early as 1698 by Sa'very and improved in 1705 by Newcomen (nū-kŭm'ĕn), but which had not yet proved efficient. After careful experimenting, Watt obtained in 1769 a patent for an improved machine with nearly all the features of the modern steam engine.

Watt's small model worked perfectly, but it required ten years of labor and experiment before a full-sized practical engine was built. His greatest difficulty lay in the lack of tools and machines for shaping parts of his engine accurately. At length, in partnership with a machinist named Boulton (bōl'tŭn), Watt set up a shop with special machinery where trained workmen made satisfactory steam engines.

1. Explain simply the principle of the steam engine. Use physics book.

The Steam Engine Revolutionizes Industry. — Watt's earliest engines, like those which had preceded, were used solely to pump water from mines. For these pumps the power was furnished by a simple up-and-down motion which could easily be trans-

mitted from the piston of the engine. In 1785 a great step in advance was taken when one of Watt's engines was installed in a cotton factory and so arranged as to furnish rotary motion.



THE FIRST STEAM ENGINE WITH A ROTARY MOTION
Made by James Watt.

Soon thereafter the steam engine came into use for manufacture and transportation.

The immediate results of the production of rotary motion were marked:

(1) Factories could now be located wherever fuel for the steam boiler was available. Thus industry was freed from its dependence upon water power.

(2) Uniform high power could at last be had for heavy machinery such as the hammers used in iron mills and the lathes in machine shops.

(3) Strong blasts of air could be created. This led to the modern kind of iron smelting.

(4) After further improvements it became feasible to mount the whole engine and boiler on wheels, thus creating the locomotive. Mounted in a ship, the steam engine produced the steamship. From those days until the adoption of electric

traction about 1890, and the gasoline motor a little later, the steam engine furnished the sole artificial power for the railroads and steamships which, during that period, revolutionized commerce and transportation.

Crank Mill, Morley, Yorkshire
Built in 1790, the first in the neighborhood to be driven by steam.

Advance of Science

General Character of Scientific Progress. — In the eighteenth century the foundations of modern science were laid. The laws of physics and chemistry were then being discovered and applied. In England, Priestley discovered oxygen; in America, Franklin carried on his experiments in electricity; in Sweden, Linnæ'us pursued his studies of plants and animals; in England, Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood. On all sides there was a great advance in the scientific method, which seeks truth in nature and proves its theories by careful experimentation. The newly learned facts of nature were being systematized, likewise, into the form in which we study them in the sciences of physics, chemistry, and biology.

Applied Science in England. — During the years of the Industrial Revolution greater progress was made in England than in any other country in applying the new scientific knowledge to daily life and work. Watt was led to create his steam engine through his interest in scientific experiments, especially by his study of heat and the expansion of steam. Priestley and other chemists sought to apply their knowledge through agricultural fertilizers to an increase in the product of English farms. In the same manner, chemistry was applied to the dyeing and bleaching of cloth, to the production of iron and steel, and in many other directions.

In medicine the horrors of smallpox were avoided by inoculation, and, after the studies of Jenner near the end of the eighteenth century, by the milder method of vaccination.

New Tools for Metal Work. — The modern man is served by a great variety of machines — often composed of many pieces, as in the modern printing press with over a million parts — which move swiftly with marvelous accuracy. How few of us appreciate these wonders of mechanical invention or ever stop to ask how these machines can be made to move so rapidly and so regularly! And yet during the progress of the Industrial Revolution one of the most important steps was the invention of machine tools by which metal parts might be brought to the nicety required for high speed and heavy power.[1]

The turning lathe, previously used only for wood, was adapted to turning metal forms. Machines were designed to bore out the interior of castings, such as the cylinders of steam engines. Others accurately planed flat metal surfaces. Still others drilled holes, or cut screws, or made wire. These and many other machine tools made it possible for inventors to reach a degree of accuracy which was not dreamed of by the men of Watt's younger days.

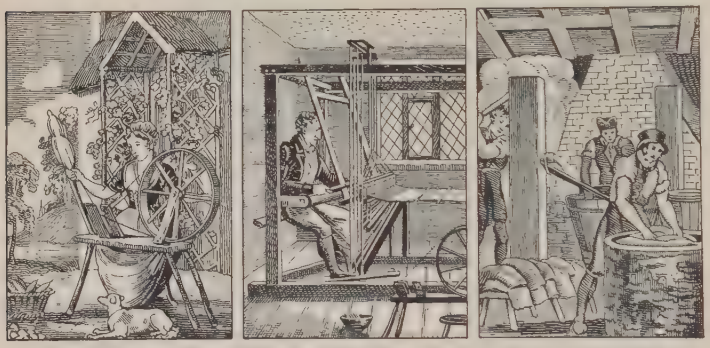
In America, early in the nineteenth century, Eli Whitney invented the method of interchangeable parts. By this process many similar parts were manufactured at one time according to an accurate standard of size, and these parts could be inserted

in a machine when any one section of it broke down. Thus, by the studies of scientists throughout the world, by the practical applications of Scotch and English machinists, and by Yankee ingenuity, the era of science and of machinery was ushered in.

1. How were such machines necessitated by the Industrial Revolution?

Machinery Revolutionizes the English Textile Industry

The Old Hand Industries. — Down to 1700 little progress had been made in the manufacture of cloth and woven articles. The ancient distaff had indeed been displaced by the more rapid



The Spinner, the Weaver, and the Dyer of Cloth in the Fifteenth Century

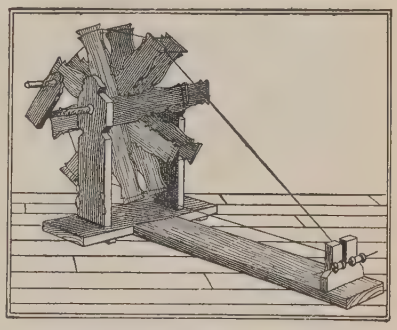
Redrawn from an old engraving.

spinning wheel, but the loom had been almost unchanged for centuries.

Since about 1340 Englishmen had been interested in manufacturing the country's large supply of wool into standard broadcloths and worsteds. This cherished woolen industry was closely connected with the farming of the time. In some districts of the country almost every home of farmer or farm laborer was a place where wool was spun into yarn or cloth woven from the yarn. This type of production, known as household or cottage industry, had the advantage of furnishing work for the spare time of farmers, laborers, and the members of their families. These textile workers, doubtless, lived a more natural life in those

days than after the introduction of machinery and the factory system. Yet the cottage system of production was slow and the product small for the labor involved.

The Cotton Industry Becomes Important. — Cotton goods were one of the principal imports brought from the Orient by the East India Company,[1] in the form of calicoes, muslins, and other fabrics. To protect the merchants and the woolen industry, the spinning and weaving of cotton in England was discouraged by law. But after 1735 cotton cloth could be legally manufactured in England. From that time onward the cotton industry played a greater and greater part in the country, and on the threshold of the Industrial Revolution it was ready to benefit quickly by the new textile machinery.



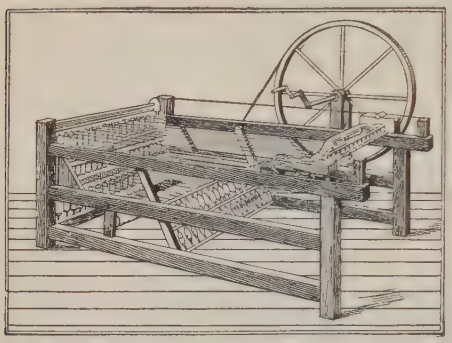
An Indian Spinning Wheel

1. What do you know about this company?

The Flying Shuttle Makes Weaving Easier. — In 1733, John Kay invented an attachment to the hand loom[1] which greatly increased the production of the weaver. This was called the "flying shuttle." The improvement consisted chiefly in the use of a new type of shuttle [2] which was tossed to and fro by a handle worked by the weaver, and caught on each side not by the man's hands but by a wooden clutch.

The results of this new invention were marked. Since the improved loom required greater strength, weaving became from this time almost entirely a man's task. One man with such a loom could weave two or three times as much cloth as with the old kind. This led to a growing demand for yarn, which could not be met easily, since all spinning [3] was still handwork done by women and children. Before the invention of Kay's flying shuttle there had been about four spinners to one weaver;

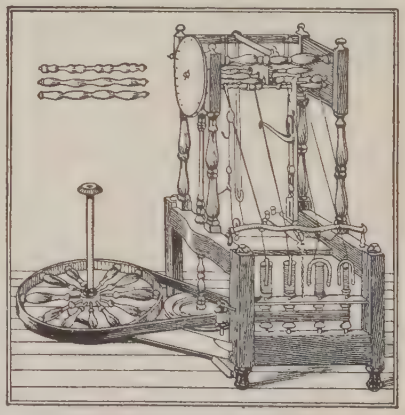
but thereafter a single weaver could use all the yarn of ten spinners. It is no wonder, therefore, that many inventors became interested in speeding up the spinning processes.



Hargreaves's Spinning Jenny

1. Just what is a loom? What work does it do? 2. What is a shuttle? 3. Be sure you know just what spinning is.

New Cotton-Spinning Machines. — In 1764, James Hargreaves, seeing, it is said, his wife's spinning wheel still revolving after being accidentally upset, caught the idea of spinning several threads at once. Setting to work, he devised a machine which did the very thing desired. As a compliment to his wife, he called it the "spinning jenny." Although moved by hand power, this new machine excelled the old-style wheel by spinning eight strands of yarn at one time.

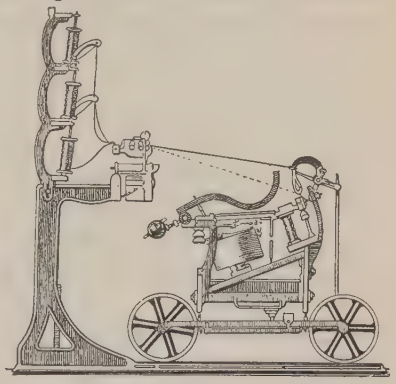


Arkwright's Spinning Frame

Five years later, Richard Arkwright invented a machine capable of spinning twenty or more threads at once, all of good quality. This machine was too heavy to be run by hand, but required the use of water power; so it was named the "water frame." It came rapidly into use, and helped locate the cotton industry in northwestern England where water power was abundant.

Ten years later Samuel Crompton invented a machine called the "spinning mule," a combination of Hargreaves' apparatus with Arkwright's, superior in many respects to both.

All of these inventions were first used in cotton spinning, because the uniformity of cotton fiber made it easy to apply the crude machines to that material. But after improvements had been made, the new spinning machines were also used for wool, flax, and even silk. Soon spinning was taken out of the homes of the workers, and located in factories where the machines could be run by water power or by the new steam engine.



Crompton's Mule

A Power Loom is Invented. — The output of the spinners was now increased amazingly and far more yarn was being spun than the weavers could use. For a generation, English weavers prospered greatly, still continuing to work their hand looms in their own homes or in small shops. But the age of machinery at length made its influence felt even upon them.

As early as 1785 a clergyman named Edmund Cartwright had taken out a patent for a loom driven by water power instead of human muscles. But this power loom was cumbersome and its work was so uncertain that it did not immediately revolutionize the weaving industry. For another generation inventors were at work perfecting the loom, but not until 1822 was a satisfactory, economical machine produced. After that, power looms came into general use in factories, at first for cotton weaving, but later for the making of other textile fabrics as well. Another great impetus was given to the factory system, and the English textile industry became separated altogether from the home and the farm.

The Cotton Gin, 1793. — Fully as important in the history of the English cotton industry as the new machines for spinning and weaving was an American invention. In 1793 Eli Whitney, a New Englander then living on a Georgia plantation, devised his cotton gin, which enabled a worker to separate from the seeds three hundred times as much cotton fiber as before. This machine, by making cotton raising far more profitable, led to a great extension of the area devoted to this crop, and fastened the slave system upon the southern states.[1] Coming at a time when the English manufacturers were clamoring for more cotton, Whitney's invention greatly stimulated English industry.

Sure now of an abundance of raw material, with great capital, high-speed machines, and cheap labor, the English cotton manufacturers of Manchester and other cities of the northwest soon reached a place of leadership in the industry which they have held down to the present time.

1. How did this fasten the slave system upon the South?

Rise of the Factory System

The Industrial Revolution Produces the Modern Factory. — By a factory we mean, of course, a building in which many workers are brought together to make goods on a large scale. Such groupings of workers had been attempted before the days of the Industrial Revolution, though not as a successful rival of the old cottage industries. But when power was harnessed to spinning and weaving machines, the situation was quickly changed. Since it was impossible to install a water wheel or a steam engine in every worker's home or to furnish each cottage with the new textile machines, the improved machines were grouped together in large buildings near the source of power. These factories provided employment for many workers, and also required the investment of much capital.

Soon after machines and workers were thus grouped together in factories, there appeared a regular routine and discipline among the working force. As long as work was carried on in the home, the capitalist who furnished the materials had little

control over the workers. They spent as much or as little time as they wished at their work, and received a piece-work price for what was done. But no factory could be run on such a hit-and-miss plan. When the machines were started every worker had to be in his place; and the longer the machines were run each day, the greater would be the profit for the owner. Thus a rigid discipline was applied to factory life which was far different from the easy-going work in the home.

Finally, the factory marked off a distinct wage-earning class, giving all their time to the work, and separated from the more irregular occupations of the farm and the home. The old union of industry and farming disappeared among those who entered factory employment.

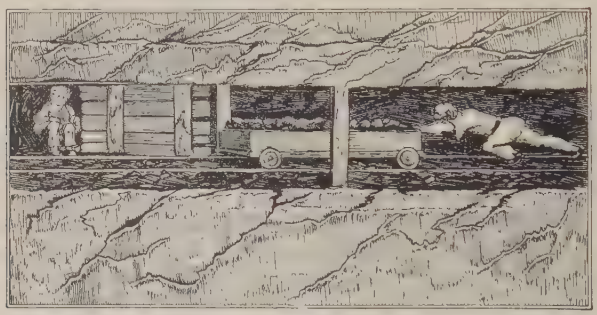
Who Worked in the Factories? — The new cotton-spinning machines required very little muscular strength on the part of the operatives. Skill and quickness were necessary, but these could be found in the nimble hands of children more than in the hardened muscles of adults, especially of men accustomed to heavy tasks. On this account the new factory system led to a great demand for child labor.

This demand was often met by parents who could make more by sending their children to the factory than by working themselves. Overseers of the poor, who had charge of large numbers of pauper children with power to " bind " them out as apprentices, also furnished the factory owners with many small workers.

In addition to the children, numbers of women entered the factories, and men, too, were needed for the heavy tasks and expert operations. But men workers were usually the last to submit to the regular hours and enforced discipline of the factory.

Hard Life of Early Factory Workers. — The grouping of workers in factories led to a congregating of laborers in towns near the workshops. As the population of the factory towns grew much faster than the facilities for housing the people, living conditions became deplorable. Workers were often huddled together in tenements, or lived in rude shacks on vacant lots, in the midst of the most unwholesome surroundings.[1]

But the condition of the child workers was still worse. In many cases they were housed in dirty dormitories attached to the factory. They worked from fourteen to sixteen hours a day [2] in the mills and then fell exhausted into their bunks for a short night's sleep. The discipline was harsh. Frequently youngsters were whipped to keep them at work. Their only time for education was on Sundays, when these poor worn-out children felt more like sleeping than going to school to learn to read or to be taught religion.[3]



CHILD LABOR IN AN ENGLISH COAL MINE ABOUT 1840
From a contemporary print.

Such shocking labor conditions undermined the physical and moral strength of English working people, until later on the much needed reforms known as the Factory Acts were made.

1. Why are slums harmful to a city? 2. Why such long hours of work? 3. What harm results from child labor?

Factories in Other Industries. — While the factory system first appeared in cotton manufacturing, it was very soon extended to many other industries. Wherever water power and steam power took the place of the old handwork, the machines and the workers had to be brought together into factories. Soon the movement spread to other textile and metal manufactures of the central and northern parts of England. It also developed in the potteries and in many other industries. In some of these cases the ugly features of child labor did not appear; but the

factory system always brought a transfer of laborers to the more regular work of the factory and a transfer of ownership in industry from workers to capitalists.[1]

1. What are capitalists? Do you know any?

Revolution in the Iron and Coal Industries

Modern Smelting is Begun. — Side by side with the changes in the textile industries, a transformation was taking place in the metal trades, notably in the production of iron. For centuries slight progress had been made in the smelting [1] of iron ore. The crude smelting furnace of the time was fired with charcoal, the blast was obtained by means of hand or water-power bellows,[2] and the output of a furnace was small.

Charcoal Burning

Redrawn from a print of the seventeenth century.

Before 1700 the old-style iron industry in England had begun to go backward. The cutting off of forests was reducing the supply of charcoal, so necessary for the blast furnaces. England, no longer able to supply her own needs, was forced to import iron. Between 1700 and 1760 this importation of iron from abroad increased threefold. Liberal bounties were offered to induce the American colonists to ship furnace iron to England,

although after 1750 they were forbidden to set up mills for the manufacture of raw iron into usable forms.[3]

From this languishing state, the English iron industry speedily leaped into first place in the world when coke and coal came into use in the blast furnace. These fuels could not be used profitably with the weak draft from a bellows. In 1760, however, John Smeaton invented a compressed air pump which furnished a blast of air powerful enough to keep coke or coal burning fiercely. Coal now took the place of charcoal in smelting,[4] and the output of a furnace jumped three or four fold.

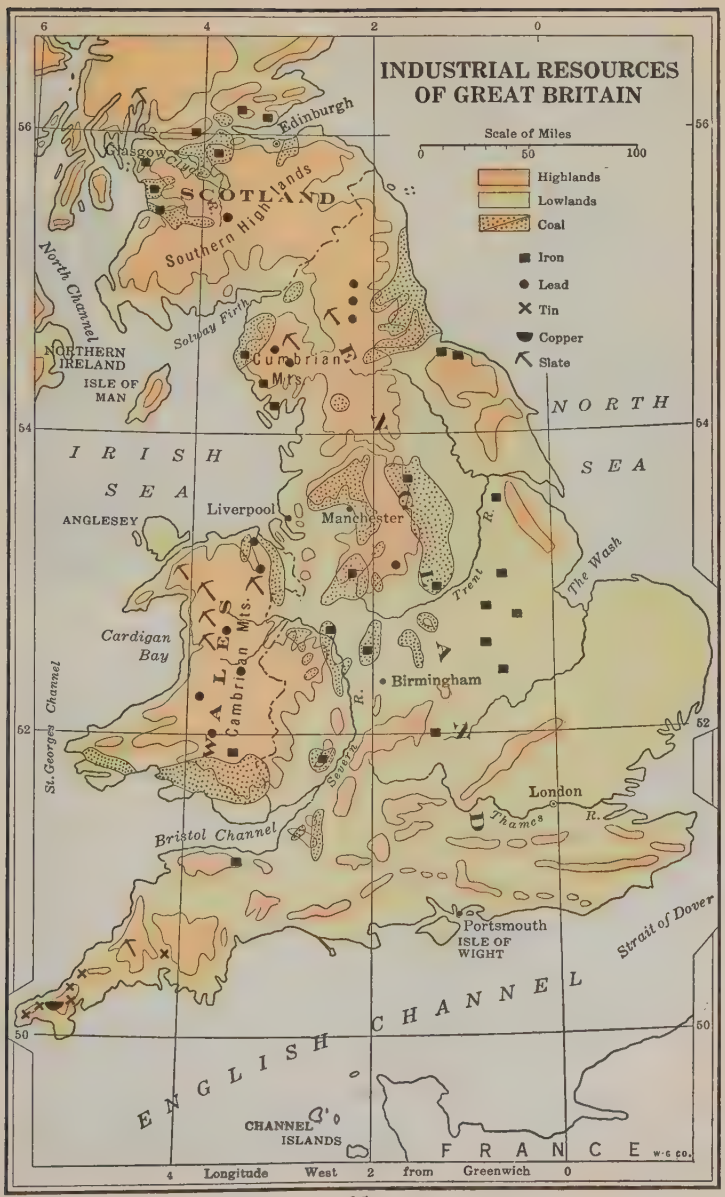
England's iron industry was now secure. Close to one another were found the three minerals needed for the blast furnace — iron ore, coal, and limestone. Instead of importing iron, England now began to sell iron and steel products abroad, and gained a supremacy in the industry which lasted far into the nineteenth century. In 1859 an Englishman, Sir Henry Bes'semer, perfected the process by which the molten iron of the blast furnace can be directly converted into steel, thus changing the age of iron into the age of steel.[5]

After Smeaton's time iron and steel became cheaper and were put to many new uses. The first iron boat was a canal boat built in 1787; the first iron bridge was erected in England in 1779. Iron soon took the place of wood for many things of common use, and by furnishing the material of which the new steam engines and the new factory machines were made it greatly forwarded the Industrial Revolution.

Industrial centers in England shifted with the new iron production. The " Black Country " now saw the rapid growth of great manufacturing cities such as Leeds and Sheffield, into which flocked industrial workers from other parts of the country.

1. Define "smelting." 2. Why is a blast needed in smelting? 3. Why? 4. Why was coal now used? How better than charcoal? 5. How is steel different from iron? How more useful?

The Coal Industry Forges Ahead. — Coal had been mined and used for domestic purposes in England for centuries. The mines were shallow, however, often not much more than surface


INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES
OF GREAT BRITAIN
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
Highlands
Lowlands
Coal
Iron
Lead
Tin
Copper
Slate
6
4
2
0
56
54
52
50
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Clyde
SCOTLAND
Southern Highlands
North Channel
Solway Firth
NORTHERN IRELAND
ISLE OF MAN
Cumbrian Mts.
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ANGLESEY
Liverpool
Manchester
Trent R.
The Wash
Cardigan Bay
WALES
Cambrian Mts.
Birmingham
St. George's Channel
Severn R.
London
Thames R.
Bristol Channel
Portsmouth
ISLE OF WIGHT
Strait of Dover
ENGLISH CHANNEL
CHANNEL ISLANDS
FRANCE
W. & G. Co.
Longitude West 4 2 from Greenwich 0

diggings, because there was no way of keeping the underground workings clear of the water. The earliest steam engines, as has been shown, were all employed to pump water out of mines.

THE PIT HEAD — WESTMORLAND COUNTY, ENGLAND
Part of a coal mine.

The growth of the iron industry added greatly to the demand for coal. This was still further increased by the application of the steam engine to factories, to locomotives, and to steamships.[1] Parallel with the growth of the use of iron, therefore, came an increase in the demand for coal.

Mining in those days was a hazardous industry because the workers went down into the pits with burning candles or lamps. Explosions from gases were frequent and the loss of life great. It was therefore a merciful gift Sir Humphrey Davy made to the miners in 1815 when he invented the safety lamp, which prevented explosions and gave warning of dangerous gases.[2]

With the improvements in pumps and lamps, and with many other advances in mining engineering, the coal industry was ready for the great demands of the nineteenth century.

1. How did these inventions increase the demand for coal? 2. What is the principle of the safety lamp? Consult physics book.

Transportation in the New Age

Need of Improvements. — The new machine industries made the old methods of transportation seem sluggish. In earlier days, when the population in each locality was almost self-supporting, trade with other parts of the country was limited to a few articles, and foreign commerce handled only those goods which combined high values with small bulk.[1] But the new factories required large supplies of raw materials. The steam engines needed ever increasing quantities of coal. The thousands of mill operatives crowded in cities had to draw their food from outside localities. The increased output of the factories had to be shipped for sale to distant parts of Great Britain or even to foreign lands.[2]

These demands for transportation could not be met by the primitive methods handed down from ancient times. Small coasting vessels were unable to reach many of the new industrial centers; panniers on the sides of pack horses were of no use in carrying bulky raw materials;[3] and the lumbering farm wagons drawn by ox teams could not be dragged far through the mud of the roads. Despite all the inventions of the time, the Industrial Revolution would have made slow progress had it not been paralleled by an advance in methods of transportation.

Post Boy
From a woodcut of the seventeenth century.

1. Name half a dozen kinds of goods which Europeans had for centuries imported from afar. 2. Why not sell all the manufactured goods at home? 3. Mention several kinds of "bulky raw materials" here meant.

Better Roads. — During the eighteenth century parliament authorized the construction of many turnpikes, and empowered the builders of such roads to charge tolls on passing vehicles.[1]

The two men most closely connected with the improvement of roads are Telford and McAdam,[2] who between 1802 and 1815 worked out the permanent principles of road building. Indeed until the use of asphalt and concrete [3] in recent years, little was added to the methods of highway construction which these men applied. The turnpikes which they built made it much easier to move goods by carts and wagons; but even this improvement did not provide cheap transportation for heavy freight such as coal, iron ore, and similar raw materials.

1. Did you ever pass a tollgate or a toll bridge? Why do we have so few of them nowadays? 2. What do you mean by a macadam road? 3. Why are asphalt and concrete desirable for automobile roads?

Canals. — This need led to the building of canals. Such artificial waterways had been in use in Holland and France for many years, though not in England. The first canal in England, opened in 1761, was in many ways a remarkable piece of engineering, since it included a long tunnel and also a viaduct which carried the canal over a small river. After the success of this Bridgewater canal, planned by an engineer named Brindley, many others were constructed, because freight could be carried by canals at a fraction of the cost of transportation by land.[1] By canals many of the interior towns were soon connected with the coast and with other centers of production. At present no point in central and southern England is more than fifteen miles from water transportation by river, canal, or sea.

1. Explain why transportation by canal is so cheap.

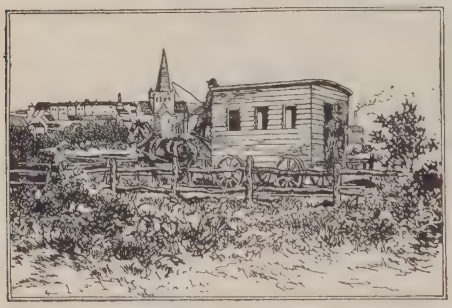
The Steamboat. — Immediately after the steam engine became a real success, inventors in England, France, and America began to dream of using this new machine to propel boats and ships. James Rumsey on the Potomac River and John Fitch on the Delaware carried on experiments from 1782 to 1790 which proved that such a use of steam was possible; but these pioneers accomplished so little that their ventures may be called failures.

EVOLUTION OF THE STEAMBOAT

Oliver Evans's model (1804); the "Savannah," the first steamer to cross the Atlantic (1819); and a modern steamship (1925).

Early in the nineteenth century Oliver Evans in Philadelphia, Robert Fulton in France, and William Symington in Scotland were actively at work on the same problem. Fulton soon returned to New York and there constructed in 1807 the first really successful steamboat, the famous *Clermont*. Thereafter advance was rapid. Steamboats soon dotted the rivers of England, France, and America. In 1819 the *Savannah* crossed the Atlantic, using both sails and steam power; and in 1838 the first transatlantic voyage entirely by steam was completed by the *Sirius*.

At first the steamboats and steamships were used mainly for passengers, but their regular schedules, so different from the uncertainties of sailing vessels, led to the carrying of the mails and of important freight. Later in the nineteenth century, when iron and steel had displaced wood in ship construction, and when the economical screw propeller, the invention of John Er'icsson, had taken the place of paddle wheels, most freight could be carried at lower cost by steamships than by sailing vessels.



A Horse-drawn Railway Passenger Coach
On the Stockton and Darlington Railway, 1825. The twelve-mile trip was made in two hours; fare, one shilling.

Stephenson's Iron Horse. — While some inventors were experimenting with steamboats, others were seeking to adapt the engine to driving carts and wagons on land. These were generally unsuccessful as long as the aim was to propel the carriage on an ordinary road. But crude tracks or tramways had for years been used for transporting heavy loads about quarries and mines, with the power furnished by human or animal muscles. On such "railways" the steam locomotives won their first practical successes.

Much of the progress of steam locomotion was due to the

ingenuity and perseverance of George Stephenson (1781–1848), who by 1830 had produced a locomotive which could travel at a speed of twenty-nine miles an hour. Whereas the early engines could scarcely move their own bulk, Stephenson's were powerful enough to propel themselves and also to drag a train of carriages along the railway track. Stephenson, therefore, is properly held to be the father of the modern steam locomotive. The railroad came rapidly into use in England and America, and soon thereafter was introduced into continental Europe.

"The Rocket," Made by Stephenson

This locomotive, weighing but seven and a half tons, drew forty-four tons at the rate of fourteen miles an hour.

England Leads in Industry. — The new means of transportation — improved highways, the network of canals, the steamboats and steamships, and the railroads — added greatly to the advancement of the Industrial Revolution. Aided by the new transportation, England built up a great body of manufactures which gathered raw materials from the ends of the earth, and sold as widely the finished products of English mills. Thus England became the greatest industrial region of the world.

Changes Wrought by the Industrial Revolution

A Larger Supply and Variety of Goods. — An outstanding result of the factory system with its machine production was a remarkable increase in the quantity of goods produced and in the variety placed on sale. Comforts and conveniences which were previously used, if at all, only by the rich, were made available for larger and larger groups of people, so that the standard of living has shown continual improvement.

Large-scale production led likewise to startling changes in most prices. The cost of spinning cotton yarn had by 1830 fallen to only 4% of what it had been in 1780. The cost of weaving yarn into cloth, of making iron ore into hardware, and indeed the cost of all machine-made goods fell to a mere fraction of what it had been before the age of machinery. These reductions in cost brought new necessities and new luxuries into the lives of millions of people who never could have afforded them in the days of hand work.

Swelling of Foreign Trade. — So great was the increase in the output of machine-made goods that not nearly all could be used at home, even at the declining prices. To seek new markets for their products, as well as to find needed raw materials for their industries, English merchants and manufacturers were soon searching the globe. English commerce, as a result, had a wonderful growth. In 1700 the total value of English imports and exports was only $59,000,000; by 1802 it had increased to $370,000,000; and by 1850 it had reached $665,000,000. This meant that before France or Germany had made more than a beginning in manufacturing for world markets, England had secured a large part of the trade of the world.

Decline of English Agriculture. — Many of the farm folk moved into the factory towns, where they became dependent entirely upon their wages. By 1810 the agricultural population of England had been reduced to about one third of the total. With the advance of manufacturing industries in the nineteenth century the proportion of farmers even more rapidly diminished, until by 1860 they numbered only ten per cent of the population.

Native agriculture could no longer meet the demands of the increasing number of townspeople for food supplies. By 1850 the industrial classes in England proved strong enough to secure the repeal of the Corn Laws — the British protective duties on imported grain. Thereafter importations of foodstuffs became more and more important until to-day the regular coming of such supplies is imperative to the life of the English people. So slightly is England an agricultural

country to-day, that the blocking of food imports for a few weeks would mean starvation for millions.

Owners and Workers Become Distinct Classes. — Population increased rapidly during the Industrial Revolution. For some centuries before, the rate of growth had been slow. From 1300 to 1700 the population of England and Wales had only doubled. By 1760 it stood at 6,700,000. Yet in the next century it increased threefold, reaching 20,000,000 by 1860.

Changes in the character of the population also came about. In the first place, there had come into existence a large wage-earning class dependent entirely upon employment in industry. Many of these workers lived amid the dirty, squalid, unhealthful surroundings of the city slums. Their wages were low and employment uncertain. Removed from the land, deprived of their weekly wage, the workers suffered extreme hardships when thrown out of employment in times of industrial depression. Even in good times they were likely to lead a precarious, forlorn, and brutalized life.

The factory owners also constituted a class new to English society. The old aristocracy was dependent upon income from landed estates, but now there arose a group of capitalists whose profits came from machines and factory workers. "Among the political and industrial governing class there was at the worst much injustice and hardness; at the best, mismanagement, neglect, lack of sympathy, or a sense of utter helplessness in the presence of intolerably bad conditions." *

The Laissez Faire Theory. — Great movements in history find expression in official documents and in literature. Thus the ideals of the American Revolution were embodied in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States. So, too, the French revolutionary doctrines received clear statement in the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

In much the same manner the economist Adam Smith became the spokesman for the Industrial Revolution. His chief work, *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, became the gospel of

* Cheyney, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England* (revised ed.), p. 225.

the new industrial and commercial classes. While the American and French republican writers were exalting political liberty and political equality, Adam Smith applied the principles of natural rights to trade and industry.

Under the simple system of natural liberty, said Smith, "every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest in his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man." In such a condition of economic liberty, government must not interfere with freedom of contract, freedom of trade, or freedom of competition. It should give up completely "the duty of superintending the industry of private people," declared Smith.

This doctrine of noninterference in industry and commerce fitted well into the plans of factory owners. They wanted freedom of international trade in order that the prices of food for their workers might be lowered, and that raw materials might be more easily secured. They were, generally, opposed to any interference by government in the development of the factory system, and believed with Smith, that natural economic laws would bring the best results for labor, capital, and foreign trade.

To this system of personal liberty in trade and industry a French term came to be applied — *laissez faire* (lĕ′sā fâr′), meaning "let alone"; that is, the principle that government should keep hands off the business world, and should not attempt to control the natural course of economic development.

Yet the natural course of development brought many cases of injustice, especially to the wage earners. After a generation or more of *laissez faire*, public opinion at last forced the government to step in, and by labor laws to put an end to the worst abuses. In later chapters these reform measures will be discussed. Here we should merely note that the new social and industrial conditions created distressing injustice. This injustice could not be remedied either by the ancient laws of parliament or by the new economic liberty of Adam Smith. It demanded a new type of humanitarian legislation.

THE RAILWAY JUGGERNAUT OF 1845
A cartoon showing the results of railroad speculation.

Concluding Interpretation of the Industrial Revolution

Very few movements in all history have had more influence in making the life of to-day what it is than has the Industrial Revolution. Wherever and whenever it has appeared in different countries, the introduction of the age of machinery has brought the same results, which may be summarized as follows:

(1) A vastly increased amount and variety of goods produced at reduced cost, bringing a multiplication of the material necessities and luxuries of life.

(2) The assembling of machinery and workers in concentrated groups — the factory system.

(3) A new and sharp cleavage between the ownership and management of industry on the one side, over against labor for hire on the other. This division of owners and laborers into distinct groups with separate interests and points of view lies at the bottom of modern labor problems.

(4) The wonderful growth of modern industrial cities. The age of machinery has made the world of our day an urban world.

(5) A widening democracy. One of the chief causes making the civilized world more democratic has been the increased influence of the working people in an industrialized age.

(6) An apparent materialization of life, owing to the eagerness of most people to amass wealth, until material things, rather than the higher qualities of personal worth, appear to dominate society.

Problem and Reference Work

1. In Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II, read these aids to vividness: (*a*) Cartwright's own account of the invention of his power loom, pp. 51 ff.; (*b*) a good editorial on James Watt at the time of his death (1819), pp. 58–62; (*c*) a description written in 1835 of the work of Arkwright in creating the factory system, pp. 62 ff.

2. Read Van Loon's vivid chapter on the age of the engine, pp. 402 ff.

3. Learn about Franklin's early experiments with electricity. H. Thompson, *The Age of Invention*, pp. 8–12.

4. Using the same book, pp. 79 ff., prepare a talk on the contest among early locomotives won by Stephenson's "Rocket." Or use Joy's *Ten Englishmen*, pp. 72–75.

5. On the child laborers of the early days of the factory system read to the class stanzas from Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children."

6. List the chief inventors of the Industrial Revolution, with the inventions of each.

7. Show your understanding of the *laissez faire* theory by telling just what effect the full adoption of that theory would have upon our factory laws and our tariff. Why?

8. In what ways does your community show the effects of the coming of the age of machinery?

Reading List

Thompson, H., *The Age of Invention*. Very readable and instructive.

Holland, R. S., *Historic Inventions*. Interesting and nontechnical.

Byrn, E. W., *Progress of Invention in the Nineteenth Century*. Valuable chiefly for pictures of early types of machines.

Joy, J. R., *Ten Englishmen of the Nineteenth Century*. Biography and history.

Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 67–90. A good section on the Industrial Revolution for older students.

CHAPTER XII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION SPREADS TO THE CONTINENT AND TO AMERICA

The Continent Lags behind England

Why the Industrial Revolution Came Late across the Channel. — As late as 1828 a French writer said, "We are far from having that profusion of machines which one sees in England. It is because labor is cheaper with us, and because the cheapness of fuel in England enables them to employ machines everywhere with advantage."

Here are two prime reasons why the Continent was so far behind England industrially — cheap labor and scarcity of coal. But there were many other causes. Craftsmen on the Continent clung stubbornly to the old hand methods of work which their grandfathers and earlier ancestors had used for ages. Money to buy the expensive machines was scarce. Governments were more likely to hinder than to help, especially in disunited Germany and Italy.[1] The Continent was long in the throes of devastating wars during the time of the French Revolution and of Napoleon (1792–1815).

For all these reasons, scarcely a beginning of the factory system had been made by 1815 on the Continent. Almost everywhere work was still done by hand, with a few water mills and here and there a steam engine. England, on the other hand, was by 1815 well on the way toward the modern age of machinery.

1. Of what did Germany and Italy then consist? See map.

Economic Results of the French Revolution. — The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars were a heavy drain upon all central Europe. The armies of Napoleon were supported by his subject states; the industries of France were fostered at the expense of her neighbors; international trade was upset by Napoleon's Continental System; and many productive areas

were devastated by marching armies. Yet with all this economic loss there came some permanent benefits from the French Revolution and the conquests of Napoleon.

Serfdom[1] was overthrown in the regions occupied by the French, allowing the peasant classes slowly to better their condition. The guild system in industry usually disappeared along with serfdom. Although restored in some countries, the guilds never regained the throttle-hold upon industry which they had

TRADES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Those figured in the section of a page here shown are: 1, Upholsterer; 2, Embroiderer; 3, 4, Joiners; 5, Chandler; 6, Fishermen; 7, Brewers; 8, Vegetable Hawker; 9, Bowyer; 10, Stringer; 11, Flax Dresser; 12, Weaver; 13, Cooper; 14, Laborer; 15, Potter; 16, Ropemaker; 17, Printer; 18, Barber; 19, Maker of Felt Hats. Redrawn from a contemporary print.

before the Revolutionary days. Business corporations, long known in England and Holland, were made legal by the Napoleonic codes, and wherever these codes were introduced it became easier for business men to work together in modern companies. Thus many of the old medieval restrictions upon private industry were destroyed and the way opened for modern industry.

1. Why did the invading French armies overthrow serfdom?

The Industrial Revolution Crosses to America. — Quite different was the influence of the wars of the period upon American industry. Until 1807 American men of business were engaged mainly in exporting raw materials and food products to the warring nations or in carrying goods from the West Indies and other places to Europe. After 1807, however, this lucrative trade was almost wrecked by the commercial war between Napoleon and Great Britain. First came the British orders in council [1] and the Napoleonic decrees of the Continental System.[2] Then followed the American embargo.[3] Finally the British blockade of American ports during the War of 1812 cut off what was left of our foreign trade.

Those years of uncertain and haphazard commerce broke down the old supremacy of British goods in American markets.[4] American investors took their capital from trade and shipping and put it into manufactures. Thus the Industrial Revolution, with its machinery, its wage earners, and its factory system, began to transform American life during these years.

1. The aim and contents of these orders? 2. What was the central purpose of this system? 3. Purpose and success of this embargo? Who was responsible for it? 4. Why had America been using British goods so largely?

England Tries to Keep Industrial Processes to Herself. — Throughout the war period, and, indeed, down to 1825, England tried vigorously to keep at home all the new machines and new processes. Laws of parliament forbade the exportation of machinery and even of drawings or descriptions of machines. Workmen skilled in making or running the new appliances were forbidden to go abroad. Sometimes, too, prices of British goods were made ridiculously low in order to destroy foreign competition. This scheme was very aggressively used against American manufactures after the War of 1812, when some of the new American industries were forced out of business by English competition. A speaker in parliament at the time openly stated that the Americans ought to be confined to the production of raw materials, and that England ought to throttle in the cradle the infant industries [1] of the United States. To combat the

violent British competition of the day and to bolster up American infant industries threatened with destruction, Congress in 1816 passed our first protective tariff law.[2]

Yet in spite of every effort to prevent the spreading of English machines and processes, they slowly but surely came into use in other countries. An Englishman, Samuel Slater, who had been an apprentice and assistant to the inventor Arkwright, came to

Slater's Mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island
The tall building to the right of the bridge. From an old print.

America in 1789 and settled in Rhode Island. There, by his skill in making spinning machines from memory without models or charts, he became the "father of the American textile industry." In France, Belgium, and the Rhine country Englishmen opened factories where they began to use English machines and also benefited by the cheap labor of the Continent. So, in spite of British laws, Englishmen did much to spread the Industrial Revolution into other countries on the Continent and overseas.

1. Meaning of "infant industries"? 2. Just what is a protective tariff?

Agriculture on the Continent

Farming Keeps the Lead and Changes Slowly. — Until 1914 in France, and to at least 1870 in Germany, farming continued

to be the leading industry. Machine manufacture under the factory system was indeed making headway, but for several reasons industrialism had not yet conquered agriculture as it had in England.

For one thing, there was more farm land on the Continent than in England. This led Continental governments to encourage agriculture actively. In many sections, too, the people had to stay on the farms because there were not enough raw materials for large-scale manufacturing, and distance from seaports made it unprofitable to import foreign supplies. Finally, many parts of the Continent began intensive farming and prospered in it. For these reasons farming continued to be the chief industry on the Continent long after it was overshadowed in Great Britain by modern manufacture and trade.

Growth of Specialized Farming. — As better means of communication by land and sea were perfected, it was no longer necessary for each district to raise all its own food. Consequently, the division of labor,[1] so marked in industry, gradually appeared also in farming. Denmark and the neighboring regions in Holland and north Germany began to specialize in dairying and market gardening, shipping their products to England and the growing industrial regions on the Continent.

In the Rhine country and in other parts of France many vineyards were planted. This led to a great increase in the production of wine, which reached its height in 1875.

In the Rhone Valley the raising of silkworms flourished after 1815. Within thirty-five years the output was quadrupled, amounting at its height to 55,000,000 pounds of cocoons a year. In the fifties, however, a destructive disease attacked the silkworms. Then the industry rapidly declined until in 1912 the country produced only one twentieth of the raw silk used in French manufactures, the balance coming partly from other Mediterranean countries, but mainly from the Far East.

1. What division of labor is apparent in machine industry? Why?

The Potato and the Sugar Beet are Introduced. — Before 1800 the potato was not a leading product of any country in

Europe. It was often recommended by the governing classes as a cheap food for the poor, but was felt to be lacking in caste.[1] Gradually, however, potatoes came to be appreciated, and by 1850 were widely cultivated in nearly all countries where soil and climate were suitable, while a large part of the population made them their chief food, especially in Ireland and Germany.[2] Because of the importance of this crop, the potato blight which swept across Europe in the forties caused acute suffering.

In the eighteenth century a German chemist discovered that certain varieties of the beet are remarkably rich in sugar. Napoleon, during his struggle with England, encouraged the raising of this sugar beet to make the Continent independent of cane sugar previously imported by the English from the tropics. At that time an English humorist ridiculed the idea in a cartoon showing Napoleon's young son chewing hard on a beet while his nurse said: "Suck, dear, suck; your father says it's sugar."

The beet sugar industry, thus artificially fostered by Napoleon, declined rapidly when international trade was reopened in 1815,[3] much as American textile manufactures suffered at the same time. Later on, however, when France and Germany adopted protective tariffs, the raising of sugar beets prospered greatly in both countries.

1. Can you account for this prejudice? 2. What gives potatoes value as food? 3. What reopening of trade is meant?

Farming Becomes Scientific. — As the nineteenth century advanced, agriculture became less and less a haphazard occupation. Scientific methods were widely taught to the farmers by agricultural societies, local fairs, agricultural schools, and other governmental agencies. Often, too, new improved methods were forced upon the farmers by some crisis. For instance, a disease in French vineyards in the seventies compelled a complete change in grape growing in that country, and the impoverishment of the soil by continuous sugar beet crops led to a more careful study of soil chemistry and to an intelligent use of fertilizers. Again, the advantages of modern farm machinery were sometimes brought home to the cultivators by strikes

among their laborers. Thus necessity and study united in raising agriculture gradually to a higher level than the world had ever known, and to give it rank as a scientific industry.[1]

1. Did similar changes occur in America?

Machine Industry Makes Progress on the Continent

France Uses a Protective Tariff. — The wars of Great Britain against Napoleon had much the same effect upon the textile industry in France as in America. Foreign trade being cut off, France had to depend more and more upon her own products. At the same time Napoleon was trying desperately to force the other peoples of Europe to use French manufactures.

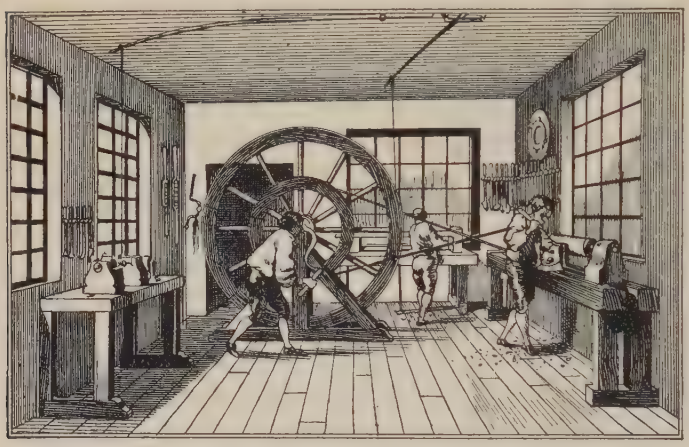
When peace came in 1815, the factory owners in France, as in the United States, demanded and secured a protective tariff against British goods. The protection was liberal; in some cases, prohibitive. Behind this Chinese wall[1] of protective tariffs, French manufacturers built up their industries in defiance of English competition.

1. Is this figure of speech appropriate here? Why?

Growth of the Factory System in France. — The factory system grew up in France first in the cotton industry[1] of Alsace. Here, where water power was abundant and cheap, spinning machines soon displaced hand spinning. Here also the power loom came rapidly into use in cotton weaving after 1825. By 1850 over a million power spindles and 10,000 power looms were humming in Alsace. Probably nowhere else in Europe did the Industrial Revolution take root so quickly as in the cotton mills of this eastern province of France.

Other French textile industries, however, were more slowly changed. Machines for spinning and weaving wool, linen, and silk did not work so well as those used for cotton. For many years, therefore, the old handicraft trades held their own against machinery. The hand workers were also proud of the fact that their goods were more artistic and more like luxuries than those from England. For a long time it was really impossible to equal by machine the work of the skilled French craftsmen. While

the English turned to the making of cheap, standard goods for general use, France has retained even to the present day her interest in the high grade and more luxurious products.



FRENCH MACHINE SHOP SHOWING LATHES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

From an old print.

Only late in the nineteenth century under the competition of cheap substitutes for silk — such as mercerized cotton and artificial silk — did the French silk industry move to the factory. Even in 1914 there were thousands of silk looms driven by hand or by electric motors in the peasant homes of the Rhone Valley.

By 1900 the factory system, it is true, was being forced upon France by the competition of England, Germany, and the United States. Yet just before the World War, out of 19,000,000 persons engaged in French industries, nearly half were either employers or small independent producers. Such a condition was not to be found at that time in the other great industrial nations, all of which had a much larger class of wage earners.[2]

1. In England which kind of factories developed first? In America?
2. Was France fortunate or unfortunate in this? Think out reasons.

Machinery Wins Slowly among German Textiles. — The industrial backwardness of Germany well beyond 1850 is clearly

seen in her textile industries. While France and Belgium were adopting English spinning and weaving machinery, Germany clung to the old cottage method of manufacture until near the close of the nineteenth century. In tens of thousands of peasant homes and in cellars or garrets in the towns, German workers were running their hand spinning wheels or spinning jennies and their hand looms for weaving linen, wool, cotton, and silk. Often, too, the hand spinning or weaving was carried on as a by-product to farming,[1] as it had been earlier in England.

From 1880 for a quarter of a century the rivalry between the hand workers and the factory machines continued in all branches of the textile trade in Germany, but in every case the victory finally rested with the machine. By 1907, hand spinning had almost disappeared; and only a few thousand hand weavers still struggled on in competition with the inevitable power loom.[2] Yet the remarkable fact is that the victory of the factory system in Germany came seventy-five to a hundred years later than in England, and even a generation or more later than in France.

1. Meaning of "by-product to farming"? 2. Why inevitable?

Belgium, the England of the Continent. — The economic growth of Belgium was much like that of England. Here a dense population furnished labor for the factory system. The Belgian coal mines, in the early part of the nineteenth century, were the most productive on the Continent, while easily accessible iron ore encouraged a metal industry second only to that of England. (Map, pages 286–287.) Trade with the more backward peoples about her furnished an excellent market for the manufactures of Belgium, especially for Belgian-made machinery. Modern methods, too, were early adopted by the enterprising Belgians. Thus in commerce and manufacture Belgium progressed more rapidly than her neighbors, and was second only to England.[1]

1. In what ways is Belgium still the "England of the Continent"?

Coal and Iron in France. — The location of the mineral deposits of France prevented a great industrial development like that of England or America. In the first place, the coal lay in

deep veins which were expensive to work. Moreover, French coal did not make good coke for blast furnaces.[1] French iron manufacturers had to import their coke. France, too, lost some of her more valuable mineral lands through disastrous wars. In 1815 important coal regions of the northeast were given to Holland and Belgium, leaving to France only the more difficult workings; and in 1871, when Germany seized Alsace-Lorraine, France lost much valuable coal land, and nearly half of the great Lorraine iron fields.

Long after England was using coke and the hot blast in iron making, France still clung to simple charcoal methods. As iron was more and more needed for railways, however, modern furnaces came gradually into use. French manufacturers adopted with enthusiasm the new Bessemer process of making steel [2] when it came into use in the sixties, but the iron and steel business of France was far outdistanced by that of Germany and the United States.[3]

The natural resources of France are rather widely scattered. Her industries, therefore, are mostly small, localized ones, devoted to the making of specialties. A highly significant result is that France has been largely free from the concentration of capital and labor in enormous plants so familiar in England, Germany, and the United States.[4]

1. What is coke? Its value in blast furnaces? 2. Why was this a very important invention? 3. Why judge a nation's industrial strength by its production of iron? 4. Reread and ponder this sentence carefully. State the meaning in your own words.

Germany Slow in Becoming Industrialized. — As France was two or three decades later than England in being transformed by the Industrial Revolution, so Germany lagged almost as far behind France. This backwardness was in no way due to a scarcity of national resources, for Germany had far better mineral deposits than France. Rather, the belated industrial progress of Germany was due to human factors, such as the extreme conservatism of the German craft workers;[1] a close union of manufacture with farming; the division of Germany into disunited states before 1866;[2] poor means of communication;

lack of capital; and the vexatious tariffs levied by each of the German states upon imports from the others.

These obstacles to economic progress were gradually broken down. The Customs Union or *Zollverein* (tsôl'fēr-īn), accepted by many German states by 1834, led to the abolition of internal custom duties.[3] The many railways built between 1840 and 1870 made it much easier to move freight and laborers. Between 1866 and 1871 Germany became one closely united nation. Then she gained a large share of the Lorraine iron ore field and the control of the well-developed French iron industry in that region, in time to benefit by the introduction of the new Bessemer process of making steel.

1. Conservatism in what? 2. How many German states from 1815 to 1866? 3. What are "internal custom duties"? Where have you read about them before? Have we any in the United States?

Germany Makes Striking Industrial Progress after 1871.—No fact in the economic history of Europe is more remarkable than the expansion of German industry under the Empire (1871–1918). Aided with favoring laws, benefited by the enormous indemnity paid by France, controlling the best European deposits of coal and iron, the German industrial leaders built up a marvelous system. They had the great advantage of finding ready-made the machines and processes upon which English inventors had spent many years of experimentation. By 1903 Germany had passed England in the production of iron; and by 1910 she was second only to the United States.

But German industry was not content with turning out raw materials. In the manufacture of machinery of all kinds, especially electrical appliances when they came into use, Germany outdistanced all her European competitors. In many industries great corporations, favored by the government, took the lead in making production economical and in seeking foreign markets.[1] In the Ruhr Valley in western Germany the modern age of coal and iron [2] was seen at its height. Here, amid the most complicated railroad and canal system in Europe, the Krupps and other German magnates created vast industrial establishments, which

became world-renowned and contributed much to the industrial leadership of Germany before the World War.

1. Where else were giant corporations developing at the same time?
2. In what respects is this the "age of coal and iron"?

Industrial Conditions in Other Countries. — It is possible here merely to hint at the extension of the modern industrial system into other countries. Spain, though controlling large supplies of excellent iron ore, has been short of coal to reduce it. Italy is even poorer than Spain in the raw materials of modern industry. Her coal and iron have come largely from abroad, and many of her industrial plants have been kept going only at great expense for public purposes. Austria and southeastern Europe have clung to the old hand industries and to unscientific agriculture with only a slight movement toward the factory and modern farming in a few favored spots.

In Russia, especially after 1893, the government fostered industrial progress and encouraged the investment of large

A French Diligence of 1828

This type of six-seated carriage was used as the model for the first railway carriages.

amounts of foreign capital in factories and in railways. Yet the great body of the people are engaged mainly in a primitive sort of farming, although during the long winters, when outdoor work is scarce, millions of Russian peasants spend

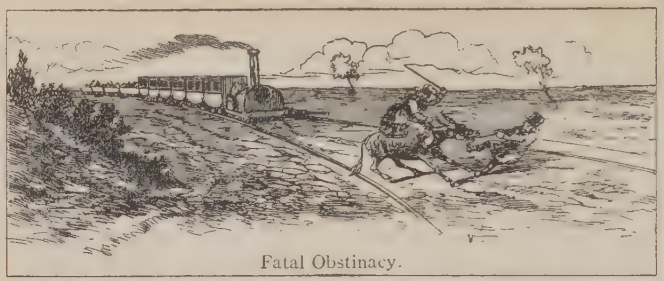
their time in spinning and weaving or in making things of wood, leather, and fur. In spite of her great resources in coal, iron, and other minerals, Russia remains far removed from the industrialism of England, Germany, and America.

Railway on the Champs Élysées, Paris, 1853
From a London newspaper of the time.

Improved Transportation on the Continent

In France and Germany. — In those countries which were early touched by the Industrial Revolution there arose a strong demand for better roads and waterways. In England, France, and Germany this was most evident. France, indeed, already had most excellent highways; she also preceded England in the building of canals. Not so with railroads. Even as late as 1850 the French were far more interested in their roads and canals than in the "iron horse."

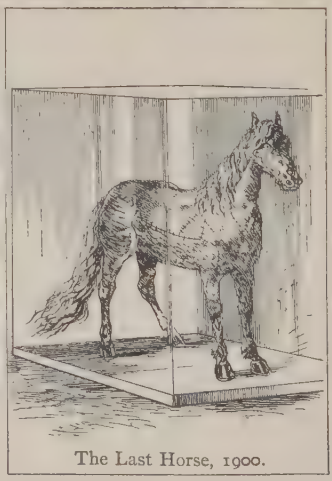
East of the Rhine, however, roads were wretchedly poor, and in many parts of Germany the era of railroad building came before these had been improved. Thus it was that the railway was developed more rapidly in the German states than in France. On the other hand, canal building was active in Germany late



Fatal Obstinacy.

Betterment of the Race Made Probable by Railroad Accidents.

New Kind of Hail Storm.



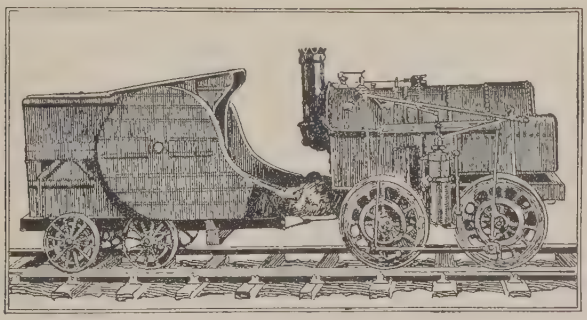
The Last Horse, 1900.

FIGHTING PROPOSED RAILROADS WITH SATIRE

French cartoons of 1845.

in the century, after France, England, and the United States had almost entirely given up further construction and after the English and the Americans had practically abandoned their canals for railroads. Even as late as 1913, about one fifth of the freight moved in Germany and France was carried on canal boats, barges, and river steamers.

How Railways on the Continent were Planned. — In contrast to England and America, railroad routes on the Continent were usually laid out by the government; frequently the lines were built with public funds; and sometimes the roads were run by government officials. Some illustrations of this policy follow.

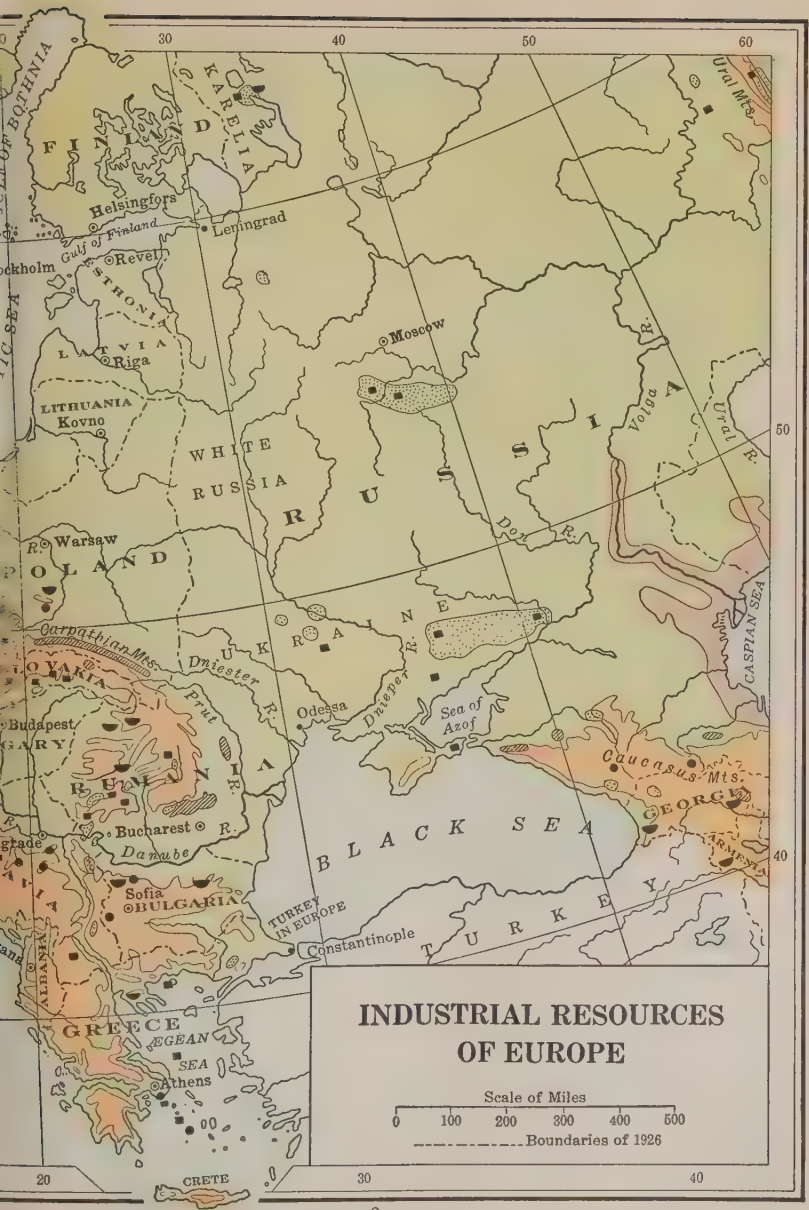


First Tubular Locomotive, with Tender
Built in 1827 for the railroad from Lyon to St. Etienne. Model in the Paris Conservatory of Arts.

Having secured independence in 1830, Belgium looked forward to a prosperous future. To promote foreign commerce, Belgium planned the first national railroads built by any country. An east and west line from Ostend to the German frontier was bisected by a north and south route from Antwerp to the French border. These lines, by linking up the traffic of Holland, France, England, and Germany, brought much wealth to the Belgians.

In France quite a different plan was followed. The country was divided into a series of triangles with the point of each at Paris and the base on the frontier. In each triangle the building of railroad lines was usually left to one or more non-competing private companies.

REFERENCE
Highlands over 1500 feet
Lowlands below 1500 feet
Below Sea Level
Coal
Petroleum
Iron
Lead
Tin
Copper
Slate
20
10
0
10
50
40
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
NORWAY
Kiolen Mts.
Oslo
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
Edinburgh
NORTHERN IRELAND
Belfast
IRISH FREE STATE
Dublin
DENMARK
Copenh
ATLANTIC OCEAN
WALES
ENGLAND
London
NETHERLANDS
The Hague
Hamburg
Berlin
English Channel
Brussels
Dresd
Paris
Loire R.
Nuremberg
FRANCE
Rhine R.
Munich
Bordeaux
BAY OF BISCAY
Bern
SWITZERLAND
The Alps
Venice
Pyrenees
Rhone R.
Po R.
ADRIA
Marseille
CORSICA
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Tagus R.
Madrid
Barcelona
Rome
Guadiana R.
C. St. Vincent
SARDINIA
Naples
BALEARIC IS.
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Str. of Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY
W. & A. K. JOHNSTON LTD.
AFRICA
Longitude West
0
Longitude East from Greenwich
10



INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES OF EUROPE

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500

Boundaries of 1926

The German states, before the founding of the Empire in 1871, had each gone its own way in railroad building. The early lines, like those in England and America, were built by private capital where there were the greatest traffic needs. In the absence of good highways they prospered speedily. Later, Prussia and other German states adopted plans of railroad expansion, not always to meet the needs of business, but often where it was thought that railroad lines would be useful to the army or to the government.

Russian railroads were always planned and built to fit the government's wishes more than the demands of traffic. The story of Czar Nicholas I has become a classic. He was shown the map of a proposed railroad line from St. Petersburg to Moscow, with many curves and irregularities suiting the road to local traffic and to the character of the land. Taking his pen and a ruler he drew a straight line between the two capitals of his empire and directed that the road be built on that line. And so it was built, regardless of the added cost, and ignoring the needs of towns and cities which would have benefited by a railroad in their neighborhood.

Public and Private Control of Railroads. — On the Continent there has been much greater control by governments over railroads than in Great Britain and the United States. In many cases governments have owned the roads and even operated them. On the Continent to-day one sees all possible variety, from railroads owned and run as a private venture to complete governmental ownership and operation.

Before the World War, the governments of Germany and Belgium were running 95% of the railroads within those countries; the czar's government was operating 80% of Russian railroads; while France, on the other hand, had placed under public control only 18% of her mileage. These experiments in the national operation of railroads have furnished reformers and politicians abundant arguments both for and against the plan. Seen at its best, in Prussia and Belgium, government operation was noticeably beneficial; at its worst, in Russia and Italy, it was

very unsatisfactory. Private operation showed similar differences, the excellent British systems, for example, contrasting sharply with the miserable service on the Spanish railways — both run by private companies.[1]

1. Does this paragraph argue for, or against, public ownership of railroads?

Social Changes Wrought by the Industrial Revolution

Population Increases Rapidly. — Everywhere in Europe the Industrial Revolution brought an increase in population far more rapid than the world had hitherto known. This increase was due to improved living conditions, to an increased food supply which prevented famines, and to a cutting down of the death rate through better sanitation.

The population of Europe in 1750 has been estimated at 127,000,000; in 1800 it was 175,000,000; and in 1914 it had reached 452,000,000. The rate of increase has varied greatly in different countries. England's population, which had grown only 15% between 1651 and 1751, showed an increase of 200% in the next century. Germany's development came later, but between 1816 and 1910 the population of the lands included in the German Empire increased 160%. Austria-Hungary gained 80% in the nineteenth century; European Russia 180%. Only France lagged behind in this growth of population, with an increase of 44%.[1]

1. International importance of these facts?

People Flock to the Cities. — Most marked was the growth of cities. There was, indeed, almost everywhere except in Ireland, a slight actual increase in the country population; but by comparison with the cities the number of rural people was falling off. In 1800 no country showed more than a quarter of its population living in towns; but at the close of the century, three fourths of the English were living in urban places, while 60% of the Germans, 50% of the Belgians, and 40% of the French dwelt in towns and cities.[1]

Far-reaching results flowed from the rush of the population to cities. The physical problems of housing, sanitation, and

transportation have proved very difficult to settle. The growth of cities created new economic questions of food supply, unemployment, and labor troubles pressing urgently for solution. How to secure good government in cities, how to preserve order and crush crime, how to educate multitudes of children, how to control public franchises, and protect people's health, — all of these and many more problems have become acute in the crowded cities of Europe and America.

1. Were American cities showing the same sort of growth at this time?

The Industrial Revolution in the United States

Americans Borrow and Invent. — America under Washington's lead decided to remain aloof from the international quarrels and military struggles of Europe;[1] but there was no such separation in the ordinary affairs of commerce, industry, and science. English textile machinery was gradually brought to the United States. Soon after Fulton's *Clermont* scored its success on the Hudson, English waters began to be dotted with steamboats. The first locomotive used in America was built by Stephenson in England. Continually back and forth across the Atlantic flowed the knowledge of new inventions and discoveries. Thus America enjoyed the benefits of the Industrial Revolution and added her share to its progress as well. Without eclipsing agriculture in American life, the principal features of the factory system were introduced with great rapidity after 1812 into New England and the Middle States.

The trade restrictions of Napoleon's commercial duel with England and the blockade of our ports during the War of 1812 caused an unusual growth of American manufactures. This period of freedom from English competition gave the young American industries a start.

Following the use of spinning machines, first built in America by Samuel Slater,[2] the power loom was introduced into New England in 1814. Soon energetic Americans were hitching to machinery the cheap water power of the northeastern states in many cotton and woolen factories along the river banks.

American metal industries for some time lagged behind the textiles. American iron founders, like the French, clung to the old charcoal methods long after England had developed her coal and coke furnaces. But after American foundries in the forties began to use anthracite coal, our iron industry enjoyed a period of prosperous years.

The period from 1810 to 1860 saw a marked increase in all kinds of American business — a gain of almost 1000% in the value of manufactured products within that half century.

DEMONSTRATING THE MCCORMICK REAPER
This was patented in 1831.

These were years in which American inventors first became busy developing new conveniences and labor-saving devices. We see McCormick experimenting with his reaper, Howe developing the sewing machine, and Morse lobbying in Congress for an appropriation to try his telegraph over a long distance. Goodyear was vulcanizing rubber and making it a necessity of life; while scores of others were inventing machines and devices to reduce the cost of goods and increase the output of factories.

1. Who were our spokesmen in this policy of aloofness? 2. Recall the story of Samuel Slater.

America's Advance in Manufacture: a Comparison. — In 1820 the manufacturing countries of the world, in the order of importance, were Great Britain, France, and Germany. The United States then produced only 4% of the world's total, while Great Britain was turning out nearly 25% of it. By 1895 the United States had passed far ahead of Great Britain, and was making considerably more than one third of the world's manufactured goods. Germany by this time was leading France and drawing close to Great Britain.

Since 1895 American and German industrial development has gone on apace. By that year the United States had already passed Great Britain in her peculiar field of iron and steel. In 1900 we also surpassed her in the output of coal. By 1903 the German iron and steel product exceeded that of Great Britain. In 1914 the order of the manufacturing nations had become — the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France.

A World View. — But these leaders were by no means the only countries feeling the touch of the industrial age. Everywhere throughout the temperate regions of the world, machine production is in recent years taking the place of hand labor. In far-away Japan, in the new Australia, in Russia and Siberia, even in China, factories are employing the new machines and entering into competition with old established industries of Europe and America. The Industrial Revolution spreads afar and brings its influence for both good and ill wherever there are natural resources, with men willing to use them, and a settled society able to insure a fair return to capital and labor.

Problem and Reference Work

1. In Fueter's *World History* read Chap. 4, on the economic effects of the French Revolution.

2. Compare the interior tariff lines in France before the French Revolution with conditions of commerce within Germany before the Zollverein. Compare also trade conditions among our own states before the Constitution.

3. Tell to the class the interesting story of how Samuel Slater introduced into America the new machinery for rapid spinning. Use Thompson's *Age of Invention*, pp. 86-88; or a cyclopedia of biography, or an economic history.

CHAPTER XIII

HISTORY-MAKING FORCES AFTER NAPOLEON'S TIME

NOTE: This chapter is meant to suggest in a broad preview great influences and movements to be studied in later chapters. The specific illustrations used will serve their purpose here even if they have only a hazy meaning to the student until made clear in the fuller treatments to follow.

THREE GREAT FORCES

A Century at a Glance. — Three special forces that did much to shape the history of the nineteenth century were democracy, nationalism, and economic rivalry. All three of these forces came to the fore in the life of the age through the great revolutions which ushered in the century — the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

The rousing influence of the French Revolution was felt at the time wherever the armies of the republic or of Napoleon penetrated. During the nineteenth century, moreover, the after effects of the French Revolution appeared in persistent demands for self-government and for the abolition of class privileges in nearly all countries. Along with this demand for democratic government, a strong feeling of nationalism arose among peoples who had heretofore been unconscious of any strong ties binding them together.

The Industrial Revolution spread more slowly over the Continent than had the political upheaval, and for some years its effects appeared mainly in the internal life of each country. Not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century did industrial changes lead to that keen economic rivalry between nations which is so evident in recent years.

During the first seventy years of the century, the chief events of European history centered around the aspirations of people for democracy and for national unity. Neither of these triumphed completely, but both have continued to work deeply down to the present day. After 1870 there developed the modern

economic struggles of the great nations, with their competition for world markets and colonies — rivalries which have grown to be the central international interest of the last fifty years or more.

Meaning and Influence of Nationalism in Modern History

What Nationalism is. — Nationalism, spreading gradually over the entire continent, stirred the peoples of Europe so deeply during most of the past century, and is still so strong, that it is worth while to get some idea of what it means, and how it influences the aims and actions of nations.

Nationalism cannot be defined in a few words, for it is not an institution but a feeling or emotion. It is that sentiment and conviction which makes the members of a group of people, such as Germans, Poles, or Italians, consider themselves different from all other people. Looking upon their own customs and ways of life as peculiar to themselves and superior to those of the rest of the world, they feel that their interests differ from and even perhaps clash with those of other people. The basis for such national feeling is generally found in a common race, a common language, common traditions and memories of the past, and common ideals and hopes for the future. These are the things which create mutual loyalty and lead to united action.

Nationalism may seem very similar to patriotism, but the two sentiments are not quite the same thing. Patriotism means love and devotion to the welfare of one's country without regard to the racial strains which make up its population. Nationalism is a feeling of unity with people of one's own kind whether they are fellow citizens or subjects of a foreign state. A Greek patriot is one who loves Greece; a Greek nationalist is one who holds sacred the ties that bind the Greek people together throughout the world. A Jewish patriot loves the country in which he lives; a Jewish nationalist is devoted to the Jewish race as a whole and hopes to create in Palestine or elsewhere a national home for the Jews.

Nationalism is in many ways like the sentiment that binds together the members of a family. In both cases we find the same resentment at interference or criticism by others; the same tendency to make common cause against outsiders, while reserving the privilege of quarreling among themselves. National pride, too, is much like family pride. A nation is no more inclined to admit past errors than is a family to shout abroad the doings of one of its members who has spent a term in jail.

Unlike a family, however, the members of a nation may not all be related by blood. Though they usually belong to the same race, this bond is sometimes lacking, as in the case of the United States, where a strong feeling of nationality exists in spite of the fact that our ancestors came from all the races of Europe.

How to Distinguish States from Nations. — A nation, it must be noted, is not the same thing as a state, in the precise meaning of that word, though the two are often combined. A state, in the technical sense, is an independent, separately governed body of people living within a definite territory. Some groups of citizens in a state may have no feelings of unity or sympathy with the rest of the people and may be unwilling subjects of the government under which they live, as, for instance, the Bohemians in Austria before 1918. In that case the state is not a real nation. On the other hand, every national group wishes to have a separate government of its own and to be an independent state. Throughout the nineteenth century the Polish nation formed a part of each of the three states of Prussia, Russia, and Austria; but it never ceased to be a nation and has at last (1919) been united under its own government. Thus we see that nationalism does not depend upon boundary lines or government arrangements. It is a state of mind.

How Nationalism Expresses Itself. — As one of the great forces of the nineteenth century, nationalism has expressed itself in several definite ways.

Independence. Each national group demands a separate government for itself. Outside control is resented and the rule

of the "foreigner" is considered a violation of sacred rights. Many of the wars of the last century have been due to this demand for independence, such as the revolts of the Poles, the wars of the Italians against Austria, and the more recent revolution in Ireland.

Unity. In order to preserve their own institutions and to realize their feelings of brotherhood, members of the same nation desire to be united under a single government. This desire for national unity inspired the North in the American Civil War of 1861–1865; and brought about the formation of the Italian kingdom in 1860 and of the German Empire in 1871.

Uniformity. Believing its own qualities superior to those of other people, a nation demands the suppression of all other national groups within its territory. In carrying out this aim, the right of small minorities to use their own language and to follow their peculiar customs is often denied, and efforts are made to compel the divergent minority to become like the national majority. This national intolerance has been the cause of much discontent and agitation, as in the case of the French in Alsace-Lorraine after 1871.

National Prestige. The spirit of nationalism requires that the importance of a people shall be acknowledged in the eyes of the rest of the world, since each citizen feels a personal pride in his country's triumphs and a personal disgrace in its failure. Most individuals are gratified to feel that they are members of a nation which is looked up to and admired by the rest of mankind. This leads them to desire a strong national government able to assert itself in world affairs and to add glory to the national name. Thus national sentiment makes it difficult for states to avoid conflicts with one another when their interests clash, inasmuch as neither side is willing to yield, for the surrender of claims once put forward might appear an evidence of national weakness. It was by appealing to such national pride, for instance, that Napoleon III made himself master of France after 1848; it was likewise his failure to maintain the prestige of the country that brought about his fall in 1870.

Battle Monument at Leipzig, Germany
Commemorating the Battle of the Nations, 1813.

Good and Evil Results of Nationalism. — Many of the great events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been due to this sentiment of nationalism. It has given independence and self-government to various peoples, such as the Italians, the Germans, the Finns, and the Poles. Greater variety and interest has been added to modern life, and civilization has advanced more rapidly because of national competition. Nationalism has brought the different classes within a country into greater sympathy with each other, and the feeling of brotherhood between men of the same race has been strengthened.

On the other hand, international rivalry has become keener.

Wars have become struggles between peoples instead of between their rulers, and therefore more bitter than in earlier days. National pride and egotism have sometimes grown so overbearing that the rights of alien groups within the state have been trampled on, as in Alsace-Lorraine and in Poland, and even foreign conquest has been justified as a blessing to the conquered races. Within proper limits nationalism may prove a blessing. When unrestrained by tolerance and respect for the rights of other peoples, it may lead to tyranny and disaster.

Nationalism Created by the French Revolution and Spread by Napoleon. — Nationalism scarcely existed at all in the Middle Ages, since society was then sharply separated into classes such as the clergy, the nobles, the townsmen, and the peasants. These divisions were so clearly marked that each man felt more loyalty to his own class, even though it were scattered through many lands, than to the people of his own nation. The French and English, it is true, developed national states at an early period and were followed in this respect by the Spanish and Dutch; but, except for the lands bordering the Atlantic, the sentiment of nationalism was scarcely felt until the French Revolution spread a new spirit throughout Europe.

In its early stages the French Revolution abolished the privileges of nobles and clergy and broke down the distinctions between classes. Thrilled with the enthusiasm and liberalism of those memorable days of 1789–1792, the French people felt themselves suddenly welded into a new kind of unity — a feeling strengthened by the hostility of the rest of Europe. Threatened by an alliance of kings, they looked upon themselves as the missionaries of a gospel of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and felt impelled to spread these ideals among other peoples.[1]

Napoleon was in reality a man without a country [2] and incapable of understanding national feeling. Yet he did more than any one else to arouse it within France and over the Continent. French national pride he fed by his victories. In the lands conquered by the French armies he introduced uniform laws, abolished feudal privileges and inequalities, and imposed a

common system of administration, uniting each people more closely. But Napoleon paid no heed to the wishes or traditions of his new subjects. To gratify his ambitions he overthrew old

ENTRANCE TO THE CRYPT WHICH HOLDS NAPOLEON'S TOMB
From a lithograph.

governments, raised his relatives to thrones, and annexed or divided territories as he pleased. By these high-handed acts he stirred up intense national feelings in Italy, in Germany, in

Spain, and elsewhere. Since Napoleon's day nationalism has continued to grow stronger and to spread through all the countries of Europe.

1. During which stage of the French Revolution were the French most full of this crusading spirit? Why? 2. In what sense was Napoleon a man without a country?

Nationalism and Democracy Work Separately and Together

Democracy a Great Force from 1815 to 1848. — In spite of the reaction against reform and revolution that followed the fall of Napoleon, the two great principles of the French Revolution, democracy and nationalism, remained active forces in European life, as we shall see in later chapters. For a time reactionary leaders, as the Austrian Metternich (mĕt'ĕr-nĭĸ), restored the arbitrary governments of earlier days and divided or united territories without regard to national sentiments; but all the time beneath the surface the new forces were in ferment.

A Caricature in "Punch," Showing the Kings All at Sea in 1848

The democratic upheaval of 1848 threatened for a time the security of many European thrones.

Workings of the new nationalism were evident in the struggle for Greek independence in the twenties; in the separation of

Belgium from Holland in 1830; in the unsuccessful revolts of Poland against Russia; and even the German revolution of 1848 was in many districts an expression of nationalist impulses.

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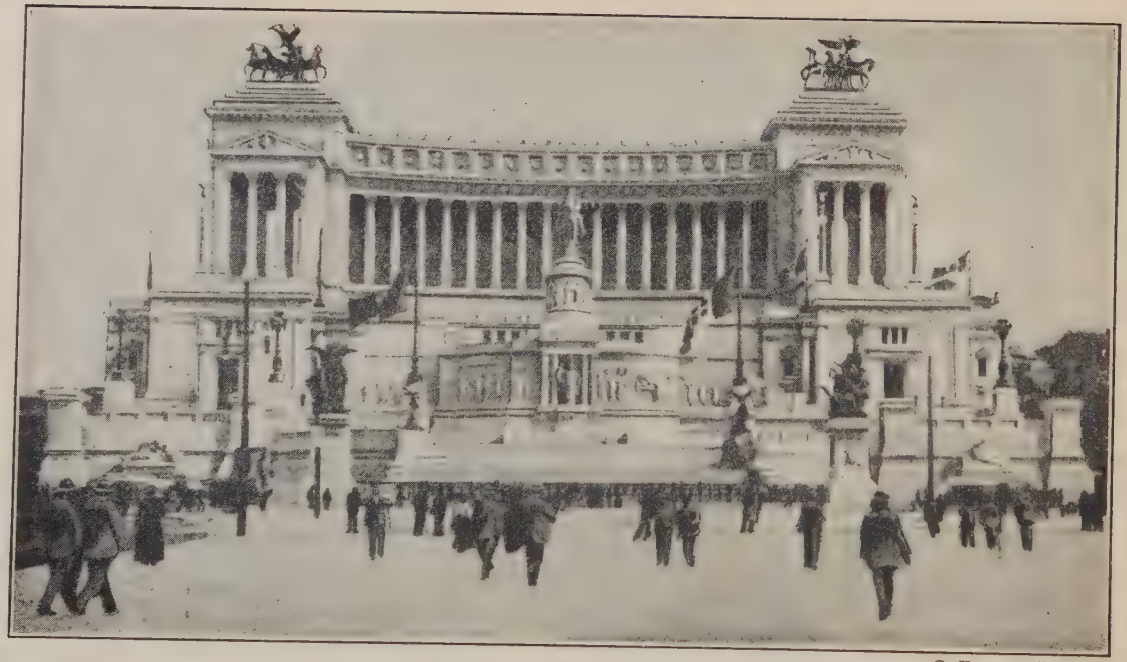
THE NELSON MONUMENT, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON

On the whole, however, democratic agitation played a more important rôle than nationalism in the period from 1815 to 1848. In most countries a continuous struggle between liberals and conservatives held the center of the stage for several decades. The most important political events of the period were rebellions in Italy, Spain, and the Spanish colonies; the revolution of 1830 in France; the reform of the British parliament in 1832; and the great democratic upheaval of the years 1848 and 1849.



MONUMENT TO VICTOR EMMANUEL IN ROME. From a photograph.

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In all of these movements, as we shall see, the gaining of popular rights was the chief goal of the revolutionists.

Nationalism the Principal Force from 1848 to 1870. — During 1848 and 1849, Europe was stirred by a second great revolutionary and liberal movement which ended largely in failure, with its programs discredited. For a time, democratic ideals seemed to recede into the background, while their place in popular interest was taken by questions arising from the national ambitions of Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, and others. During this second period new leaders with striking personalities, such as the French Louis Napoleon, the Italian Cavour (kȧ-vo͝or′), and the German Bismarck, rose to power by appealing to national sentiment.

France still felt the humiliation of defeat at the hands of the allies in 1814 and 1815, and longed to be restored to the position of leadership she had enjoyed under Louis XIV and again under Napoleon. So she welcomed in 1848 the leadership of Napoleon III. By sacrificing her democratic ideals, she enjoyed for the next twenty years something of her old prestige, though at the price of ultimate disaster in 1871. Such was the course of nationalism in France.

In Italy after 1815 Austria lorded it over the disunited fragments of the peninsula, while national sentiment was calling for a unified Italy, freed from the Austrian yoke. Under the guidance of the great Sardinian minister, Cavour, the Italians finally won national unity and independence between 1859 and 1870. Contrary to the desires of many of her sons, Italy became a kingdom instead of a republic, but without sacrificing her ideals of popular government. In that country the national leaders learned how to work with democracy instead of suppressing it.

In this period Germany also attained national unity, but by a different road. The German people after 1815 were divided into 38 different states whose jealousies prevented them from uniting of their own accord. Finally (1866–1871) the barriers to union were overcome by force, as we shall see, under the guidance of Bismarck, a firm believer in absolute government.

Accepting the policy of Bismarck, the Germans, in their enthusiasm for national unity, abandoned the path of democracy.

Of the important European states, Great Britain alone was making a steady advance toward democracy during the middle decades of the century. Here no question of national unity, no demand for the recovery of a lost prestige, interfered with the continuous widening of popular rights. In Great Britain the political struggles of those years were mainly between the liberal and conservative forces, with the balance slowly but steadily inclining toward democracy.

Nationalism in a New Field after 1870. — By the year 1870 the principle of nationalism had triumphed in western Europe. This means that all the greater nations of the West were by that time united under governments of their own choice, and that the seething political discontent of the preceding decades had largely disappeared. The chief exceptions were to be found among the Irish, the Danes of Schleswig, the people of Alsace-Lorraine, and the Italians living within the southwestern provinces of Austria. In eastern and southeastern Europe, however, the rulers of the period still paid little heed to national feelings and aspirations. Poland, torn apart and swallowed by Russia, Prussia, and Austria at the end of the eighteenth century, remained undigested in the maw of her conquerors. Austria-Hungary was able to hold together as an empire only by defying the whole spirit of nationalism, for that patchwork realm was made up of Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Italians, Rumanians, Serbs, Cro'ats and various other racial groups living inharmoniously together. In the Balkans a veritable welter of nationalities was ruled by Turkey or dominated by Austria and Russia.

As long as the peoples of eastern Europe remained indifferent to racial ties, they accepted foreign rule and objected only to injustice and oppression. But the modern growth of railroads, the spread of popular education, and the revival of native literatures made the different races conscious of their own kinship. Following the example of western Europe, each racial group gradually began to demand separation from the others and a

national government of its own. Such desires could not be gratified without weakening existing states — Russia, Austria, Germany, and Turkey — and affecting the interests of other states allied with one or the other of these. All Europe, therefore, became involved in the intrigues and struggles of the little nationalities of eastern Europe. From these rivalries arose several of the great European wars of modern times.

Economic Rivalry Sways the Nations

A Force Increasingly Dangerous. — In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new force was embittering national rivalries, namely, economic competition. Such competition had existed, of course, before, but now it became immensely magnified — a real economic imperialism. By 1875 the effects of the Industrial Revolution were beginning to be felt in all parts of Europe. Great cities were growing up, and more and more people were being drawn into manufacture and commerce. The result was a feverish competition among the European nations. Each sought to get possession of the less developed regions of the world where it could find purchasers for its goods and raw materials for its factories. Each tried to control the best lines of communication in order to gain advantages in trade. Each enacted tariffs in order to defend the home market from outsiders. To protect and enlarge the business opportunities of the people of one's own country in sharp competition with others became a central aim of national leaders everywhere.

Inasmuch as national importance and glory were coming more and more to be measured by wealth, economic prosperity became the basis of national pride. The struggle for wealth, thus combined with nationalism, added bitterness to international relations. Under such conditions, governments used all their powers to advance the business interests of their own subjects in the outer world. In this policy they found enthusiastic popular support. Finally, nationalism and economic imperialism, combined, produced among the nations a tense state of suspicion and jealousy which made inevitable the World War of 1914.

CHAPTER XIV

TRYING TO UNDO THE WORK OF THE REVOLUTIONS

The Revolutions Made a Different World. — Many and varied were the changes brought about by the revolutions described in preceding chapters.[1] They included such unconnected events as the overthrow of kings and the harnessing of steam, the cleaving asunder of the British Empire and new ways of spinning thread, the spread of the doctrine of personal liberty and the growing thralldom of the factory system. Indeed, there was scarcely a kind of human activity which was not deeply affected by the years of upheaval following 1760.

The everyday business of making a living was radically changed by the abolition of the relics of feudalism, by improvements in agriculture, by the growth of the factory system, and by the opening of new avenues of trade. At the same time the personal rights of millions of people were increased and made more secure by bills of rights and by legal codes. Old aristocratic and royal families were thrust down from their seats of power, and republics were established in North and South America, and, for a time, in France and the near-by countries.

1. What three revolutions?

Men who Tried to Undo the Revolutions

Trying to Turn Back the Age of Machinery. — With every forward step in farming or in industry, many people were driven into new habits and to strange ways of working and living. It was only natural that such enforced changes should stir the antagonism of both rich and poor. Almost everywhere in Europe, hand workers tried to prevent the introduction of machinery.[1] The steam railway was opposed by peasants dreading the effect upon their horses and cattle, by stage drivers eager to keep their business, by nervous German women who held needles

between their lips for fear they would be kissed in the tunnels, and by poets who, like Wordsworth, were reluctant to open up the beloved " Lake Country " [2] to the " iron horse."

EARLY GERMAN RAILWAY

The first trip on the Nuremberg-Fürth railroad, 1835. From an engraving in the Museum of Nuremberg.

Thus the advocates of each new invention were compelled to battle against tradition and prejudice, and sometimes against open violence. Yet in the long run victory rested with labor-saving devices, machine-made goods, and factory production.

1. Why did they do so? 2. What is meant by "Lake Country"?

Enemies of the Political Revolution. — Still more serious was the opposition to the civil and political changes of the era of revolution. Kings whose powers had been limited, petty princes whose lands had been seized by Napoleon,[1] feudal lords whose privileges had been overthrown by the Revolution, aristocrats who feared democracy, — all of these worked and prayed for the return of the old days.

It was most unfortunate for the liberals of France and of Europe that the leaders in the great struggle against Napoleon were kings and their helpers, who were bent upon overthrowing liberalism as well as upon checking the mad career of the conqueror. And yet this was exactly the situation during those critical years of 1812 to 1815. The strongest opponents of Bonapartism were in most cases the enemies of popular government and of the liberal sentiments which the French Revolution had stirred up. These leaders took advantage of the uprising of the peoples against Napoleon (1809–1815) to overthrow that despot; but most of them had not the slightest intention of allowing their own subjects any share in the government. Thus the war to tame Napoleon became an attack upon all for which the Revolution stood; and the victory over Napoleon was interpreted as a victory over republicans and liberals.

Taking to themselves the credit for the overthrow of Napoleon, the reactionaries [2] claimed as a reward the return of their old rights and privileges. Thus Europe from 1815 to 1848 came under the control of the conservatives, who intrenched themselves so strongly that they could be ousted only by new revolutions.

1. Where did Napoleon do this? 2. Explain what this word means.

The Age of Metternich. — There were many able leaders among the aristocrats of that period, but the preëminent champion of the policy of repression was the Austrian minister, Prince Metternich (portrait, page 339). It is fitting, therefore, that the thirty years following Napoleon's overthrow should be named after him.

Prince Metternich's long life of eighty-six years (1773–1859) covered the age of revolution and extended far down into the next century. In 1809, at the height of Napoleon's power, he became the principal minister of the Austrian emperor and thereafter remained the directing force in Austria until 1848. His strength lay in his wide knowledge of European politics and his subtle skill as a diplomat. With these he united an unswerving loyalty to the most extreme ideas of absolutism.

It was little wonder that emperors and kings respected the ideas of this man and accepted his advice. Not even among themselves could they find a man who so bitterly hated popular government, or who was so ready to use severe measures against revolution. Metternich was never converted to more liberal views. After being driven into exile by revolutionists in 1848, he could still write, " If I had to begin my career again, I should follow again the course I took before, and should not deviate from it for an instant."

Metternich was most actively supported by the rulers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, as well as by thousands of aristocrats in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, who looked to him for the restoration of their lands and their feudal rights. The emigrant nobles of France, who had chosen exile during the great Revolution rather than face imprisonment and the guillotine, now hoped to climb back into their old position. Church officials who dreaded the atheism [1] of the revolutionists,[2] openly espoused the cause of reaction. Even in England, conservatives like the Duke of Wellington heartily backed most of the program of Metternich. Thus behind the Austrian minister were arrayed all the reactionary forces hostile to the new spirit of liberty and to the new rights being claimed by the people.

1. What is "atheism"? 2. What revolutionists were atheistic?

The Congress of Vienna Restores Despotism

The Four Allies of 1814. — In March, 1814, shortly before Napoleon's first surrender, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria made a treaty creating an alliance which was in fact a League of Nations against France. This agreement, later known as the Quadruple Alliance, was renewed and strengthened in November, 1815, and it was the dominating force in European affairs for twenty years. It aimed to cut down France to its old boundaries, and to restore hereditary princes in Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands. It looked toward " a balance of power " in Europe which should prevent one country from overshadowing the others as France had done under

Napoleon. This was the alliance which sent Napoleon to St. Helena and brought the old royal families back into power in France, Italy, Spain, and elsewhere.

The Bourbon Monarchy Comes Back. — As the allies, in pursuing Napoleon, advanced into France in 1814, they were in doubt about what to do with that country. What government should they set up in France? Napoleon, they agreed, should be exiled; but who should take his place?

Over in England the oldest brother of the guillotined French king had for years been living quietly in exile. He now returned to Paris, after it had been occupied by the allied armies, and with their support was proclaimed King Louis XVIII of France.* Raised thus to power, he had sense enough not to try to cancel all the work of the Revolution. Instead, he issued a constitutional charter in June, 1814, promising to preserve the great principle of equality, and establishing a limited monarchy patterned somewhat after that of Great Britain.

Having thus restored the old Bourbon line of kings in France, the Quadruple Allies soon made similar restorations in other countries. In order to have ample time and congenial surroundings for working out the reshaping of Europe, they issued a call for a congress of the sovereigns to be held at Vienna.

The Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815. — In the fall of 1814 this call brought to Vienna the greatest assemblage of monarchs and princes which the world has ever seen. The emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia were present in person; while hundreds of princes and diplomats from Germany, Italy, and other countries made up a glittering company. Chief among the uncrowned leaders in this famous conference were Metternich of Austria, Tal'leyrand of France, and Wellington of England.

The Austrian emperor entertained the congress at his own expense at a cost of probably $240,000 a day. When it is remembered that many of these guests stayed almost six months

* According to the reckoning of the monarchists the son of Louis XVI, who disappeared after his father was guillotined, was Louis XVII, although he never reigned.

St. Michael's Place, Vienna, in 1822
The domed building is the Imperial Riding School.

at the Austrian capital it will be seen that the emperor was a liberal host. Concerts, entertainments, balls, and military reviews filled a very active social season. For the great body of princes and diplomats this was all that they saw of the congress. One observer remarked that "the congress dances, but makes no progress"; and so it seemed to most people.

The entire assemblage never met as a deliberative body. The fate of Europe was decided by the representatives of the "Big Five," Austria, Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, and France,[1] just as one hundred and five years later the settlement after the World War was shaped by the "Big Four" at Paris. When most of the vital questions had been settled by the five leaders, news reached Vienna that Napoleon had escaped from Elba. Then the diplomats hurriedly finished their work. On June 9, 1815, only a few days before the battle of Waterloo, the final act of this famed Congress of Vienna was signed.

1. Why was conquered France allowed to share in the deliberations?

Divine Right of Kings Wins the Day. — Even before making the Treaty of Vienna, the powers had recognized the Bourbon King Louis XVIII in France and the Bourbon Ferdinand VII in Spain. At the congress the old royal families allied to the

Austrian reigning house were restored in the petty Italian states; Austria secured large additional territory in and near the Po

THE RIALTO, VENICE

The famous bridge over the Grand Canal. It is lined with a row of narrow shops on each side.

Valley, including Venice; while the pope was reinstated as ruler over the Papal States. (Map, pages 318–319.)

Though handling with care the rights of kings, the congress steadily ignored all the aspirations of peoples to secure national unity and democracy.[1] Great territories peopled by millions were bartered back and forth among the rulers. Prussia gained a good share of the lands and population of Saxony. Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to a new partition of Poland, the major part

going to Russia. Belgium was annexed to Holland to form a new kingdom of the Netherlands, despite the great differences between the two countries in language, religion, and industry. Sweden surrendered Finland to Russia, and in return the Swedish king was made king of Norway also, against the wishes of the Norwegians. Almost everywhere the wishes of the people were neglected in order to advance the interests of reigning families.[2]

1. Why? 2. Be sure of the map location of all these regions.

No United Germany. — Stirred by the enthusiasm of the War of Liberation against Napoleon (1813–1814), many German patriots had begun to desire keenly the formation of a united German nation. But this hope was doomed. The monarchs of Austria and Prussia would not set up a real German union. Each could wield more influence through a weak confederacy.

Conforming to the wishes of these rulers, the Treaty of Vienna founded a German federation[1] of thirty-eight states, of which the Austrian emperor was president and the Prussian king second in importance. There were four other kingdoms, — Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and Würt'temberg, — and thirty-two duchies, principalities, and free cities. This was much better, to be sure, than the hundreds of petty states which had made up the German world before Napoleon consolidated them, but it was far from the ideal of the German patriots.

The new German Confederation had very few powers. In fact, it was much weaker than the United States was in the troublous time under the Articles of Confederation (1781–1789). The diet, or council, could make only recommendations, not laws. The states agreed not to make war upon one another and not to join any enemies of the federation; but in other respects they were practically independent, having power to make alliances and to manage their own affairs. A vague promise was made that constitutions should be issued in each of the states, but this, under the influence of Metternich, became a dead letter. For fifty years Germany remained a loose confederacy of autocratically ruled states.

1. What is a federation? To what kind of countries is it best suited?

The Congress Strengthens the British Empire. — Throughout the Napoleonic wars Great Britain controlled the seas and advanced large sums to the allies to help them keep up the struggle.[1] In recognition of her valuable aid and leadership against the conqueror, the Congress of Vienna left the decision of colonial matters largely to the British. As a result Great Britain kept several French islands, the Dutch colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, and the Spanish island of Trinidad, while other French and Dutch colonies captured by her during the wars were restored. The congress also intended that the rebellious Spanish colonies in the New World should be brought back to the mother country, but this plan failed.

1. How does this remind you of the United States in the World War?

The Holy Alliance, 1815. — The Czar Alexander I was a very religious man, believing in the divine right of kings, and appreciating that his duty to God required him to rule his subjects well. In 1815 he suggested to his fellow monarchs an alliance to apply Christian principles in government and in international affairs, to protect the kings in their relations with their subjects, and to encourage Christian virtues among their peoples.

It surely seemed like a benevolent proposal which the rulers of Europe were invited to ratify. The emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia agreed good-naturedly, though not very seriously, while Great Britain, the fourth member of the Quadruple Alliance, refused to sign. Thus the three leading reactionary rulers of the Continent were leagued together in a so-called "Holy Alliance." Only for a brief period were the religious purposes kept in mind. Later the three allies bent all their energies to upholding absolute monarchies throughout Europe. This was the program which made the Holy Alliance famous — or infamous.

The Allies Crush Popular Demands

Despotism Rides with a Free Rein. — The monarchs and princes restored by the allies of 1814–1815 were left to deal with their subjects as they thought fit. Ruling by divine right they

were not limited by constitutions or parliaments. To put such annoying restrictions upon the sovereign power of a king seemed altogether unreasonable to the autocrats of the day.

The restored monarchs, therefore, returned unchecked to their dominions in France, Spain, and the numerous states of Italy and Germany. Almost everywhere their advisers were members of the old aristocracy who now urged them to deal sharply with their fellow citizens who had supported the French revolutionists or the régime of Napoleon. Moved sometimes by revenge, sometimes by the desire to regain their confiscated lands, and sometimes by a hatred of reformers and republicans, these aristocrats shaped the attitude of the restored rulers.

The Restoration in France. — The constitutional charter granted by King Louis XVIII in 1814 guaranteed to all citizens the equality of civil rights gained by the Revolution, and established a limited monarchy on the British model.[1]

But after some six years of liberalism the policy of Louis XVIII's government became more reactionary. From 1820 he and his advisers favored the returned nobles, approved the plans of the clergy to gain control of the university and of the public schools, and took steps to check the liberties of the press. Under the rule of his ultra-reactionary brother, who in 1824 succeeded as Charles X, the conservatives grew bolder. They planned to pay enormous sums to the nobles whose lands [2] had been confiscated during the Revolution, and completed the alliance with the reactionary clergy.[3] The laws relating to the press were made more severe, to suppress criticism.

1. Why was Louis XVIII more liberal than were neighboring kings? 2. Why, do you suppose, were the lands themselves not restored to the nobles? 3. What experiences had made the clergy antirevolutionary?

Despotism More Severe in Other Countries. — Even more intolerant were the actions of the restored princes in other regions. In Germany the prince of Hesse (hĕs), whose predecessor had sold 22,000 of his subjects to George III for use in the British armies during the American Revolution, now took the lead in arbitrary measures against his people.

In Spain the restored king, Ferdinand VII, ignored the services of the patriots who had opposed Napoleon, and cruelly persecuted them. A corrupt government was now set up at Madrid which showed great favoritism to the aristocrats and denied even the ordinary rights of citizenship to the liberals.

Italy from the Alps to Sicily was the scene of unchecked absolutism. In the south the shamelessly corrupt despotism of the king of the Two Sicilies was restored. The middle districts were inefficiently ruled in the name of the pope. Petty absolute dukes reigned in the regions northwest of Rome. The king of Sardinia-Piedmont ruled absolutely, though rather mildly. The Po Valley and Venice, known as Lombardy-Venetia, were under the stern oppressive rule of Austria, supported by armed forces. From its part of Italy the Austrian government drew one fourth of its revenue, although these Italian lands held only one eighth of Austria's subjects. School children in Austrian Italy were taught that Austria and Italy were united by nature, thus at once ignoring the existence of the Alps and the racial differences between the two lands. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the Italian states of this period were the worst-governed part of the civilized world.

The hope of gaining popular rights and liberal government was thus almost everywhere destroyed. The allied monarchs had restored the autocratic princes, and now had to support them in their despotic actions.

Secret Societies Plan Reform and Revolution. — In the absence of a free press or of free speech, reformers on the Continent could not publicly assail the despotism of the time. Besides, in most Continental countries there were then no representative assemblies through which popular demands for changes in the laws might be made. Still hoping and working for the triumph of liberal ideas, the radicals under these circumstances were driven into secret societies where they plotted revolution.

These reform and revolutionary societies worked differently in the various countries. In the German states they were made up largely of university students who organized clubs and

listened to lectures by liberal professors. In France they were composed of middle-class journalists and moderate reformers. Masonic lodges were the centers of revolutionary activity in Spain. In Italy Masonic lodges and another secret society whose members were known as Carbonari (kär-bŏ-nä′rē) — the charcoal burners — plotted the overthrow of despotism.

Thus throughout the countries where reaction ruled there burned unseen the embers of hatred and revolution.

The Carlsbad Decrees. — In the clubs of German students, liberal ideas were freely discussed and university professors encouraged the hopes of a German union on a popular basis.[1] Occasionally, however, the meetings of the students developed into boisterous and riotous affairs. At length a Russian agent was murdered by a German student who hoped thus to rid his country of the obnoxious opponent.

German Students, at Leipsig, 1820–1830
From a contemporary engraving.

Metternich's reply to this outrage was decisive. He led the diet of the German Confederation to advise a series of drastic acts against the press, the universities, and the student organizations. These Carlsbad (kärls′bät) Decrees (1819) provided that no newspaper or pamphlet could be issued until officially approved by the state censors. At each German university a government inspector was to be stationed, with power to attend lectures, to observe the spirit shown by instructors, and to put a stop to any teaching which leaned toward liberalism. They were to give a "salutary direction to the instruction, having in view the future attitude of the students." The student associations were to be broken up as "utterly unallowable."

EUROPE IN 1815
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of the German Confederation
20 10 0 10
50
40
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
SCOTLAND
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Liverpool
Birmingham
London
Amsterdam
The Hague
Brussels
Waterloo
Boulogne
English Channel
Ham
Paris
Seine R.
Loire R.
Tours
FRANCE
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Strasbourg
(Strassburg)
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Lyons
Rhone R.
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Marseille
Pyrenees
ANDORRA
Ebro R.
Oporto
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Madrid
SPAIN
Barcelona
Seville
Cape St. Vincent
Str. of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
MINORCA (Br.)
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
CORSICA (Fr.)
MEDITERRANEAN
BARBARY STATES
AFRICA
Longitude West
0 Longitude East from Greenwich 10

20
30
40
50
40
Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
Gulf of Finland
St. Petersburg (Leningrad)
Stockholm
Volga R.
Moscow
BALTIC SEA
Düna R.
RUSSIA
Vistula R.
Warsaw
POLAND
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Carpathian Mts.
Prut R.
MOLDAVIA
Sea of Azof
CRIMEA
Sevastopol
Danube
Theiss R.
EMPIRE
HUNGARY
Transylvanian Alps
WALLACHIA
BLACK SEA
Sava R.
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Balkan Mts.
MONTENEGRO
TURKEY
Constantinople
ASIA MINOR
NAPLES
IONIAN SEA
GREECE
Athens
AEGEAN SEA
Navarino
CYPRUS
CRETE
W. & A. K. JOHNSTON

These decrees were sharply enforced by the various German rulers, and many liberal leaders in literary and university circles were severely punished. Thanks to Metternich and his backers throughout official circles in Germany, the German people were delayed many years in the gaining of their liberties. In the meantime they became accustomed to that strictness of governmental control over thought and opinion which later developed into what is known as Prussianism.

1. What is the meaning of "a German union on a popular basis"? What were the two central reforms the German liberals wished?

Metternich's Alliance Crushes Revolts in Italy and Spain. — The plottings of the secret societies in Spain and Italy flamed into open rebellion in 1820. In Spain the movement started among the officers and soldiers of the army assigned to fight against the rebellious colonists in the New World.[1] Rather than go to such a task, they revolted, overpowered the royal troops, and turned out the king's advisers. The frightened king, lacking the courage even to stand for his beloved prerogative, accepted the famous constitution of 1812, which he solemnly swore to observe.

News of the Spanish revolt quickly arrived in Italy and encouraged the secret societies of Carbonari to attempt revolution there. For the moment they were successful, and another monarch, Ferdinand, king of Naples, with his tongue in his cheek, took an oath to accept for his country the democratic Spanish constitution of 1812.[2] In Piedmont also an uprising took place against the arbitrary rule of the king.

These attempts to found constitutional governments in Spain and Italy aroused in the minds of the monarchs of Austria, Prussia, and Russia — to use their own words — " a feeling of the deepest indignation, apprehension, and sorrow." These rulers claimed that they were " called upon to guard the tranquillity of nations," and " to preserve and maintain peace in order to deliver Europe from the scourge of revolution."

Consequently, after a series of conferences they decided to use their armies, invade the neighboring states, overthrow the

liberal governments, and restore to the hard-pressed kings their despotic powers. An Austrian army assisted in defeating the Italian patriots in Piedmont. The king of Naples in 1821, supported by Austrian bayonets, violated his oath to establish a constitutional government, and returned to his old ways. A French army was later sent to perform for the Holy Alliance the same service in Spain.[3] So far Metternich and his supporters were successful. The popular revolts were suppressed in Germany, Italy, and Spain, and the autocrats for a time breathed easily, while their subjects suffered in silence.

1. Why did Spanish soldiers object to this service? Compare with the spirit in the British army at the time of the American Revolution. 2. Is it usually wise to import a constitution? Give reasons. 3. Why, do you think, was France now (1823) working in harmony with the Holy Alliance?

Metternich's Holy Alliance Fails in the End

Reaction Not Completely Victorious. — Metternich's victories over liberalism were disheartening enough. But not everywhere were the "Holy Allies" triumphant, for in several important cases they were compelled to accept the decision of peoples striving after national unity or domestic reform. These cases were five: the independence of Latin America; the success of the Greek war for independence; the overthrow of Charles X in France by the Revolution of 1830; the creation in 1830 of the independent kingdom of Belgium; and the first steps toward democratic reform in Great Britain.

Latin America Gains Independence. — As a later chapter (XXVIII) will show, the colonies of Spain in Central and South America began in 1808 their war of independence from Spain's long misrule, and after 1815 were still in the midst of this revolution. But the Holy Allies were resolved to restore Spanish rule over the revolting colonies, or else to establish European princes in America. In 1823 the British foreign secretary, Canning, warned them not to interfere, and a few weeks later President Monroe's message to Congress proclaimed his famous "Doctrine." Thus England and America helped the Latin Americans

to preserve the independence which their own efforts had won, since the opposition of the British to the plans of the Holy Allies in America, together with Monroe's warning message, made impossible any attempt to reconquer those regions.

Christians Suffer under Turkish Rule. — More complicated was the problem of nationality which faced the Holy Allies in southeastern Europe. For centuries the Turks had tyrannized over the millions of Christians within their empire and had extorted tribute in money or in men for the Turkish army and navy. As the reputation of the sultan waned during the eighteenth century when opposed by Russia and Austria, the government of his dominions grew more and more despotic. The Christian inhabitants had no legal rights whatever; commerce, wealth, land, even life itself, were dependent upon the whims of the sultan or of his subordinates.

The Revival of Greek National Spirit. — For some years before and after 1800 the Greeks under Turkish rule were experiencing a great revival of interest in their national history. During this period the modern Greek language took shape as a kind of compromise between classical Greek and the irregular modern dialects of the peninsula. Patriotic poems now stirred the emotions of the inhabitants. The glories of ancient Greece and the new national ambitions were put before the rising generation in schools and in armed secret societies which flourished under the very eyes of the Turkish rulers.

Moreover, sometimes in the background, sometimes in the forefront, loomed the question of religious differences. The old contest of the crusades seemed to reappear in the new conflict between the crescent and the Greek cross. Personal grievances, the emulation of ancient heroes, and religious enthusiasm all played their part in bringing about the revolt of the Greeks against their masters.

Educated Classes Sympathize with the Greeks. — When the Greeks rose in open rebellion against the Turks in 1821, their cause was heartily championed by the educated and liberal classes everywhere. Those were the days when schools and

universities in Europe and America were steeped in the classical culture of Greece and Rome. To men trained in such seminaries the "resurrection of Greece" meant the return of the glorious heroic times of Ulysses and Leon'idas, of Pericles and Plato.[1] Philhellenic[2] societies sprang up on every hand. Money was liberally subscribed to Greek loans, while soldiers of the Napoleonic wars hurried to Greece to help the cause of independence. A British admiral, Cochrane (kŏk'răn), who had already actively aided the South Americans in their wars of liberation, now offered his services to the Greeks. The English poet Byron, whose life showed such contrasts of genius and selfishness, met a hero's death in a Grecian camp. Even in the American Congress, Daniel Webster delivered one of his most famous orations in urging sympathy and aid for the Greeks; and Henry Clay in passionate language espoused their cause as he had earlier favored the revolting South Americans. The world of culture and of liberalism everywhere was profoundly stirred.

1. Who was each one of these ancient Greeks? 2. Use dictionary for meaning and derivation of this word.

Independence is Won for Greece. — The diplomats of Europe hoped that the Greek revolt would "burn itself out beyond the pale of civilization." In this hope they were disappointed; first, because the Greek rebels won remarkable successes which for a time destroyed Turkish power in the peninsula; second, because the strong sympathy of the educated classes for Greece could not be ignored; and third, — more important than the other two, — because of the halting attitude of Russia. The new czar, Nicholas I, was anxious to pose as the protector of Greek Christians against the Turks, owing partly to his desire to wrest from Turkey the control of the Balkan region. So the three conservative central powers which just before had acted unitedly against revolution in Spain and Italy, could not agree in their attitude toward Greece. On the other hand Great Britain and France were unwilling that Russia should gain supremacy in the Near East. British and French fleets, therefore, were sent into Grecian waters to keep watch on the czar.

The sultan of Turkey, in despair of subduing Greece alone, had called for help from his powerful vassal state of Egypt. When a well-disciplined Egyptian army and a large fleet entered the war against Greece the cause of the patriots seemed lost. But a controversy arose between the admiral of the Egyptian fleet and the commanders of the combined Russian, French, and British fleets. It resulted in the battle of Navarino (nä-vä-rē′nō), 1827,

The Battle of Navarino, 1827

in which the Egyptian fleet was destroyed. Thus without exactly aiming to do so, the three powers had saved the day for Greece.[1]

Six years later the Greeks, advised by the great powers, agreed to accept a Bavarian prince, Otto, as their king. So the modern Greek nation entered upon its troubled career.

The modern Greeks, indeed, were not heroes of the ancient mold. Their war of independence had been marred by excessive cruelties, by intense personal rivalries among the leaders, and by

much selfish corruption. But the Greek revolt was the first successful challenge to the Holy Alliance in Europe.[2] It forced the reluctant European diplomats to recognize rebellion against an established government.

1. Find out whether Great Britain, or France, or Russia was under a liberal government in 1827. Draw conclusions. 2. Where outside of Europe had the Holy Alliance been successfully defied?

France Dethrones Charles X. — In July, 1830, a revolution broke out in Paris which, while producing only slight results upon France, had a far-reaching influence throughout Europe. The "July Revolution," as it is known in French history, was caused by the attempts of the reactionary king, Charles X, to ignore the charter of 1814, to defy the elected representatives of the people, to limit still more the right to vote, and to restrict still further the freedom of the press.

On July 27 employers in Paris closed their shops and gave their workers a holiday. Placards urging revolt were posted throughout the city, and a body of revolutionists plotted to make France again a republic. The poorer classes, ready for any change or excitement, taking up the cue, barricaded the streets.[1] In three days of fighting the royal troops were overwhelmed, and Charles X fled to England.[2]

But it was not the republicans and the street fighters who benefited by the revolt, for a group of middle-class politicians now brought forward as a royal candidate Louis Philippe (fē-lēp'), a distant cousin of Charles X, noted for his unassuming, democratic way of living. Lafayette, in his old age,[3] once again became prominent in a Parisian revolution by favoring Louis Philippe and presenting him to the people with the words, "Here is the best republic."[4] The representative assembly now accepted the new king on condition that he grant some moderate reforms favorable to the middle classes.

The July monarchy was speedily recognized by Great Britain. The Holy Allies held aloof for some time, but at length they too acknowledged Louis Philippe as a fellow sovereign. Doubtless they were relieved to know that the July Revolution had not

succeeded in making France a republic. Yet it was another blow to the aristocratic policy of Metternich when he was compelled to recognize a monarchy arising from defiance of the divine right theory, and to accord royal honors to a king who walked the streets of Paris with an umbrella under his arm and sent his children to a public school.

1. Of what does this remind you in the great Revolution? 2. His second flight from France. When and why had he emigrated before? 3. What part had Lafayette taken in the great Revolution? 4. What was Lafayette's meaning in this?

The July Revolution Spreads. — The startling success of the French revolutionists brought hope to the oppressed in many other regions. Radicals who had been biding their time and keeping up their spirits by secret clubs now dared openly to make demands upon the authorities. From Rome to Brussels and from the Rhine to the Vistula revolution flared up, often assisted by French republicans disappointed at home.

In Italy, Austrian troops again crushed the national hopes as they had done in 1821. Here and there in smaller German states some popular reforms were granted; but soon Metternich redoubled his repressive measures, and again the workers for popular liberty were driven to underground methods.

The most serious outbreak took place in Russian Poland,[1] where a slight measure of national autonomy [2] had been permitted since 1815 by the czar. But the revolt was ruthlessly suppressed by Russian troops. This part of Poland was now definitely annexed to Russia and remained under the despotic authority of the Russian monarchs until the World War. Some of the Polish leaders were executed, others were banished to Siberia, while others sought a voluntary exile in foreign lands.

1. What other Polish lands were there? 2. Define "autonomy."

Belgium is Unhappy under Dutch Rule. — Only in Belgium did the events of 1830 result in the founding of a new national state. The Belgians had from the first resented the action of the Congress of Vienna in joining their country to Holland. The king of Holland, moreover, appointed Dutch officials in Belgium; the Dutch language was the only official tongue;

Belgium was inadequately represented in the national assembly; measures were adopted which benefited the commerce of Holland, but injured the industries of Belgium. The Catholics of Belgium also objected to many of the religious and educational measures of the Dutch Protestants. Thus the racial, economic, and religious interests of the two peoples clashed.

Belgium Gains Independence. — A few weeks after the French uprising of July, 1830, riots broke out in Brussels. French

View of the Palace of the States General and the Park, Brussels, 1828

republicans, dissatisfied with the course of events in Paris, joined the Belgians. When Dutch troops made unsuccessful efforts to put down the revolt, the loss of life in the fighting made reconciliation impossible. The blood of " the martyrs of September " created a new nation.

Soon the Belgians elected a national convention which followed the precedent of the American Continental Congress by first declaring Belgium independent. Then it proceeded (1831) to draft a constitution for the new nation. A hereditary constitutional monarchy was established, but it was distinctly declared that " all powers emanate from the nation," thus making the king the servant rather than the master of the people.

During these events the three central powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, proposed to interfere in Belgium as they had in 1820–1823 in Italy and Spain. But this time they were unable to carry out their plans. Russia was busy with the Polish revolt. Austria was in the midst of a similar task in Italy. Prussia was unwilling to act alone, especially as a British fleet and a French army came openly to the aid of the new Belgian nation.[1]

Under these circumstances the five principal powers [2] in 1831, and again in 1839, guaranteed the perpetual independence and neutrality of Belgium. These joint guarantees were faithfully observed until the outbreak of the World War in 1914, when Germany violated Belgian neutrality to attack France.

Thus by the independence of Belgium the policy of Metternich was once again defied, and the Holy Alliance was weakened.

1. Compare the attitude of France toward the Spanish revolutionists of 1823 and those of Belgium in 1830. 2. What five nations are meant?

Great Britain Breaks with the Holy Allies. — While Great Britain had been the bitterest foe of Napoleon and had shared vigorously in his overthrow, she was unwilling to approve the repressive moves of Metternich's alliance. Great Britain refused to take part in the interventions in Spain and Italy; she early recognized the Spanish-American states as independent and helped to maintain their independence; and she gave assistance to the Belgians and the Greeks in gaining freedom. Clearly England's international policy was much more liberal than that of the "Holy Allies." [1] It must, of course, be admitted that the English action was due partly to the desire to protect her world-wide commerce, and to take advantage of the avenues of trade opened up by the new nations. But even if we admit this motive, the policy of England stands in marked contrast to that of the Continental allies.

1. Was the British government more democratic or less democratic than those of the Continental powers?

English Ruling Classes Try to Block Reform. — A strong sentiment in favor of internal reform was growing in England before 1793. This sentiment was largely destroyed by the

Reign of Terror and the other excesses of the French revolutionists, and in its place arose hatred and fear of things democratic. At that time the landed aristocracy controlled parliament, the courts, the church, and the civil and military offices. All of these agencies they used to prevent any changes in government or any extension of popular rights.

Even after the peace of 1815 the ruling classes ignored the suffering among the British people in the hard times following the long war. They shut their eyes to the most obvious evils. To demands for reform their only answer was, "Why can't you let it alone?"

Yet England was not the Continent; and reforms came despite the opposition of the landed gentry. In parliament speech was free. The English press enjoyed much greater liberty than was allowed on the Continent. The right of petition still lived. And public meetings, although often suppressed, were effective in stirring up sentiment. Thus England possessed means for the expression of popular demands which were denied on the Continent — means which were a fortunate safety valve to prevent the explosion of actual revolution.

Reform Comes on Apace in England. — During the same years in which the Metternich policy was being enforced on the Continent, the British ruling classes, sometimes unconsciously, often unwillingly, took halting steps toward reform. Foreign trade and colonial development were favored by a series of laws and treaties which removed many of the restrictions of the old navigation acts.[1] Manufacturers were benefited by the reduction of the tariff upon imported raw materials and by permission to export machinery after 1825.[2] On the other hand, the workers were allowed to assemble in public meetings and to form associations for their own welfare. The general spirit of reform in 1828 led to a law permitting Protestant Dissenters to hold office freely and opening local offices to Catholics also. The next year, after spirited agitation, especially in Ireland, the "Catholic Emancipation Act" admitted Catholics to membership in parliament.

None of these changes before 1830 lessened the dominance of the ruling aristocracy or reformed in the slightest degree the gross evils in parliamentary representation. Indeed, most of the leaders who urged the moderate reforms in finance, trade, and industry, were heartily opposed to any change in the "rotten borough" system or any extension of the franchise. But the glaring inequalities in representation and the narrow limits of suffrage could not much longer be maintained. Under the impulse of an overwhelming popular demand, the conservative classes finally gave way, and the great reform act of 1832 became law (Chapter XXI), giving fairer representation in parliament and enfranchising the middle classes. The accomplishment of this reform showed that in England deep-going changes could be brought about without the horrors of revolution.

During these years, England and the United States were showing the world how the new demands of the nineteenth century could be met by the orderly processes of law. Unfortunately, their example had little effect upon the ruling classes of the Continent. There the discontent among the common people increased until it flared out again in open revolution. In the next chapter we shall note how, in the uprisings of 1848, the people sought to overthrow their absolute rulers and to establish governments based on the popular will.

1. Where have you met these before? 2. Had England succeeded in keeping the new machinery from being used elsewhere, before 1825?

Summary

By 1848 the Industrial Revolution had gained so much headway in England, America, and parts of the Continent, that it seemed destined to transform the daily work of man. In the political realm, Metternich's antireform combination and the other forces of reaction had stubbornly sought to hold back the spirit of democracy which the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution had aroused. Still the forces of discontent had been working, often in secret; some marked victories for progress had been won in Belgium, Greece, England, and Latin

America; the Holy Alliance had suffered severe setbacks after its early triumphs; and by 1848 the peoples of Europe were in a mood for a decisive step toward increased democracy.

Problem and Reference Work

1. To get a fresh view of the character and work of the Congress of Vienna, read Chapter 54 in Van Loon's *Story of Mankind.*

2. On p. 385 of the same book find a sketch very suggestive of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine.

3. In Robinson and Beard's *Readings,* Vol. I, pp. 384 ff., read the original Holy Alliance agreement proposed by the czar.

4. In Vol. II of the same collection read these famous papers: (*a*) Extracts from Louis XVIII's Charter of 1814, pp. 4 ff.; (*b*) The Carlsbad Resolutions of 1819, pp. 20 ff.; (*c*) The original Monroe Doctrine, p. 42.

5. Make a careful tabulation of the successes and reverses of Metternich in his antireform program.

6. Read effectively to the class the first five stanzas of Byron's *Isles of Greece.* Be sure you understand its allusions and its sentiment.

7. Read a full account of the origin of the Monroe Doctrine and make a report on it. Use Chap. 1 in C. R. Fish's *The Path of Empire* or Chap. 12 in F. J. Turner's *The Rise of the New West.*

8. In W. S. Davis's *History of France* read Chap. 19 on the restored Bourbons and the Revolution of 1830.

Reading List

Shepherd, W. R., *The Hispanic Nations of the New World.* Both readable and scholarly; contains one of the best accounts of the struggle of the Latin-Americans for independence.

Fueter, E., *World History.* Contains illuminating yet simple accounts of the independence of Latin America, Greece, and Belgium, as well as of the repressive program of the Holy Alliance.

McCarthy, J., *England in the Nineteenth Century.* Interestingly written by a noted Englishman. Good on the reactionary period in England after 1815 and on the great series of reforms (1828–1840).

Hazen, C. D., *Europe since 1815.* A standard work on the period from 1815 to 1909.

PEASANT COSTUMES OF HUNGARY

CHAPTER XV

EUROPE AGAIN IN REVOLUTION (1848–1849)

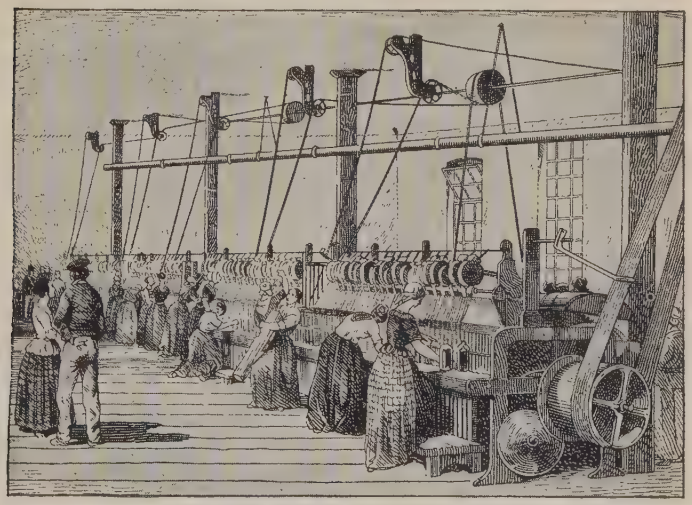
CAUSES LEADING TO THE REVOLTS OF 1848

Discontent Stirs Many Peoples. — The age of Metternich closed dramatically with a series of revolts which threatened to overturn the autocracies of all Europe. From Sicily to Denmark, and from Portugal to Poland, the forces of revolution brought terror to the old royal families. At last the embers of discontent which had been smoldering unheeded in every country were fanned into violent flames by a favoring republican breeze from France.

The reform efforts of 1848 in the various countries had much in common. After a generation of repression by Metternich's international alliance against progress, it was natural that sentiment in favor of progress should also be international. A common hatred of despotism united the friends of democracy. The universal evils of the early factory system were arousing working men in every country. Since national patriotism had not yet caused a distinct cleavage among Europeans, it was easy for reformers of the different countries to work together.

The Industrial Revolution Creates New Labor Problems. — The new age of machinery, spreading gradually and unevenly,

had by 1848 appeared in many sections of western Europe. With it came distressing conditions. The middle-class capitalists in those years rarely showed any sense of responsibility to their factory workers.[1] Their sole aim was profit making; and this profit, only too often, was thought to be increased by low wages and long hours of work [2] in dismal and unsanitary mills. In times of poor business the factories were closed, leaving many



A Preparing Room in a Linen Mill
From a print of 1849.

of the employees face to face with starvation. Unlike the earlier rural population, these city workers had no farm land to fall back upon. Without wages they could not buy food or pay the rent for their miserable living quarters in the slums.

The evils of the factory system had by no means become apparent everywhere by 1848; but they did exist in enough places to create a large body of discontented workers. These were ready to join in revolt and were allured by the new theories of government and industry which were then appearing.

1. Why did not governments bring about better labor conditions?
2. Find out how long the working hours usually were in those days.

Ideas Travel More Readily. — The increasing use of railroads and steamboats was changing greatly the habits of men. In earlier years it had been the exceptional man who moved away from his native village. Now thousands were going to the factory towns for employment, and travel from land to land was becoming much more common. This freer moving about led men into new habits of life. They met strange people and learned new ideas. They became restless and sought novelty.

Thus improvements in transportation were broadening the outlook of large numbers of people and leading them to demand a better chance in life. They hated the cramping restrictions of the age, and aspired to a share in directing the affairs of business and of government.

Socialists and Communists Urge Social Reform. — Just as the absolutism of Metternich led to plottings and revolts against rulers, so the harshness of early capitalists stirred up desires for social revolution. The manufacturers of that day had usually arisen from the common people, forming a new " middle class," known quite generally by the French name *bourgeoisie*.[1] Anxious to break the power of these employers, to secure better treatment, and to share in their new wealth, many of the workers were attracted by novel theories of social reform. Some began to wish for the overthrow of private ownership of business, and for the control of industry by the laborers.

In their efforts to improve the lot of the common people, the social theorists of this period advocated radical changes. The wage system, they said, should be abolished; and all means of production, such as factories, farms, and mines, should be owned by the state. Then, it was claimed, poverty would disappear, and mankind would enter upon an economic and social millennium.[2] *Socialism* is the name applied to this theory, which, by 1840, was attracting much attention in France, Germany, and England.

The *socialists* believed in a democratic government which should control land, capital, and the production of goods, and should endeavor to distribute the fruits of industry among

producers either equally or according to each one's work. The *communists* went even farther, aiming to abolish the private ownership of all property, and to forbid the inheritance of wealth. A little later there arose a group of revolutionists known as *anarchists*, different from both socialists and communists. They hoped to overthrow all authority in government, church, and the family. Man, they said, should live in a state of nature with his fellows, unhindered by the artificial restrictions of laws and customs.

Not all of these theorists were revolutionary, for some hoped by peaceable means and representative government gradually to accomplish their aims; but some frankly urged the violent overthrow of existing governments and the confiscation of private property in land, factories, and goods.

1. Where have you become familiar with this word before? 2. What does "economic and social millenium" mean?

Social Reform Experiments Fail. — In this period of discontent and agitation numerous attempts were made to found small communities based on socialistic or communistic theories. In most cases speedy failure resulted. In France, under the influence of the writings of the socialistic thinkers Saint-Simon and Fourier (fo͞o-rē-ā′), several settlements were made by men and women who surrendered their own private property and attempted to apply the principle of common work and community of wealth, known as communism. In England, a manufacturer named Robert Owen, after introducing wholesome reforms in his own mills, went on to communistic experiments.

Since it was difficult, however, to carry out these plans anywhere in Europe, Owen and the French socialists turned to the New World: they founded communities in the United States, where the cheapness of land, and the absence of rigid customs and classes, gave more promise of success. The "industrial phalanx," a type of communism created by Fourier, was established in forty-one communities in America, while only two were founded in France. Yet even under American conditions the communists failed. Disputes about property, jealousies over

personal rights and duties, and business incompetence brought nearly all of these experiments to early ruin.

Socialism and Communism Aid the Revolutionary Spirit. — The failures of the communistic enterprises were known to some. Far more widespread was the belief in their merits. To the unhappy workers and the discontented democrats the socialistic scheme seemed an attainable paradise. Only the aristocratic governments and the capitalist factory owners appeared to intervene between the people and their ideal. To overthrow these now became the aim of many radicals.

A revolutionary challenge to social warfare came in 1847 when a German communist, Karl Marx (page 339), issued a manifesto attacking capitalism and urging the workers in all countries to unite against the bourgeoisie. " Let the ruling classes tremble," said this manifesto, " at a communistic revolution." Only by the " forcible overthrow of existing social conditions " could the rights of laborers be secured, declared Marx.

Thus socialism and communism held out before oppressed classes the picture of an ideal society and urged the workers to rise against the governments and capitalists. In the revolutionary upheavals of 1848, notably in France, the results of these radical teachings are plainly seen.

Popular Education Fosters Liberal Ideas. — Popular education, as is well understood everywhere now, is vital in a republic in order that its citizens may decide public questions intelligently. To absolute monarchy, however, popular education is a menace because it encourages the people to think for themselves.

This fact was well illustrated in France and Prussia during the Revolution of 1848. Both of these countries had by that time established national systems to educate children of the workers in elementary branches; but both were also striving to limit to the well-to-do classes the benefits of secondary schools and universities.

Why France and Prussia Established Popular Education. — It must not be supposed, of course, that the ruling classes in either France or Prussia were desirous of advancing democracy or of

breaking down the lines between social classes. Indeed, exactly the reverse was true. They hoped rather to prepare each man for the position in society which his parents had held before him.

In the days of the great French Revolution, the first French republic made plans to place education on a democratic basis, but these good intentions were not carried into effect. Napoleon later established a highly centralized educational system,[1] which he hoped would train the citizens in loyalty to him.

Under the restored Bourbons, Louis XVIII and Charles X (1814–1830), France returned to the older type of schools prevalent before 1789; but the Revolution of 1830 brought about a new national system. The statesmen of that period, while thinking that the higher education of the people would be dangerous, still believed that an elementary education for all would strengthen the spirit of unity and French nationalism. For this reason a law was passed in 1833 [2] providing for primary education in national schools throughout France.

In Prussia the national system of education was started in 1807 under Stein,[3] as one of the steps in the reform program of that great statesman. As it developed, its purpose was to instruct the common people so that they " may know how to serve and may wish to serve God, the King, the Fatherland, and themselves with strong, skillful bodies, awakened intelligence, and good conscience." " We do not confer upon the individual or upon society any benefit," said the Prussian king, " when we educate him beyond the bounds of his social class and vocation." [4]

But in spite of such aims, the extension of education made multitudes of people dissatisfied with their lot,[5] and ready to demand reforms from their governments. Indeed, the Prussian king, in 1849, told a gathering of normal school teachers that " all the misery which has come to Prussia during the past year is to be credited to you and only you. You deserve the blame for that godless pseudo-education of the common people by means of which you have destroyed faith and loyalty in the minds of my subjects."

We may well agree with King Frederick William IV that one cause of the revolutions of 1848 was the spread of popular education in western Europe.

1. Why did Napoleon arrange a *centralized* system? 2. Was France ahead of or behind most countries in establishing a system of public schools? 3. What other reforms in Prussia do you credit to Stein? 4. Do we in America accept this principle? Give reasons. 5. Does education inevitably make people dissatisfied?

Universities Develop Reform Sentiment. — In spite of the watchfulness of Metternich,[1] liberal ideas spread among the students and teachers of the higher schools of Germany and Austria. More and more, radicalism gripped the minds of the young men of those years in the universities. The suppressed student societies were secretly revived. Besides, university teaching at this time was growing more radical. A new sort of critical scholarship was arising in Germany, which was upsetting many of the old ideas in theology, history, and politics. Students under the influence of liberal professors and of the new scholarship ceased to reverence crowned heads and privileged classes, and gladly schemed for their overthrow.

1. Recall clearly just what Metternich had done to suppress reform ideas.

National Literature and History also Awaken the People. — The years before 1848 showed in many countries a remarkable revival of interest in the old languages of the people, in national literatures, and in the stories of heroic deeds of the distant past. Much of the new literature, in both prose and verse, was intensely patriotic. In Germany, especially, a large number of poems and songs appeared, many of which were used by the revolutionists. It was at this time (1840) that "The Watch on the Rhine"[1] was produced. In Italy this epoch of enthusiastic nationalism in literature was so far-reaching that it became known by the name of the "Resurrection" (Risorgimento).

1. Read the words of the "Watch on the Rhine," remembering that Germany was then a loose collection of states.

The "Young" Patriot Movement. — Although the national spirit described in Chapter XIII was developing before 1848, it was not yet strong enough to prevent men of different countries

PRINCE METTERNICH
Reactionary
FRANCIS JOSEPH
Emperor
MAZZINI
Republican
KARL MARX
Socialist

from working together in common causes. Throughout Europe at this time moderate reformers, liberal republicans, and radical socialists were in close touch with those of like sentiments in other countries.

This was clearly shown in the " young " patriot movement. Under the inspiration of the great Italian republican, Mazzini (mät-sē'nē), a secret international association was formed aiming to set up republics. It made its chief appeal to young men, hence its name — " Young Europe." There was a " Young Germany," a " Young Italy," a " Young Poland," a " Young Ireland," and other national groups within the society. The hope of these young patriots was to establish in each of their countries a republic, and then to unite all these in a fraternal league.

Hard Times Make Governments Unpopular. — One more cause which helped to turn the people against the ruling classes in 1848 was the economic condition of the time. It seems a trait of human nature to blame hard times upon the government and to criticize rulers when they cannot grant immediate relief. Such were the conditions throughout Europe in 1847–1848.[1]

By this time potatoes had become the staple diet of millions of Europeans, but in 1845 a great blight swept across Europe, ruining the potato crop. Intense suffering, or even actual starvation, was the fate of millions of factory workers and peasants in Germany, France, Belgium, and Ireland. Moreover, for several years following, the effect of the potato blight was aggravated by poor crops of wheat and other cereals.

In these distressing conditions generous public and private charity saved many from death. Early in 1847 the British government was employing at least 700,000 men on public works in Ireland. By the following summer it was dealing out cooked food to 3,000,000 Irish.[2] Shiploads of grain for starving Ireland were contributed by generous Americans. In Paris it was estimated that one third of the population was living upon charity that year. In Belgium, the Rhine Valley, and Prussia the problem was quite similar.

In the midst of this distress there came a financial panic in

1847 which seriously crippled banking and business generally in London, Paris, Frankfort, and Vienna.

With banks and railway companies going bankrupt, with prices of food mounting to extreme heights, with factory workers by the thousands out of employment, discontent and despair were found everywhere. The time was ripe for revolts against governments and against capitalists.

1. Compare with conditions among the poor in France at the opening of the French Revolution. 2. How many people then lived in Ireland?

The Storm Breaks upon Europe

Louis Philippe's Government Becomes Unpopular. — Nowhere in Europe did the ruling classes realize the urgent need of reforms to fit the new conditions of industry and of education.[1] Even in France, where the memory of the great Revolution and of the lesser one of 1830 was still fresh, the men in power failed to appreciate the great unfulfilled desires of the people.[2] French republicans, therefore, went ahead plotting the overthrow of the monarchy, while socialists worked for a redistribution of capital and land. Moderate reformers, too, were attacking the limited suffrage by which, even after 1830, only one person in one hundred and fifty could vote, and a much smaller proportion could hold office. They criticized the French legislative assembly as "a rich man's club" and pointed to the widespread corruption among officeholders under an atrocious "spoils system." Rigid Catholics were dissatisfied with the government of Louis Philippe because the church was allowed less control over French schools than before 1830.

Louis Philippe and his conservative ministry, led by the historian Guizot (gē-zō′), had no idea of the great tide of discontent rising against them. They seemed not to realize that the monarchy which had been created by a revolution might fall by the same means. Stubbornly they refused to allow any extension of the suffrage or any corrective regulation of industry.[3]

1. What should governments have done? 2. What "great unfulfilled desires" are meant? Be definite. 3. What groups were satisfied with the rule of Louis Philippe and Guizot?

Second French Republic is Proclaimed, 1848. — Early in 1848 the moderate reformers tried to impress the French king and Guizot by a series of popular banquets and public processions. In a disagreement over one of these demonstrations an unexpected conflict with the king's troops took place in Paris. Noisy parading and rioting followed while the excited crowds quickly prepared for another street war like the one of July, 1830. Louis Philippe, with the fate of Louis XVI before his eyes, abdicated and fled from the country, leaving all to the revolutionists. On the same day a provisional government was set up in Paris, which proclaimed France again a republic as it had been during the great Revolution. The barricades, the street fighting, and the rioting against the king had been the work of discontented laboring people and mobs from the slums of the city, led by republicans and socialists. Those moderate reformers who wanted a liberal, progressive monarchy were for the time pushed aside.

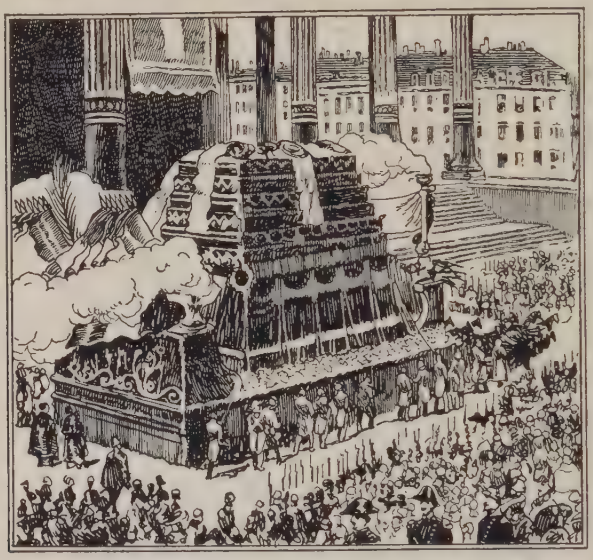
The French Republic Rejects Socialism. — At once a struggle for control arose between the republicans led by Lamartine (lå-mår-tēn′), who desired only political changes, and the socialists under Louis Blanc (blăn), who wished the new republic to confiscate capital and to establish coöperative factories under government auspices. The first victory lay with the republicans when they forced the adoption of the old revolutionary tricolor (red, white, and blue) for the national emblem, instead of the red flag of the socialists. On the same day, however, the republican provisional government sought the support of the socialists by agreeing to find work for all citizens by the establishment of national workshops, which were promptly opened in Paris.

This experiment of giving work and pay to the unemployed proved a dismal failure. Citizens in the national workshops were paid a franc a day when not employed and two francs a day if there was work to be done. Over 100,000 men were quickly placed on the government pay rolls, while half as many more were on the waiting list. The work was poorly organized, and instead of developing into government factories, the workshops degenerated into charity poorhouses and centers for radical talk.

DEFENDING A STREET BARRICADE, FEBRUARY 24, 1848
From an old print.

After three months the men in the national workshops were told to enlist in the army, to seek jobs in private plants in Paris, or to help on public works outside.

This order enraged the workers and the socialist agitators, who were ready enough to force the issue with the republicans. Barricades were again thrown up in the poorer sections of Paris.



BURIAL PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE VICTIMS OF THE "JUNE DAYS"

For a week during the "June Days" (June 23–29) there was horrible street fighting[1] between the republican army on one side and the socialists on the other.[2] The republicans were victorious, but their success was marred by great severity toward the insurgents in the form of executions, banishments, and imprisonment. This victory decided that the new republic would not attempt to introduce socialism but was committed to democracy in government and to capitalism in industry.

1. What earlier street fighting in Paris have you read about? 2. Was either side fighting to uphold monarchy or old aristocratic privileges?

Constitution of the New Republic. — In the spring of 1848 all Frenchmen were allowed to share in electing a national assembly. This assembly managed the government of France, appointed a commander-dictator during the June days, and slowly worked out a constitution. In November, 1848, the new constitution took effect. It provided for a popularly elected president and a popularly elected legislative assembly of one house.

Although launching this democratic-appearing constitution, the republicans did not have the support of the majority of Frenchmen. The great body of peasants were still attached to monarchy, and an idealized tradition and memory of the great Napoleon still captivated the nation. Louis Napoleon, an ambitious nephew of the conquering emperor, was overwhelmingly elected, by popular vote, the first president of the republic.[1] It was an ill omen for republicanism in France.

1. Recall whether the people voted emphatically for or against the rule of the great Napoleon in 1799, 1802, and 1804.

A Paris Voting Scene in the Presidential Election, 1848

Revolution Spreads Across Europe

A Contrast between 1789 and 1848. — The French Revolution of 1789 awakened but faint echoes in other countries except

those near by, and the suggestion of the French republicans of that day that all peoples rise against their monarchs [1] had little effect.[2] Far different was the response to the events of February, 1848. The intervening years had brought a vast extension of education and easier and speedier ways of circulating ideas. Education brought added influence to the newspaper press. The power of Metternich's royal despotic friends was soon to be overthrown by the common school, the newspaper, the steamboat and locomotive, the factory machine, and the conscious organization of workers.

From France the revolutionary spirit of '48 spread over the Continent. Like ripples from a splash in a quiet pool, the revolutionary circles widened and widened until they reached Vienna. Within one month after the flight of Louis Philippe and Guizot, Metternich had been driven into exile, and the whole region from the Rhine to Hungary and Poland was seething with ferment. Kings and princes on every hand, helpless in a paralysis of terror, promised to grant democratic constitutions and agreed to every demand of their riotous subjects.

1. When was this appeal issued? How did the French back it up?
2. In what regions were the French republicans of 1792–1793 welcomed?

Jangle of Races in Austria. — In Germany one nation was divided into a number of petty states. In Italy the same was true. But in the Austrian territories one state had long ruled over many nationalities, for Austria was a collection of several disunited peoples artificially held together. The revolution of 1848 in the Austrian realms was therefore a most complicated affair in which efforts to gain personal rights and democracy were mingled with the desire of subject nations to escape from Austrian control.

To understand the situation we must note that there were in the Austrian lands two races which lorded over all the others, although their own combined strength was only about one third of the total population. These two were the Germans living chiefly in Austria proper, and the Magyars in Hungary. No

love was lost between these two races. The emperor was German in interests, and his principal advisers were chosen from among the Austrian Germans, rather than from the Hungarian Magyars. The Magyars, although ready to play the part of despots over their own subordinate peoples, were unwilling to accept dictation from German Vienna.

Scattered throughout the Austro-Hungarian lands were many subject races (map, page 544). Some were great nations like the Bohemians, while others were mere fragments of races wedged in between larger groups. The more important subject peoples were Poles, Czechs (Bohemians and Moravians), South Slavs, Rumanians, and Italians.

In some cases the subject races of Austria lived in regions neighboring upon a similar race just over the Austrian border. Thus the Austrian Poles felt no loyalty to their rulers, but wished to be united with the Poles of Prussia and Russia. So the Italians of the Austrian lands in Venetia and the Po Valley hated Austria and hoped for a union of Italians throughout the peninsula. In the same manner Rumanians and South Slavs of Hungary were drawn toward their fellows outside the border. Amid the confusion of the revolts of '48 and '49 these jealous nationalities within Austria could not work harmoniously even in the interests of democracy.

Reforms Hastily Promised in Austria-Hungary. — On March 14, 1848, Metternich, who had dominated the Continent so largely since 1815, fled from Vienna and found a refuge in England. As he fled, the city was in the control of armed bands of university students, working people, and a newly formed national guard. The next day the emperor promised to grant a constitution and to abolish the censorship of the press.

Similar promises of reform now came from the imperial authorities in a veritable shower, as popular uprisings increased the anxiety of the ruling class. Hungary was granted for the time a government independent of Austria, with an elective assembly of her own, though accepting the emperor as king. In the following fall even allegiance to the emperor was thrown off,

and Hungary, under the leadership of Kossuth (kŏsh′o͝ot), issued a declaration of independence. In Bohemia, too, the imperial officers were compelled by the mob to promise local, democratic self-government.

Louis Kossuth

In the Austrian provinces of Lombardy-Venetia in northern Italy revolution also burst forth. Here the people were determined to throw off the foreign yoke altogether at the first opportunity.[1] Immediately after the revolutions in Paris and Vienna, therefore, revolts arose in Italy. The Venetian patriots proclaimed the "Republic of St. Mark," while in the Po Valley another temporary republic was established.[2] These Italian republics voted to unite with the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont in forming a national union of the Italian people.

1. What had Austria been doing since 1815 to make her Italian subjects feel this way? 2. Why were the Venetians especially eager for a republic?

Militarism and Race Rivalry Wreck the Austrian Revolution. The Revolution of 1848, in its opening weeks, seemed amazingly successful throughout the Austrian lands. But the joy of the liberals was brief, for within a few months after the March successes the hope of a liberal government was destroyed and the ready promises of reform made by the emperor were all ignored. This unfortunate outcome was due to many causes, among which the more important were the loyalty of royal armies and the bitter rivalries among the races within the empire.

In the midst of seething insurrection in Lombardy one Austrian general, Radetsky, remained true to his royal master and slowly made headway against the revolutionists. From Vienna

he also received reënforcements, for even the most liberal Austrian leaders were unwilling to grant independence to the Italian provinces. By the summer of 1848 Hapsburg authority was restored in Lombardy, and in the following spring, in Venice.

Another Austrian army under General Windischgrätz (vĭn′-dĭsh-grĕts) overthrew the nationalist Czech movement in Bohemia.[1] Still a third army was formed among the South Slavs who were opposed to the rule of Hungary. They preferred to be governed by an Austrian monarch rather than by Magyar republicans [2] who had no regard for the rights of other races.

After these royalist armies had succeeded in their own localities they joined in overthrowing the revolutionary régime in Vienna. The old emperor now abdicated, and Francis Joseph (1848–1916), a prince who had made no promises to the people, was crowned emperor. The recently granted constitutions were annulled and absolutism was restored in the subdued provinces.

The final blow to the hopes of the revolutionists in the Austrian realms was the overthrow of the short-lived Hungarian republic. The Magyars, led by Kossuth, were now surrounded by a ring of enemies. Embittered and jealous neighboring peoples within the Austrian realm attacked the Hungarians. Austrian Germans, Slavs, and Rumanians, supported, too, by a large army furnished by the Russian czar, joined to destroy the young republic. With horrible severities the Austrian authority was restored, and Hungary lost even the slight measure of local self-government which she had enjoyed before 1848.

1. What is the meaning of "nationalist Czech movement"? 2. Who were the "Magyar republicans"?

Revolution Enters Berlin. — Meanwhile the revolution was in progress elsewhere. When the news of the Paris upheaval reached Germany, the spirit of revolt and reform spread to all the German states, large and small. It was encouraged by the flight of Metternich, which seemed to end the old repressive system. In Prussia the reigning king was Frederick William IV, who once said, "I know that I hold my crown as a fief from Almighty God and I owe him hourly accounting for my

BANQUET TO KOSSUTH IN ENGLAND

Kossuth's visits to England and America after the revolution of 1848 aroused great enthusiasm for the republican cause in Hungary.

government. To him who demands a guarantee for the future I give my word. It is of more weight and binds more firmly than any paper constitutions." At another time he declared, "Never will I let a sheet of written paper come like a second Providence between our Lord God in heaven and this land." Yet this ruler by divine right was now to feel the force of popular opinion.

For five days in March, 1848, Berlin was in the hands of revolutionists, and the king, face to face with his people, was forced to bow to their will. He made promises — many of which he could never fulfill. The press censorship should be abolished, a constitution should be granted to Prussia, and the unemployed should be given work. He knelt before the bodies of the dead rioters, doing reverence to the spirit of revolt. He raised the revolutionary standard, red, black, and gold, and wore the colors on his arm. Never had a Prussian autocrat occupied such a humiliating position.

The Germans Try to Form a United Nation. — The revolt in Germany had two distinct aims: first, to establish liberal constitutional governments in the several states; second, to found a united national government for all Germany.

While the radicals were forcing promises of reform from the terrorized princes, some of the leaders were preparing for a national union. A call was issued for the popular election of a constitutional convention to meet at Frankfort in May, 1848. When this Frankfort Parliament of five hundred men assembled, Germany seemed about to become a united democratic nation.

Failure of the Frankfort Parliament. — Yet the friends of unity and of liberalism in Germany were destined to sore disappointment. Sharp differences of opinion split the convention. A minority wanted to unite all Germany into one republic. Another group wished to combine the thirty-eight states under a federal plan similar to that of the United States. Still others wanted a strong, centralized, national monarchy. Weeks and months of precious critical time passed while the delegates quarreled over these theories or discussed the rights of man.

In the meantime national enthusiasm died out as the terrified

THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT AT FRANKFORT, 1848
From an old print.

German princes regained their composure and crushed the revolts with their armies. The Frankfort Parliament lost the respect of the nation, and when at length a constitution had been made and the crown of "Emperor of the Germans" was offered by the parliament to Frederick William of Prussia (April, 1849), he scornfully refused to accept a "crown from the gutter." By this time revolution had been suppressed in Prussia, Austria, and many other places. The Prussian king could not then accept the constitution — the child of revolution — without loss of divine-right prestige or without involving himself in war with Austria. The new constitution never took effect.

Thus the movement to unite Germany under a liberal constitution collapsed because of the failures of an impractical group of debaters in the convention at Frankfort. The opportune moment passed. Tragically and pathetically enough, when German unity did come two decades later, it came not as a popular liberal movement, but through the Bismarck policy of "blood and iron" and by the power of the Prussian army.

Complex Problem of the Liberals in Italy. — In Italy the reformers of 1848 had a knotty problem. Many of the liberal leaders wished to establish republics in the various states into which Italy was divided, while others preferred constitutional monarchies with guarantees of civil rights for the people. Many of the reformers — both republicans and monarchists — hoped for a united Italian nation covering the entire peninsula. Yet in the way of reforming the governments or of uniting Italy stood two obstacles — the rule of Austria in the richest part of northern Italy, and the presence of the Papal States in the central regions. Austria was sternly opposed to the union of Italy and to the granting of popular rights, in her own provinces and in the other states as well. The popes, while sometimes favoring constitutional reforms, were always opposed to a united Italy. In this they had the support of many Catholics in other countries, who could not understand how the temporal power of the papacy blocked the national aspirations of the Italians.

Italian Reformers Win a Brief Success. — Even before the Paris revolt of February, 1848, there had been much unrest in Italy and some beginnings of revolution. In Lombardy, for example, many smokers had formed an agreement not to use tobacco, in order to avoid paying to Austria the heavy taxes upon it.[1]

Into this land of dissatisfaction came the news from Paris, emboldening revolutionists and reformers, and terrifying the princes. The king of Sardinia-Piedmont granted a very liberal constitution, and others were freely promised by the petty rulers throughout the peninsula. Even a united Italian republic seemed to many within reach. Others saw in the recently reformed monarchy of Sardinia-Piedmont a rallying point for national patriotism. On every hand it was said that Italy would now attend to her own affairs (*Italia farà da se*).

1. What similar boycott in America does this remind you of?

Liberty and Union are Lost. — But the poorly organized armies of the patriots of the Po Valley and of Sardinia-Piedmont could not hold out against the trained forces of Austria. The

revolution was overthrown in Lombardy, as we have seen (pages 348–349), and the Sardinian king, attempting to aid the revolters there, was driven back to his mountain regions and compelled to pay a heavy indemnity. With the help of French and Austrian troops the pope was restored to his former power. Only in Sardinia-Piedmont was the liberal constitution of 1848, patterned after Great Britain's, allowed to stand. Later it became the constitution of the modern Italian state.

Thus the power from across the Alps prevented the desired union of Italy. Beginning in 1849, Italian princes and the Austrian authorities meted out ruthless punishment to their subdued and cowering subjects. In Naples about 40,000 were thrown into prison without trial. In the Austrian provinces, 4,000 were condemned for political offenses, and many, including women and children, were publicly flogged. In Sicily the revolution was suppressed with such violence that the people called their ruler "the bombing king" (*Re Bomba*).

Results of the Revolutions of 1848

Evidence of Failure Everywhere. — In 1849 the liberals and radicals of Europe looked mournfully upon the wreck of their hopes. In spite of the strength of republican sentiment, not a single one of the upstart republics in Italy, Germany, or Hungary had survived. Much the same fate befell the constitutional monarchies. Kings and princes who had frantically promised the people a share in their governments had on all hands broken their promises and withdrawn the constitutions. Only in a few cases did the limitations on the rulers outlast the year of revolution.

Rights of the individual — personal freedom, freedom of speech, of the press, of petition, and of trade, speedy and impartial justice, the jury system, and an extension of education, — all had been promised, and were now in most cases refused.

National union had failed in Germany and Italy, and the separatist national movements of Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, and Irish had in no case succeeded. The map of Europe looked practically the same after the revolutions as before.

Revolution Disciplines the Monarchies. — Yet the year of revolution did bring its permanent effects upon absolute governments. As the execution of Charles I of England in 1649 and of Louis XVI of France in 1793 had a tempering effect upon succeeding kings, so the memories of 1848 moderated the autocracies of the Continent. Nowhere after that date, except in Italy, was absolutism so unrestrained as it had been before.

Especially was it true that every ruler was thereafter obliged to recognize changing conditions within his country. The age of machinery meant that governments and laws had to be frequently reshaped. The dike which for a generation had held back needed reforms was broken by revolution. Thereafter the current of progress advanced, slowly and somewhat intermittently, toward more and more complete democracy.

What was left of Metternich's league of rulers for repression also disappeared in this year of revolt. Each absolute monarch was now left face to face with his own people, and could no longer call in his fellow sovereigns to help him uphold his powers.[1] International alliances for the support of absolutism were buried under the wreck of revolution.

1. Recall cases of such outside aid in the period 1815–1848.

Nationalism Becomes the Leading Force. — After 1848 international efforts at reform disappeared largely from Europe, and national leaders everywhere fostered the sentiment of exclusive patriotism. If the rulers provided a system of public education, they generally sought by means of the schools to instill a narrow national spirit and a deeper respect for the crown. If they extended the franchise to working people or granted other liberal reforms, they hoped at the same time to entrench themselves behind the blind patriotism of the people. For a generation and more after 1848, the dominant influence in European political life was the strong like-mindedness of the people of each nation, and the equally repellent feeling against other nations.

Lasting Gains of the Revolutions. — Not all constitutional advance was lost after the revolutions of 1848–1849 subsided. A liberal constitution had been granted by the king of Sardinia-

Piedmont, which became the basis for the later government of united Italy. New and more liberal constitutions were granted in Denmark and Holland. In Switzerland, after a brief civil strife between the Catholic and the Protestant cantons, a new constitution was established, forming a firm federal union, patterned after that of the United States. Even the king of Prussia proclaimed in 1850 a constitution which, while somewhat liberal for that day, remained with scarcely any change to 1918, by which time it was grievously out of date. In Austria feudalism and serfdom were overturned by the revolution.

In many parts of Europe great masses of the people by tasting political power for a while had acquired an appetite for more.

Emigration to America. — Finally, the violent suppression of the revolutions caused many disappointed reformers to abandon their home country. Martial law and the persecution of liberals after the failures of 1848–1849 added to the despair of others and led them to seek a refuge abroad. Some of the emigrants went to more liberal Switzerland or England, but the greatest number came to the United States. During the decade 1845–1854 nearly 3,000,000 immigrants arrived in American ports, — more than double the entire immigration to our shores from the adoption of the constitution to 1845.

Nearly a million of these came from Germany, — energetic, educated liberals for whom Germany was no longer home, now that the cause of union and liberty was evidently dead there. These progressive German refugees, led by such men as Carl Schurz, contributed a very valuable element to American life, especially in the Mississippi Valley.

From Ireland during the same decade came even more immigrants than from Germany — survivors from those dreadful years of famine when the potato crop in the island failed. Even France, whose people rarely emigrate, sent to America over 100,000 during the first ten years of the régime of Louis Napoleon. Thus the suppression of liberalism, as well as the hard times, gave to America a suddenly increased stream of new blood in those years.

Significance of the Revolution of 1848. — As in so many other dramatic periods of history, the optimistic hopes and dreams of the idealists of 1848 ended in apparent failure. Still some permanent gains for the cause of democracy had been won: —

1. Serfdom had disappeared from a large portion of the Austrian Empire.

2. Denmark now had a representative legislative body, while Holland was starting the British cabinet system of government, although not yet on a democratic suffrage basis.

3. Autocratic Prussia received (1850) and kept a constitution, which was some gain in itself, even though the legislative bodies were controlled largely by the powerful nobility.

4. Switzerland had started upon her highly interesting career as a democratic federal republic under her constitution of 1848.

5. In Sardinia-Piedmont, representative government had been inaugurated by the constitution of 1848. When, a few years later, all the divisions of Italy were united, this same liberal constitution was extended to the entire peninsula.

Hungary's Attempt at Independence

(Part of Kossuth's message to the American people, March, 1850.)

We desired an honorable peace [with Austria], and were willing to submit to any reasonable terms. We many times tendered the olive-branch. We asked the constitutional governments of Europe to interpose. They heard us not. The haughty imperial family, forgetting that they were the real traitors, rejected every proposition, with the defying expression that they "did not treat with rebels." Ay, more — they threw our ambassadors into prison; and one of them, the noblest of Hungary's sons, they cowardly and impiously murdered. Still, we hesitated to tear asunder forever the bonds that united us. Ten months we fought, and fought victoriously, in defense; and it was only when every attempt to bring about an honorable peace failed; when Francis Joseph, who was never our king, dared, in his manifesto of the 4th of March, 1849, to utter the curse "that Hungary should exist no longer"; when there was no hope of arresting the Russian invasion by diplomacy; when we saw that we must fight, to save ourselves from being struck off the earth as a nation; when the House of Austria, by its endless acts of injustice and cruelty, and by calling in the aid of a foreign power, had extinguished in the heart of the Hungarian people every spark of affection, — then, and then only, — after so much patience, the nation resolved

to declare its absolute independence. Then spoke the National Assembly the words which had long been uttered by every patriotic tongue — "Francis Joseph, thou beardless young Nero! thou darest to say Hungary shall exist no more! We, the people, answer, we do and will exist; but you and your treacherous house shall stand no longer! You shall no more be kings of Hungary! Be forever banished, ye perfidious traitors to the nation!" — From *Report of the Special Committee Appointed for the Reception of Louis Kossuth* (1852).

Problem and Reference Work

1. The following original material is worth reading — found in Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II: (*a*) Louis Blanc's account of the national workshops of 1848, pp. 81 ff.; (*b*) Louis Napoleon's praise of the first Napoleon (1839), pp. 84 ff.; (*c*) A campaign appeal of Louis Napoleon in the election of 1848, pp. 87 ff.; (*d*) The king of Prussia declines the crown of Germany, pp. 110 ff.

2. Read Fueter's good, brief description of the Revolution of 1848 in France in Chapter 21 of his *World History*.

3. In J. R. Muir's *National Self-Government*, pp. 97–107, find a brief analysis of socialism.

4. Read Chapter 8 in L. Abbott's *Spirit of Democracy* for a lucid explanation and criticism of the theory of socialism.

5. Using W. R. Thayer's *Throne-Makers*, pp. 87 ff., learn and tell the story of Kossuth's career as an agitator in Hungary before 1848.

6. Read about the "Irish invasion of America" at the time of the potato famine. Use S. P. Orth's *Our Foreigners*, Chapter 5.

7. In the same book, pp. 129–140, learn why so many Germans came to America at about the same time.

8. Make a list of the important leaders of the revolutionary period of 1848–1849, showing the part played by each.

9. Compare the grievances which caused the Revolution of 1848 with those which produced the Revolution of 1789.

Reading List

Thayer, W. R., *Throne-Makers*. Contains biographies of Kossuth, Louis Napoleon, and others.

Fueter, E., *World History*. Ch. 13 covers well the anti-socialist reaction in France in 1848.

Spargo, J., *Elements of Socialism*. A sympathetic explanation of socialist principles by a moderate socialist.

Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II. A very useful work for teachers and mature students.

CHAPTER XVI

FRANCE SEEKS PRESTIGE THROUGH A RESTORED EMPIRE

The Second French Republic

A Democratic Revolution Leads to an Empire. — The Revolution of 1848, like the earlier one of 1789, overthrew monarchy in France and established a liberal republic. Now that the right to vote was extended again [1] to every Frenchman, and all property restrictions were removed, the triumph of democracy seemed assured. In 1848 the number of voters was increased at one stroke from about 200,000 to nearly 8,000,000. Thus the principle of universal manhood suffrage was accepted as a hopeful basis for the new republic.[2]

These changes, however, instead of leading to real democracy, ended in the revival of the empire by a nephew of Napoleon. This curious result of a democratic revolution was due to two causes: the fear of socialism, and the desire to see France restored to a leading position among the nations. The dread of socialism led to a strongly centralized type of republic. The longing to restore French prestige caused the people to elect as president of that republic a scheming member of the Bonaparte family, who found it easy to transform himself from president into emperor. We must consider first the constitution of the second republic, and then the reason for the choice of such a man as Louis Napoleon as its president.

1. When before had France had liberal suffrage? 2. Was manhood suffrage then in vogue in many countries?

The "June Days" Cause Distrust of Laborers. — In June, 1848, just as the assembly was meeting to make a new constitution, came that furious uprising of the workmen of Paris described in the preceding chapter. After the horrors of the "June

Days," the panic-smitten country was convinced that the laborers were seeking to confiscate all private property. A few weeks later, under the spell of such fears, the new constitution was adopted. This constitution continued the republic, and likewise suffrage for all Frenchmen; but power was to be shared between president and legislature in such a manner that the socialistic radicals could be prevented from seizing control.

Constitution of the Second Republic. — In several ways the new constitution was like that of the United States. Power was sharply divided between a legislature and an executive, each independent of the other.[1] The legislature consisted of one large body elected by manhood suffrage. The president, also elected by popular vote, was to hold office for four years. He could not be reëlected, except after a four years' interval; but while he was in power no one could curb him. He could appoint all his subordinates and had sole command of the army and control of the police.

These arrangements made the French president far more powerful than the president of the United States, for two reasons: (1) As there were no separate state governments in France,[2] all executive authority was centered in the hands of the president, who appointed the local officials. (2) The large standing army, with its professional spirit and Napoleonic traditions, gave its commander in chief a control unknown in the United States, where military activity has always been subordinate to the civil authorities. Vast power was thus placed in the hands of one man in France in order to prevent revolutionary attacks upon property. The fate of the second republic depended upon the character of the man who should be elected president.

1. Whose theory of government was followed in this? 2. Are France and the United States different to-day in this respect?

A People Hoping to Recover National Prestige. — The danger to the republic from such great executive power was increased by the desire of the French people to play once more a leading part in European affairs. French pride had been hurt by the country's lack of influence since the restoration of the Bourbon

monarchy in 1814. The people, it is true, were free from foreign rule all those years. They lived as a united French nation, and were at liberty to follow French customs and ideals unhindered from without. But this was not enough. Since 1815 France had been under suspicion and forced to fill a secondary place in international affairs. Such a position was little to the taste of the majority of Frenchmen, whose fathers had planted the tricolor across the Continent.[1]

1. What is meant by "the tricolor"? When had it been planted across the Continent? How?

Power of the Napoleonic Legend. — Meanwhile, a Napoleonic legend was growing up in France and giving a new version of

MEMORIAL PROCESSION FOR NAPOLEON, DECEMBER 15, 1840
His body, brought from St. Helena, was borne through Paris to the tomb shown on page 299.

the great emperor's character and career. No longer was he thought of as the despot who overthrew liberty, but as the popular leader who brought glory to the French name. He was represented as embodying the spirit of the great Revolution by

bringing it to a triumphant conclusion and spreading its liberalizing principles throughout Europe. He was pictured as the champion of democracy, chosen by the unanimous voice of the people. Even the incessant wasting wars of the empire seemed no longer a curse due to Napoleon's selfish ambitions, but as wars forced upon him by hostile neighbors. The sufferings of those years were now forgotten. Only the memories of glory survived, the tales of victories, and the exaltation of the French name throughout the world.

In 1840 this hero worship reached its climax when the body of the great emperor was brought home from St. Helena and placed in a magnificent tomb in the church of the Invalides (ăn-vå-lēd′) in Paris. From that time on, his name became closely linked with the greatness of France, and the people were ready to welcome a new Napoleon.

The man who presented himself in 1848 as the heir of the Napoleonic tradition, offering to lead the nation again along the path of glory, was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the great Napoleon. Although unknown to the mass of the people except by name, he received 75% of all the votes cast in the election of 1848 for president of the new republic.

The Dramatic Ascent of Louis Napoleon

Early Adventures of Louis Napoleon. — Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was born in 1808, the son of Napoleon's brother Louis, then king of Holland. In spite of exalted birth, before 1848 he was only a picturesque, unfortunate adventurer. In fact, at the very moment he was elected president he was penniless and living on money borrowed from friends who were willing to gamble on his ultimate success. Besides, he was a stranger to France, having been exiled with the rest of the Bonaparte family in 1815. After that his only residence in the country had been the six years he spent in a French prison for a foolhardy attempt to seize the throne in 1840.

Before his election as president, Louis Napoleon's career was only failure after failure. His first experience in public affairs

was in 1831, when, as a member of the Carbonari,[1] he took part in an unsuccessful Italian revolt against Austrian rule. He was rescued by his mother and smuggled to England. In 1836 he appeared at Strasbourg (strȧs-bo͝or′) and tried to persuade the French garrison to revolt against Louis Philippe. The government showed its contempt for his petty conspiracy by giving him a little money and shipping him off to the United States.

This evinced a grave underestimate of his character, for whatever other faults he had, the heir of the Bonapartes was not wanting in persistence or in a fanatical belief in his great destiny. Nothing discouraged him. "I believe," he wrote to a friend, "that from time to time men whom I shall call instruments of Providence are created to guide the destinies of their country. I believe I am such a man. If I am mistaken, let me die without accomplishing anything. If I am right, Providence will enable me to fulfill my mission."

With such faith in himself, Louis Napoleon refused to remain in America; after two months in New York, he returned to Europe. Three years later (1840) he again "invaded" France with fifty-six followers and, as a symbol of imperial majesty, a bedraggled-looking eagle which he had picked up somewhere. This time he was not only arrested but also tried and sentenced to life imprisonment, from which he escaped after six years.

1. Who were the Carbonari?

Why Louis Napoleon Won in 1848. — The reason for his success in the election of 1848 was simply the name he bore, which seemed to promise greatness and glory to the nation. This promise was the more readily accepted because the majority of Frenchmen were not really republican at heart, but still preferred some kind of monarchy, and because the people were not divided into distinct political parties, but only into class groups striving for their own special interests. Louis Napoleon, with the skill of an old intriguer, made each group believe that, if he were elected, he would make its wishes come true.

Party Groups among the French. — The French people have never formed two clear-cut political parties, as in England or in

the United States. Instead, they separate into numerous groups, based for the most part on class interests and class loyalty. Sometimes two or more groups will work together for a common purpose. Again these will separate and combine with other groups. This habit makes it difficult for Americans or Englishmen to understand the frequent shifts in French politics. In 1848 the principal groups in France were five in number: —

The Old Aristocracy, eager to recover the special privileges abolished by the French Revolution, were ardent monarchists, still believing in the divine right of kings. Too few in number to bring back the Bourbons after the Revolution of 1848, they preferred as president a Bonaparte who, they hoped, would keep alive the tradition of absolutism.

The Clerical Party was made up of those who considered it the first duty of government to advance the interests of the Catholic religion. They desired to see the influence of the clergy restored in education and in the government, and were opposed to " liberal " movements and to those principles of the French Revolution which were considered irreligious.[1] The clericals were monarchists, but Louis Napoleon won their support by his willingness to restore to them the control of the schools and by his promise to protect the pope against the attacks of Italian revolutionists.[2]

The Bourgeoisie, or business class, included clerks, shopkeepers, merchants, manufacturers, bankers — in fact all persons engaged directly or indirectly in business; also, the professional classes, such as lawyers, doctors, and teachers. The bourgeoisie were interested primarily in property and its protection, and in " law and order." Louis Napoleon promised them prosperity.

The Peasants, the largest group in the population, were loyal to the traditions of the great Revolution which had made them owners of the land they worked. Otherwise they had few political preferences, except an abhorrence of socialism, which seemed to threaten their titles to their farms. They voted solidly for Louis Napoleon because the name Napoleon was the only one that meant anything to them.

The Workmen of the cities had become an important element since the partial introduction of the new machine methods into France. They were radicals who hoped through agitation and social reforms to obtain better wages and working conditions. Even this class was inclined to support the Bonaparte candidate because of the sympathy he expressed for their welfare. He had once written a book on "The Abolition of Poverty," and now persuaded the workmen that their interests were safe in his hands.

"In Case of Derailment"

Caricature by Cham, 1849. A French artist's suggestion of a safety device for those learning the new art of roller skating.

Thus the overwhelming victory of the new president was due partly to the strength of the Napoleonic legend and partly to the skill with which Louis Napoleon appealed to various class interests. Yet these interests really conflicted. Between monarchists and republicans, clericals and liberals, workmen and bourgeoisie, there was little in common except patriotism and an intense national pride. By appealing to these feelings the new president was able to transform himself into an absolute ruler and to maintain his power for twenty years.

1. Why did the clericals think of the French Revolution as hostile to religion? 2. Why was the pope threatened by Italian revolutionists?

Napoleon "the Little" in his Greatness

The Republic Becomes an Empire. — The constitution of the second republic fixed the president's term at four years (page 360); but as the end of his term drew near, Louis Napoleon began scheming to continue in power. The assembly, at the same moment, very unwisely attacked the principle of manhood

suffrage,[1] by taking away the vote from some three million of the poorer classes in France.

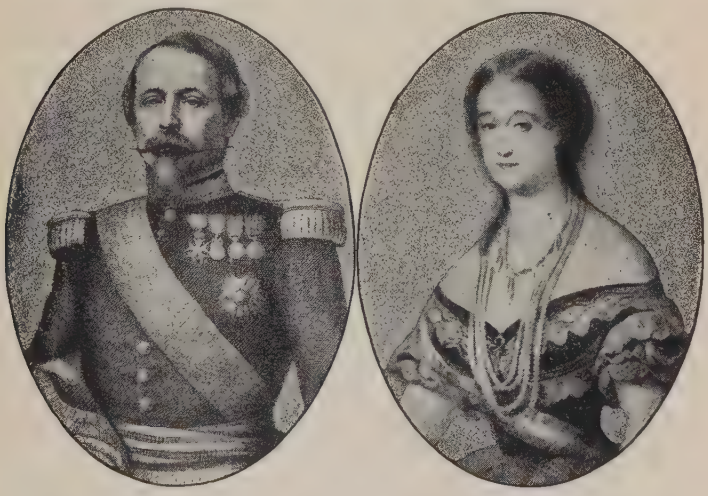
The president saw in this his chance to seize power by a *coup d'état*, that is, a violent change in the government. Summoning a part of the army to Paris on December 2, 1851, he dissolved the assembly by force, and arrested many of its members. He then issued a proclamation restoring manhood suffrage and calling on the people to decide by referendum whether or not he should be empowered to draw up a new constitution patterned after that of the great Napoleon in 1799. As a precaution, his leading opponents were thrown into prison as "disturbers of public order." The answer of the country was almost unanimous. By a vote of nearly twelve to one, Louis Napoleon was accepted as ruler of the state by the extension of the presidency to ten years. A year later he was authorized, by a second plebiscite, to change his title from president to emperor.[2]

1. Why was this a very unwise move? 2. Compare with the methods by which Napoleon I rose to power.

Napoleon III Makes Himself Dictator. — The new emperor took the title of Napoleon III, rather than Napoleon II, out of respect to Napoleon I's young son, who had died in 1832. By his critics, however, he has often been dubbed Napoleon "the Little." His government was an imitation of that of the First Empire. All power was really concentrated in the hands of the emperor. To keep up the appearance of democracy, however, manhood suffrage was continued, but in a way to make it only a farce. The people had the right to vote yes or no on any question which the emperor might care to submit to them, and to vote for members of a legislature. But the candidates were usually picked by the government, and the legislature itself had no powers beyond the right to accept or reject proposals made by the emperor. There was also a strict censorship of the press so that nothing could be published contrary to the wishes of Napoleon. Thus even the right of criticism was denied the public.

The Contradictory Character of Napoleon III. — No historical figure of recent times is more difficult to understand than

Napoleon III. In spite of his arbitrary power, he was a believer in liberty. Though he sought to make France supreme in European affairs and bring glory to her name, he was a profound believer in nationalism and in the rights of weaker peoples. Though he favored the rich and allowed his friends to make great fortunes by doubtful means, he had a profound sympathy for the workingmen and did much to improve their condition. Though he brought France into a series of great wars, he hated



NAPOLEON III AND THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE

bloodshed and could not bear the sight of suffering. The first statement of his imperial policy was that "the Empire means peace," and he advocated the settlement of international disputes through discussion and negotiation; yet the greatest wars of the nineteenth century, after 1815, were due to his policies.

These contradictions in Napoleon III's character suggest a double nature. He was extremely ambitious, yet disliked the means that had to be used to attain his ambitions. Instead of following a single clear-cut policy, he tried several at the same time. Compared with the other statesmen of the day, such as Bismarck and Cavour, he was gifted with a great heart and a

weak head. His final failure was due as much to the generosity of the one as to the hazy workings of the other.

French Business Enjoys Prosperity. — The government of Napoleon III did much for business, and for a time all classes enjoyed prosperity. Railroad building went on rapidly, the mileage increasing in seven years from 4,500 to 10,130 miles. Canals were built and great public works undertaken, such as parks, docks, and municipal buildings. The state practically remade Paris itself by tearing down and rebuilding the old quarters of the city, widening the narrow, crooked streets into great boulevards, and thus changing an unsanitary medieval town into the most beautiful of modern capitals. The government encouraged the formation of great business corporations, and in less than twenty years French manufactures doubled in value.

PARIS FASHIONS OF 1853
From a contemporary magazine.

The emperor did not shower all his favors upon big business. He also did his best to improve the condition of the poorer classes. Small tradesmen were relieved from heavy license taxes; large sums of money were spent in building workmen's houses; and Napoleon's government helped finance the insurance of laborers against death and accident in industry. Trade unions were legalized; the right to strike was recognized. The great public works and the new private enterprises called for so much labor that unemployment almost disappeared. In these ways the emperor did his best to realize his dreams of the abolition of poverty. And for a time all classes seemed satisfied.

A New French Colonial Empire. — Napoleon III believed that the dignity of France called for the assertion of her power in distant parts of the world. She should take her place, he thought, in extending European civilization among backward peoples. Therefore he joined Great Britain in a naval war against China (1856–1860), to compel that country to open more of her ports to western trade and to grant protection to the Christian missionaries. On his own account he seized Cochin-China, the first French colony in the Far East. In northern Africa the French had begun the conquest of Algiers as early as 1830. Now Napoleon introduced a regular colonial government and also extended French claims over Senegal (sĕn-ĕ-gôl′).

Like Napoleon I, he even dreamed of reviving French power in America. He was anxious to intervene in the American Civil War on behalf of the southern states and at the same time sought to establish an empire in Mexico which should be wholly dependent on French support. But, unlike his uncle in the case of Louisiana, he was unwise enough to push his schemes in the face of opposition from the United States. His failure in Mexico played an important part in bringing about his final ruin.

The Crimean War (1854–1856). — To strengthen his popularity, Napoleon III sought an early opportunity to assert French leadership in Europe. Russia soon furnished the opportunity. The Czar Nicholas I showed scant courtesy to the new French emperor and had in official letters addressed him as "Friend," refusing him the title of "Brother" customary among monarchs. Moreover, Russia was the country that had in 1812 inflicted the great defeat on Napoleon I.[1] A successful war against the czar would do more than any other one thing to restore French self-esteem.

By 1853 the czar had come to believe that an end should be put to Turkish power and that Russian influence should be established in the Balkans and at Constantinople. The sultan, said the czar, was "the sick man of Europe," [2] and he proposed that the invalid's inheritance should be taken over by his natural

heirs, Britain and Russia: Great Britain might annex Egypt and Crete, while the czar himself would look after the rest.

TURKEY IN DANGER
From *Punch*, a London comic periodical, 1853.

The British government refused to consider the proposal and decided to support Turkey instead, since an extension of Russian influence in Asia Minor threatened Britain's Indian colonies. The czar thereupon decided to act alone. First he demanded that Turkey should recognize him as the protector of the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. But France had long been respected as protector of the Latin Christians in those regions, and taking offense at Russia's demand, she ranged herself on the side of Great Britain. The two powers ordered Russia to leave Turkey alone and, upon her refusal, declared war in March, 1854. The war was carried on in the Crimean (krī-mē′ăn) peninsula, north of the Black Sea, where two years of severe fighting ended in the defeat of Russia.

1. What defeat is meant? 2. Fix in mind this phrase with its setting.

Napoleon Poses as Leader of Europe. — The Crimean War saved the "sick man of Europe" and checked the Russian advance toward Constantinople, matters of interest to England rather than to France. Napoleon's gains lay in another direction. The defeat of Russia wiped out the disgrace of the Moscow campaign and the close of the war enabled him to call together a great peace congress [1] at Paris in 1856, in which he played the principal rôle. The congress was attended by representatives of all the leading states of Europe, who discussed many topics of

THE CONGRESS OF PARIS, 1856

Representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Turkey.
From a contemporary lithograph.

international interest. In all these matters Napoleon took a leading part, so that France again became the center of diplomacy as she had been in earlier days.

1. What other great peace congresses can you name?

Napoleon Helps the Italians Defeat Austria, 1859. — Three years after the Congress of Paris, the emperor of the French was again at war, this time with Austria, and not for a selfish purpose. Napoleon was indeed an adventurer, risen from obscurity to a throne; but he was no vulgar adventurer. He cherished many

THE FRENCH ENTERING MILAN, JUNE 6, 1859

Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel rode at their head. In the left background, the Cathedral.

noble ideals for which at times he was willing to make sacrifices. One of these ideals which had a real hold on his mind was the belief in nationalism. Italy had long been aspiring to throw off the Austrian yoke and become a united nation, but was too weak to do this alone. Napoleon decided to come to her aid.

There were two serious dangers in such intervention. If Italy should become united, this would mean a new neighbor on the southern border of France — possibly a rival in the future. Further, the union of all Italy would end the pope's power as ruler of the Papal States. This would alienate the clerical party in France, hitherto the strongest supporter of the emperor.

Nevertheless Napoleon agreed to join the Italians of Sardinia-Piedmont in a war against Austria; but with his usual love of intrigue he attempted to forestall French objections by imposing certain conditions. He demanded that Piedmont, in case of success, should cede the districts of Nice and Savoy to France; and he made his allies promise to leave the pope unmolested.

The attempt to free Italy and at the same time to preserve the Papal States proved an impossible task. The united French and Piedmontese forces quickly defeated the Austrians in the battles of Magen'ta and Solferino (sŏl-fĕ-rē'nō) in 1859. But before the Austrians had been entirely driven from the peninsula, the people of Romagna (rō-män'yä), a part of the Papal States, rose in rebellion against the pope and asked to be annexed also to Piedmont. Napoleon was frightened at the effect this would have on the clerical party at home. At the same time he learned that Prussia was planning to come to Austria's aid by an invasion of France. He put a sudden end to the campaign and made peace with Austria; but, in spite of his desertion, large parts of northern Italy were annexed to Sardinia-Piedmont.

The Second Napoleonic Empire is Wrecked by its Founder

The Austro-Sardinian War Injures Napoleon's Prestige. — By quitting in the midst of his task the emperor forfeited the good will of all parties. He had made an enemy of Austria without gaining the gratitude of the Italians, who felt themselves cheated by the sudden ending of the war. At home, the liberals and republicans denounced his betrayal of the cause of liberty. The clericals assailed him for interfering at all in Italian affairs and thus encouraging the people of the Papal States to rebel. He had, it is true, advanced the cause of Italian unity, a cause which lay near his heart, and over this result he never felt any regret; but in doing so he had seriously crippled his own prestige not only in France but in Europe.

The Empire Begins to Decline. — From the time of his intervention in Italy troubles began to thicken about the emperor.

THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH "DE L'ÉTOILE" (OF THE STAR)

Scene in Paris about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Though business continued to prosper, wealth flowed chiefly into the hands of favored men. A general rise of prices made the poorer classes discontented and caused strikes among the workingmen. The increasing hostility of the clerical party now led Napoleon to seek support from the liberals, who had always opposed his system of absolute government. In this effort he modified the constitution by granting more power to the legislative assembly and allowing considerable freedom of speech and of the press. Republicans, previously exiled, were allowed to return, and they gradually built up an opposition party which increased with each mistake the government made.

Napoleon's whole imperial system was based on the promise of glory and renown for France. Only success abroad could justify absolutism at home in the eyes of the country, but the condition of Europe after 1860 made sallies of adventure dangerous.

Napoleon III Fails to Aid Poland. — In spite of the division of parties in France, one cause appealed to the sympathies of all alike — the freedom of Poland. In 1863 the Poles once more revolted against Russia and sought the aid of Europe.[1] French liberals saw in the rebels a conquered nation rising against its oppressor; the clericals looked upon them as fellow Catholics in bondage to a people of a different religion. The emperor would gladly have given aid to the Poles, for he believed in the rights of nationalities; but he did not dare to act alone. England was not interested, and Austria and Prussia refused to join with him because they held Polish territory of their own.[2] He could only send notes of protest against the treatment of Poland, which merely angered Russia and made matters worse than before.

1. What earlier Polish revolts can you recall? 2. How did Austria and Prussia get Polish territory? Find out whether they hold it to-day.

Attempt to Interfere in the American Civil War. — The American Civil War seemed to offer an opportunity to assert French leadership and to reëstablish a French colonial empire in the New World. Napoleon's sympathies lay with the southern states, partly because the northern blockade of their ports cut

off the supply of cotton for the French manufacturers, partly because he disliked the more democratic society of the North. He also hoped that the victory of the South, by dividing America into two hostile nations, would leave both sections feeble, so that he could carry through those designs on Mexico which he already had in mind.

Therefore, in 1862, he proposed to Russia and Great Britain a joint intervention in the American war in order to dictate terms of peace. Although this proposal was rejected, the next year he offered mediation on his own account. Lincoln politely declined the offer. Congress went further, and passed a resolution that declared any attempt at mediation would be considered a hostile act. Not daring to proceed any further, Napoleon could only submit to the rebuff.

Napoleon Tries to Establish an Empire in Mexico. — In Mexico a revolution brought into power in 1858 a radical party determined to destroy the influence of the great landlords and the clergy. A large part of the land of the church was confiscated and the special privileges of the clergy were abolished. When our Civil War seemed to eclipse the Monroe Doctrine, Napoleon seized the opportunity to establish in Mexico a Catholic, Latin empire, designed to counterbalance the Anglo-American republic to the north. He also hoped that he could in this way reconcile the clerical party in France, which he had alienated by his recent intervention in Italy.

Taking as an excuse the refusal of the revolutionists to pay debts owed to foreigners, Napoleon sent an army to Mexico in 1862 and took possession of the country. He then offered the throne, with the title of Emperor of Mexico, to Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria.

For a time all went well. Though the expedition cost many lives and much money, the French army beat down all opposition and installed Maximilian in the city of Mexico. President Lincoln, however, was not slow in calling attention to the Monroe Doctrine[1] and in requesting the withdrawal of the French forces. At the close of the Civil War, an army of

veterans under General Sheridan was moved to the Mexican border, and Napoleon recalled his expedition early in 1866.

Even this was not the depth of his humiliation. Maximilian, deserted by his protector, was now seized by the Mexicans, stood against a wall, and shot. Nothing but discredit came to Napoleon from the Mexican adventure. So he felt that he must by all means win some striking success elsewhere.

1. What connection had the Monroe Doctrine with it?

Napoleon Clashes with Bismarck. — In attempting to carry out this policy, Napoleon collided with a statesman far more clever than himself. This was Otto von Bismarck, the chief minister of William I of Prussia. Bismarck was moved by no generous impulses for the right of oppressed peoples. Distant adventures had no attraction for him, nor was he influenced, like Napoleon III, by vague dreams of the abolition of poverty or the betterment of the world. He held tenaciously to one single purpose, the increase of Prussian power, and allowed no scruples, moral or political, to stand in the way of gaining his ends.

Deliberately planned wars against Denmark (1864) and Austria (1866) had already made Prussia the leading state in Germany, but the final unification of all the states required, in Bismarck's opinion, a popular national war against France. Napoleon was therefore playing directly into his hands and furnishing the needed excuse for war when he put forward French claims to territory on the west bank of the Rhine.

Bismarck More than a Match for Napoleon III. — Napoleon did not wish to fight Prussia, so he tried to secure by bargaining the land he coveted. He was well aware of the military strength of Prussia and, besides, his sensitive nature shrank from bloodshed, at least when it occurred under his own eyes. The sight of the corpses strewn about the bloody field of Solferino is said to have been one of the reasons why he brought the war with Austria to such a sudden end in 1859.

Striving for peaceful annexations, Napoleon proposed to Bismarck, in 1866, that France should have a reward for her neutrality during the recent war between Prussia and Austria. He

suggested that the part of Bavaria west of the Rhine would satisfy him. Bismarck coolly revealed the proposal to the Bavarians to stir up their wrath against France. Napoleon next asked Bismarck to promise to allow him to seize Belgium. Bismarck declined and later told the scheme to the rulers of Great Britain, the special friend of Belgium. Finally Napoleon tried to purchase the little Duchy of Luxemburg; but here again he was headed off by Bismarck. Turn where he might, he found the Prussian planted squarely across his path.

The Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871. — As Napoleon shrank from taking up arms, Bismarck determined to create a situation that would compel him to fight. The Spanish throne became vacant in 1868, following a revolution in that country. While the Spaniards were looking about for a king, Bismarck secretly persuaded them to elect a Hohenzollern prince, a distant relative of the king of Prussia. Since Napoleon had already declined to back a French prince for the vacant throne, the election of a German prince seemed like a direct slap in the face.

The French were greatly excited at the prospect of a Hohenzollern as ruler of Spain, and Napoleon expressed the united sentiments of his subjects when he demanded the withdrawal of the candidate. William I of Prussia, to whom Bismarck never told all his secrets, recognized that the demand was reasonable and induced his kinsman to decline the election.

For the moment it seemed as if war would be avoided. But, not content with the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidate, Napoleon very unreasonably demanded a promise that the candidacy would not be renewed in the future. William I, in an interview with the French ambassador at Ems in Prussia, politely refused to give such a guarantee on the ground that it was unnecessary. Napoleon's advisers considered the incident a sufficient cause for hostilities, and persuaded him to declare war on Prussia, July 19, 1870.

Bismarck Crushes France. — The War of 1870 was brief and tragic. The French were poorly trained, badly equipped, and outnumbered. "We are ready," said a French official at the

outbreak of war. "We are more than ready. There is not a single gaiter-button missing." Perhaps this was true, but more important things than gaiter-buttons were missing; chiefly, good leadership.

The German armies promptly invaded France. The first battle occurred on August 2. On September 1, an entire French

GERMANS ATTACKING THE FRENCH IN A MINOR ENGAGEMENT, AUGUST 18, 1870

army laid down its arms at Sedan′, and the emperor, who had been attempting to command in person, became a prisoner of war. A second French army of about 180,000 men was forced to take refuge in the fortress of Metz and surrendered a few weeks later. Meanwhile the Germans advanced on Paris and laid siege to the capital. After a heroic defense of four months, the city was reduced by starvation and opened its gates to the conqueror in January, 1871. All resistance then came to an end and France was forced to accept whatever terms the victors chose to impose.

Germany Imposes Harsh Terms of Peace (1871). — Bismarck, who had wished for the war and tricked Napoleon III into starting it, was determined to humiliate France and make her powerless to threaten the new German Empire he was creating. The terms of peace imposed by the Treaty of Frankfort were: (1) A

triumphal parade of the German army through Paris. For this opportunity of wounding French pride Bismarck withdrew his demand for the frontier fortress of Belfort (bĕl-fôr′), which proved the strongest point of defense against German invasion in the World War of 1914. (2) The surrender to Germany of the two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, whose inhabitants were thoroughly devoted to France and whose land contained the richest deposits of coal and iron in the country. (3) Payment of an indemnity of one billion dollars in gold. (4) Until this indemnity was all paid, the quartering, in France, of German troops supported by the French government.[1]

1. A very important treaty. Show why.

The Founding of the Third Republic. — After Napoleon III was captured at Sedan, he attempted to abdicate in favor of his young son. But the French would have nothing further to do with the Bonaparte family. After twenty years' pursuit of national glory ending in disaster, they were through with the Bonapartist kind of imperialism. The empire was therefore abolished and a republic established in its place. For many years the new government was unstable, beset by intrigues of the monarchists. In time, as the republic became firmly established, France abandoned an arrogant form of nationalism and recovered self-confidence together with the respect and admiration of other nations.

Conclusion

The career of Louis Napoleon appears, more than half a century afterward, as an episode between the second and the third French republics. As his personal monarchy was erected upon the wreck of the republic of 1848, so it was upon the collapse of his own personally-made empire that the present republic was founded. Nor did his picturesque career vitally alter those fundamental principles of French life and government which had come down from the time of the great Revolution and Napoleon I, or had been slowly developing in the succeeding decades. What those principles were the student should try to determine for himself.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Read the narrative of the removal of the body of Napoleon I from St. Helena to Paris in 1840 in Tarbell's *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, Ch. 23.

2. In Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II, find Louis Napoleon's appeal to the French people when he was seizing power in 1851; pp. 88 ff.

3. Report to the class what principles of international law the Congress of Paris (1856) helped to establish. Use Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 680 ff.

4. Learn how inflated foreign debts led to Napoleon III's intervention in Mexico in 1862. Consult W. R. Shepherd's *Hispanic Nations of the New World*, pp. 116–119.

5. Make a comparison between Napoleon I and Napoleon III, as to the steps and methods by which each became master of France.

6. Compare the efforts of the two Napoleons to build up a New World empire.

7. To realize the sort of world stage Napoleon III moved upon, make a list of forceful statesmen of different countries with whom he had to deal.

8. Work out for yourself the story of Poland — the destruction of the old kingdom and various efforts to restore its independence, to 1863.

Reading List

Thayer, W. R., *Throne-Makers*. This book contains a biographical sketch of Louis Napoleon.

Shepherd, W. R., *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*. A full and clear account of Napoleon III's Mexican venture of 1862–1865.

Headlam, J. W., *Bismarck*. Ch. 14 tells well the story of the Franco-Prussian War. The pictures are of special interest.

Fueter, E., *World History*. In Ch. 22 is a good narrative of the Crimean War.

Tappan, E. M., *Hero Stories of France*. In Ch. 24 the story of Louis Napoleon is simply told.

Davis, W. S., *A History of France* (1919). Brief and interesting.

National Feature Photos

THE TOWN OF AMALFI, IN SOUTHERN ITALY

This view shows the rocky coast of southern Italy, and the ingenious way in which the houses are built along the face of the cliffs.

CHAPTER XVII

ITALY BECOMES A UNITED NATION

Italy was for Centuries only a "Geographical Expression"

Late Appearance of Italian Nationality. — Italy possessed most of the conditions necessary for the early development of nationalism. Surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth by the Alps, Italy was geographically better protected from invasion than any other country except England. Her people were of one race and one language. As the center from which civilization had once spread to the western half of the Continent,[1] Italy was endowed with the most glorious traditions of the Old World. Geography, race, and history seemed to mark the country as a fitting home for a great and united nation. Yet for thirteen hundred years Italy remained only a "geographical expression," divided into little, hostile communities, preyed upon by foreigners, and oppressed by other nations whose very civilization had come from her.

1. When did western Europe derive civilization from Italy?

Napoleon Stirs Italy Deeply. — The first Napoleon wrought a great change in Italy by overthrowing the petty princes and uniting Italy into three large districts. He had no desire to make Italy a united nation, but his handling of the country gave the first impulse in that direction. The Italians learned to act in larger groups than ever before. Reformed French law was everywhere introduced. Many of the old feudal abuses were removed and an enlightened form of government was introduced. Now that public careers were opened to men of ability, Italians began to take more interest in the affairs of their own land.

The Divisions of Italy after 1815. — The Congress of Vienna restored the old conditions in Italy with slight changes (see maps, pages 318–319, 399). The important political divisions for the next forty-four years were as follows:

Piedmont was the northwestern corner of Italy. Here for centuries had ruled the only native line of hereditary princes in the whole peninsula. The family was known as the House of Savoy, and since the peace of Utrecht (1713) they had enjoyed the title of kings. The island of Sardinia formed part of the same kingdom, which was confusingly known, sometimes as Sardinia, sometimes as Piedmont, and again as Sardinia-Piedmont. Turin was its capital city.

Palace of the Doges, Venice

The doge was the chief magistrate of the republic of Venice, 697 to 1797. The building of this palace was begun about 1300.

Lombardy and *Venetia* occupied the rest of Italy north of the river Po — Lombardy in the center with Milan as its chief city, and Venetia to the east at the head of the Adriatic. Both Lombardy and Venetia, the choicest parts of Italy, belonged to Austria after 1815 and were governed by her directly.

Between Lombardy and the Papal States lay the three duchies

of *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Tuscany*. They were in theory independent, but were ruled by princes of the Austrian royal family and were in fact parts of Austria's Italian possessions.

Central Italy was occupied by the *States of the Church*, extending from sea to sea. Because of later events it is convenient to note the three divisions into which these Papal States fell: (1) the region about Rome, known as the Patrimony of St. Peter; (2) northeast of this, Umbria and the Marches, extending to the shore of the Adriatic; and (3) northwest of the latter, Romagna, stretching along the Adriatic coast as far as the lower Po River.

Nearly all of Italy southeast of the Papal States was included in the *Kingdom of Naples*, to which was joined the island of Sicily. The two were often spoken of as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and were reputed to be the worst-governed country in Europe.

Since the king of Naples relied entirely on Austria to maintain his hated authority over his subjects, it will be seen that, after 1815, the whole of Italy was an Austrian dependency except Piedmont and the Papal States. Even these two were hardly exceptions, for Piedmont stood in terror of being swallowed up by Austria, while the pope usually followed in government matters the advice of his powerful neighbor. Thus Austrian influence predominated throughout the country, and made Italy little more than an outlying province of the Hapsburg empire.

The Fragments of Italy are Badly Governed. — Under the system of absolutism and special privileges, restored in all parts of Italy after 1815, the country suffered the worst kind of misgovernment known to any part of Europe. The people had no share in public affairs, and all expressions of liberal opinion were persecuted as revolutionary. Public meetings were, of course, forbidden. Under a strict censorship of the press people were punished for circulating or even reading anything not approved by the authorities.[1] The police were very active, and spies were everywhere on the lookout for the discontented.

This organized system of tyranny was bad enough. It was the more burdensome because the governments themselves were

so inefficient. Taxes were heavy. No encouragement was given to industry. The officials were easily bribed. Robbery and brigandage flourished in all sections. Property was unsafe and travel dangerous.

Under such circumstances discontent spread rapidly and soon Italians were demanding changes in the vicious system under which they lived. The reformers began by asking for constitutions in the various states granting some degree of self-government. But later on, Italian patriots demanded the withdrawal of all foreign control and the union of the different states of Italy into a single nation.

1. Why did the authorities care what people read?

Why it was Hard to Unite Italy. — Three serious hindrances blocked the way to Italian unity:

(1) Italians had never acquired the habit of acting together, because for centuries the people of the different sections had lived under different governments, and had developed a local patriotism which held neighbors in suspicion. With such traditions it required forty years of futile local uprisings for the Italians to learn to unite in favor of national independence.

(2) After 1815, under the direction of Metternich,[1] Austria was endeavoring to suppress every movement among Italians looking toward liberty or union. To keep things as they were, Metternich had a large army in Lombardy and Venetia and a strong fleet on the Adriatic. These forces were always at the service of the other Italian rulers and were used to suppress uprisings wherever they occurred.

(3) In a different way the Papal States tended to keep Italy divided. The pope was the absolute ruler of central Italy. Besides, he was the head of the Catholic Church in all lands. If he were deprived of his territory would his dignity not suffer in the eyes of the world? If he were obliged to live like an ordinary bishop, under a government controlled by laymen, could he maintain his independence and be able to deal freely with other countries? Would not the government of a united Italy insist on exercising authority over the pope? Faced by these questions,

the pope was unalterably opposed to the establishment of a national government in Italy. In this opposition he had the support of the Catholic countries of Europe.

Thus, during the early nineteenth century the cause of nationalism was confronted with graver difficulties in Italy than in any other country of Europe. It was necessary to overcome the ancient jealousies of the separate states; to expel the foreign master; and, finally, to reconcile the claims of nationality with the claims of the pope, who had the backing of half Europe.

1. How long did Metternich dominate Austria?

Dangerous to Think Aloud, or to Think Secretly. — Attempts at peaceful reform were hopeless in Italy, thanks to her despotic rulers. The police and spies constantly kept their eyes on men of liberal views. The slightest suspicion of discontent meant prison or exile. Even silence was not always safe. One of the later champions of unity was arrested and imprisoned when a young man although he had neither said nor done anything illegal. But the police explained that they could not tolerate "young men of ability who took solitary walks and refused to say what they were thinking about." Under such conditions the friends of reform in Italy had to be as sly as foxes. This is why the struggle for liberty was at first carried on by secret societies, whose members were bound by most solemn oaths to work for the independence of their country.

National Sentiment is Gradually Created

The Carbonari. — The earliest of these societies was the Carbonari, or "Charcoal Burners."[1] Originating in the kingdom of Naples, it soon spread to all parts of Italy. The object of the Carbonari was to drive the Austrians from the land and to secure some kind of self-government for the people of the different states. In 1820–1821 a series of revolts led by the Carbonari broke out in Naples and in Piedmont; and again in 1831 in the Papal States, Parma, and Modena; but these uprisings were put down by Austria with great harshness.

One reason for the failure of these attempts was the lack of a

hopeful program able to arouse the enthusiasm of the people. Beyond ending existing oppression, the Carbonari had nothing definite to propose except to leave each little state to provide for its own future. Thus this society of discontent furnished no common ideals toward which all Italians could strive.

1. How do you connect the Carbonari with Napoleon III?

Mazzini's Society of "Young Italy." — Realizing the shortcomings of the Carbonari, one of its members, Mazzini, founded in 1831 a new organization called "Young Italy," which was one branch of the "Young Europe" described in Chapter XV. Mazzini was the youth who had annoyed the police by taking solitary walks and not telling what he was thinking about. His thoughts might well have worried the reactionary authorities, for in his walks, and later in his prison cell, he had the vision of a united Italy, a great nation which he hoped would become a leader of civilization, reviving the old glories of the Italian name and standing as an example of justice and brotherhood to all men. He felt that the earlier failures to free Italy from oppression were due to disunion and narrowness, and that liberty could be won only by the fusing of petty states into a single nation.

Released from prison, Mazzini had to go into exile. In Marseille, and later in England, he devoted himself to the extension of his society, which spread rapidly throughout Italy, attracting especially the young men and arousing an ardent patriotism among the people.

From 1831 to 1848 "Young Italy" was the chief force in shaping public opinion in the peninsula. Before that time few Italians believed it possible or desirable to unite all the sections into a single state. Now national unity became the ideal of the great mass of the people, inspiring an enthusiasm hitherto unknown. At last an Italian patriotism was aroused which refused to be satisfied with anything short of a unified Italy.

On What Plan Should Italy be United? — Though the Italians were being converted to the idea of national unity, they still differed widely as to how this condition could be brought

about. Mazzini believed that true liberty could be secured only through a republic.[1] He therefore favored the overthrow of all the petty Italian monarchs and the creation of a republic with a president elected by the people.

This plan seemed too radical to many of the liberal leaders — too sharp a break with the traditions of the past. So these men advocated the reform of the existing governments, the expulsion of Austria from Italy, and a federal union of the separate states under the presidency of the pope.

Still a third group looked to Piedmont as the one hope of the nation. Piedmont was the only subdivision of Italy ruled by a native house. Its king was known to be hostile to Austria and eager to see her expelled from Italy. If the king would only consent to give up his arbitrary powers and grant a constitution to his people, many felt that the rest of Italy ought to rally to his support and unite with Piedmont.

Italian opinion was thus divided among the three plans, a democratic republic, a federation of free states under the pope, and a liberal monarchy under the House of Savoy.

1. Is a republic a guarantee of true liberty? Give reasons.

The Plan of a Federal Union Fails. — The hopes of those who favored union under the leadership of the pope were greatly encouraged by the election of Pope Pius IX in 1846. He was a man of strong liberal sympathies, earnestly desiring to correct old-time abuses, and to many it seemed as if the natural leader of Italy had at last been found. When the Revolution of 1848 led to revolts all over Italy, the liberals looked to him to head a national movement; but this would have meant war with Austria, and he shrank from conflict with the chief Catholic country of Europe.

Moreover, the radicals in Rome were demanding complete self-government for the city. When this was refused, they murdered the pope's chief minister and seized the government. Pope Pius fled from Rome and for half a year lived in exile. This experience destroyed his earlier sympathy with liberalism. When he was restored to Rome by the help of a French army,[1]

THE SISTINE CHAPEL IN THE VATICAN

This is the pope's private chapel. Many of the frescoes were painted by Michelangelo.

he came back as the friend of absolutism, and the hope of an Italian federation under papal headship vanished.

1. How did the French happen to aid the pope?

The Italian Republicans Fail. — Mazzini and " Young Italy " made their great bid for success in the Revolution of 1848, when insurrections were started throughout the peninsula, at first with great promise of success. Constitutions were exacted from the various rulers as the first step in the overthrow of monarchy and the establishment of a republic. Among others, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia-Piedmont, was forced to grant a constitution to his people. Volunteers flocked to his standard from all over Italy and the end of foreign dominion seemed at hand.

Even with the help of the volunteers, however, Charles Albert was not strong enough to make headway against the forces of the Hapsburg empire. His armies were defeated, his territory was invaded, and he was obliged to withdraw from the war and purchase peace by paying a heavy indemnity. With Piedmont eliminated, the Austrians quickly put down the other revolts and the republican party was everywhere crushed.[1]

1. In what other countries did the reformers of 1848 fail?

The Remarkable Career of Garibaldi (1807–1882). — The disappointing events of 1848 brought to the front a man who embodied all that was heroic, all that was romantic, in the Italian struggle for liberty. Italy has been the mother of many great men, but never did she give birth to a more picturesque character than Garibaldi (gä-rē-bäl′dē), the leader of forlorn hopes and the adventurer on desperate enterprises.

Garibaldi was a simple sailor from Nice who, during a voyage to the Black Sea, came upon the writings of Mazzini and was at once converted to the cause of " Young Italy." For his share in an attempted revolution in 1834 he was condemned to death by the authorities of Piedmont, but escaped to South America. There he threw himself into the civil wars of the period, always fighting against oppression wherever he found it. He won great reputation as a successful guerilla leader on both sea and land, but refused all rewards and high office, being determined

to form no ties which would prevent his immediate return whenever the cause of Italian liberty might need his services.

Garibaldi's impulsive character is well illustrated by the story of his courtship and marriage. As his little fleet lay one day in a bay on the Brazilian coast, he was scanning the neighboring hills through his glass and there saw a young woman walking in a garden. Struck by her appearance, he promptly took boat, rowed to land, and searched in vain for some trace of her. At length he was invited to the house of an acquaintance for dinner, where he recognized in his host's daughter, Anita, the girl he had seen from his ship. The first words he ever spoke to her were a demand that she marry him.

GARIBALDI

Anita's father had already arranged for her marriage — with a man she disliked; and a few nights later Garibaldi assisted her to escape to his ship and they sailed away. From then to the day of her death they were perfect and inseparable companions. Anita had the same heroic character as her husband. She shared all his hardships, was wounded in battle by his side, returned with him later to Italy, and died in his arms during the terrible hardships of his retreat from Rome in 1849 while the Austrian soldiers were hunting them through the swamps of

Ravenna. Anita was the heroine, as Garibaldi was the hero, of Italy's "Resurrection." She died in the darkest hour of the struggle; while he lived to see his country united into a great nation.

Garibaldi and the Roman Republic. — When the pope fled from Rome at the end of 1848, the people of the city proclaimed a republic. But the Catholic sentiment of Europe was deeply aroused at the overthrow of the papal government, and Austria, Naples, Spain, and France vied with one another for the privilege of restoring it. A French army coming by sea was the first to reach the scene. Louis Napoleon, just elected president in France, was anxious to secure the support of the strong clerical [1] party in his country by showing himself the defender of the papacy. So he ordered his troops to seize the city of Rome, establish order, and restore the pope to his throne.

Garibaldi returned from South America on the news of the Revolution of '48, but too late to be of service to Piedmont. Looking about for a chance to strike a blow for Italian freedom, Garibaldi resolved to throw himself into Rome and defend that city against the united forces of Europe. It was a desperate venture, with no prospect of final success. Yet he so inspired the Roman people with his own enthusiasm that they drove back the first assault of the French, who in much chagrin withdrew to await reënforcements from home. Meanwhile Garibaldi turned to the south of the city, and defeated the army from Naples.

Louis Napoleon, feeling the honor of the French army at stake, now sent additional troops to Italy and ordered that Rome be taken at any cost. Throughout the whole of the month of June, 1849, the Romans under Garibaldi beat off the assaults of 30,000 French regulars, supported by heavy artillery. At last the walls were battered down and the defenders overpowered; but not before their desperate resistance had awakened in the minds of all Italian liberals the determination to make Rome [2] one day the capital of a united country.

Garibaldi had achieved his purpose. He now managed to

break out of Rome and after many adventures and hairbreadth escapes succeeded in eluding four armies and ten generals posted to capture him. Next he fled to the United States, where he earned his living first as a candlemaker on Staten Island and later as captain of a small trading vessel. On his next appearance in Italy, he was to astonish the world with his exploits.

1. What is the meaning of "clerical" party? 2. Why were they so eager to have Rome as the capital instead of Venice, Naples, or Turin?

Dismal Outlook in Italy in 1849. — The close of the year 1849 saw the forlorn old conditions largely restored throughout Italy. But the efforts of 1848 were not wholly in vain. The liberals had won one victory of which they were not to be deprived, for Charles Albert had granted a constitution to Piedmont at the demand of the reformers, and this constitution was never withdrawn in spite of the threats of Austria. When Charles Albert abdicated and left to his son the task of making peace, Austria offered the new king the most favorable terms if he would only annul the constitution.[1] Victor Emmanuel, however, refused the bribe, thus winning the title of "the Honest King" and gaining the confidence and good will of the liberal party in all parts of the peninsula.

CAVOUR

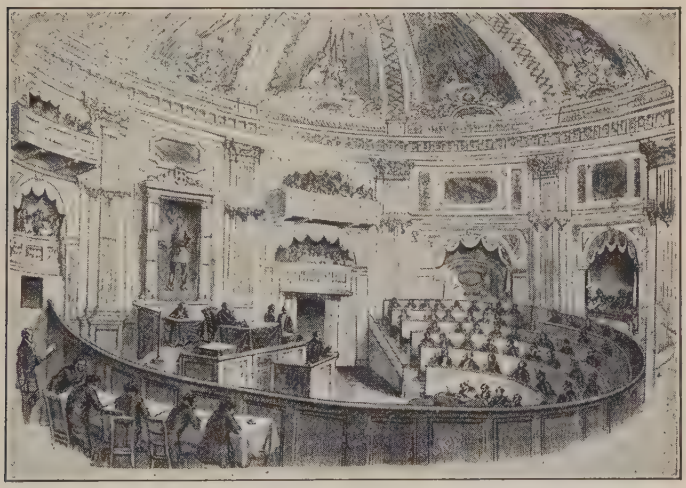
Thus one state in Italy had a free government. It also had a native king and one who could be trusted to keep faith with his people. The scheme of federation under the pope and the idea of a democratic republic had both proved impossible. It now remained for a great statesman, Cavour, to secure the unifica-

tion of Italy under a liberal monarchy and to make the king of Piedmont the first king of modern Italy.

1. Why did Austria object to self-government in Piedmont?

Italy is Finally United

Cavour, the Statesman of Italian Unification (1810–1861). — As Mazzini was the fiery apostle of Italian liberty and Garibaldi its daring, dashing war hero, so Cavour was its subtle, steady statesman. A descendant of old Piedmontese nobility, Cavour



The Chamber of Deputies in Turin, Piedmont
From a French print of 1849.

was trained, like most of his class, for a military career. Unlike most of his young comrades, however, he was a liberal. This led him to resign from the army in 1831 with the intention of entering political life. At that time, however, the government of Piedmont was arbitrary and reactionary; and as he had no desire to join the Carbonari who were trying to overthrow it,[1] he withdrew to his estate, patiently biding his time. For the next sixteen years he managed his farms, besides often traveling abroad and spending much time in England, where he became a great admirer of British institutions.[2]

In 1847 Cavour removed to Turin, the capital of Piedmont, and founded the first liberal newspaper in the country, which he named *Il Risorgimento*, "The Resurrection." The next year he was the man who led the demand for a constitution which was reluctantly granted by Charles Albert, but faithfully observed by him and his successors. Cavour was elected a member of the lower house established by the new constitution.

1. Why do you suppose Cavour objected to the Carbonari? 2. Single out liberal features of the British government in 1845.

Cavour, a Progressive Prime Minister. — Cavour's force of character and skill in debate at once made him conspicuous in the new parliament. In 1850 he became minister of agriculture and in 1852 was made prime minister — for the new constitution provided for a regular cabinet system of the British type.

From the beginning Cavour kept steadily in view his central purpose of uniting Italy under the leadership of Piedmont. To accomplish this, three things were needful. First, constitutional principles had to be respected, allowing the will of parliament to prevail even against the wishes of the king or his ministers. In this way Italy was to be convinced that a constitution in Piedmont was not a trick to fool the liberals, as it had been elsewhere, but a guarantee of real self-government. Secondly, Piedmont's resources had to be thoroughly developed, her wealth increased, and her army strengthened. Thirdly, a foreign alliance had to be cultivated to gain the support of some one of the great powers against Austria, since Piedmont could not oust Austria unaided, as the events of 1848 had dismally shown. Thus, from the moment he assumed power, Cavour had clearly in mind just what he hoped to accomplish and how.

Cavour Makes Piedmont Prosperous and Energetic. — Economically Piedmont was a backward country. Her peasantry were ignorant and her nobility narrow and provincial in outlook. Cavour at once applied his enormous energy to the internal development of the country. He introduced improved methods of farming and encouraged the starting of manufactures. In nine years the production of silk was doubled and that of cotton

goods was quadrupled. Commercial treaties were made with the leading countries and tariffs were greatly reduced in order further to increase commerce. A network of railroads was planned and construction pushed forward as fast as finances permitted. In 1857 the first tunnel through the Alps was begun, the Mont Cenis (môn sē-nē′) tunnel, giving rail connection with France; and a few years later the St. Gotthard (gŏth′ärd) tunnel was begun, to develop direct commerce with Germany. Improvements were made in education; in three years the number of high schools was quadrupled, while technical schools were founded to train engineers and industrial experts.

Cavour Puts Piedmont into the Crimean War. — For over a century Austria had felt that she had a mortgage on Italy. Up to this time she had shut the other powers out of the peninsula except at Rome, where the French got ahead of her in restoring the pope in 1849,[1] and maintained thereafter a garrison.

As a first step, Cavour now resolved to challenge the old exclusive claims of Austria by bringing Piedmont into active touch with outside countries. The opportunity for this was furnished by the Crimean War.[2] Although Piedmont had no possible interest in the quarrel, he proposed an alliance with France and Great Britain, offering the support of a small but well-trained army against Russia, an offer gladly accepted.

The troops of Piedmont assisted so much that when the Congress of Paris met in 1856 to make peace, Cavour could not be denied an honorable place at the council table.* This congress, it will be recalled, was an important assemblage of all the leading powers. In it not only the terms of peace with Russia, but also other broad problems were brought up for discussion.

This was the chance for which Cavour had played. To the horror of the Austrian diplomats present, he eloquently laid before the congress the state of Italy, declaring that Europe would never enjoy tranquillity until the wrongs of the Italians[3] had been righted. Even though no action was taken at the time, Cavour had in fact won a great diplomatic victory against the

* In the picture on page 371, Cavour is seated in the foreground on the left.

hereditary enemy. He had made Piedmont appear as the champion of all Italian patriots, and he had broken down the old tradition that Austria held the destiny of Italy in her own hand.

1. Recall who had driven the pope away. 2. Again, what nations fought the Crimean war? When? Why? 3. Recall just what wrongs are meant.

Napoleon III Helps Piedmont against Austria. — After the Congress of Paris Cavour hoped that Napoleon III would ally himself with Piedmont against Austria because his interest in Italian freedom was deep and sincere. He never forgot his youthful association with the Carbonari or the part he had played in their insurrection of 1831.

While the emperor was still undecided, an Italian fanatic named Orsini (ôr-sē′nē) tried to assassinate him on the ground that he was a foe to liberty at home and abroad. This attack made a deep impression on Napoleon, who, in his queer way, was a real lover of liberty. Orsini's dying appeal for Italy touched the generous side of his nature and moved him to a decision. He now sought a secret interview with Cavour and there pledged his support to drive the Austrians out of Italy.

The war broke out in 1859, known as the Austro-Sardinian War. A French army crossed the Alps and united with the forces of Piedmont. In two great battles, as we have seen (page 373), the Austrians were defeated and driven out of Lombardy. Then Napoleon, instead of fulfilling his promises and expelling the Austrians from Venetia, suddenly made peace and withdrew.

This action was bitterly condemned by Cavour, but there were reasons for Napoleon's failure to keep his promise. Prussia had called out troops and was threatening to invade France, while the people of the Papal States had risen in revolt against the pope. This danger to the pope's power raised a great outcry in France. Napoleon, menaced now by the clericals at home and by the Prussians across the border, felt obliged to leave the Italians to their own devices. He insisted, however, that Austria should surrender the province of Lombardy, whose people by an overwhelming popular vote at once joined themselves to Piedmont under her liberal constitution of 1848.

Northern Italy Annexed to Piedmont. — The defeat of Austria clearly revealed the sentiments of northern Italians; for the people of Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and papal Romagna, when released from fear of Austria and encouraged by England,

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

forthwith drove out their own rulers and voted almost unanimously for annexation to Piedmont.[1] Thus at the beginning of 1860 all of northern Italy except Venetia was united into a single state with a modern liberal government. Napoleon III and Cavour together had taken the first great step in the formation of the kingdom of Italy.

Austria, it is true, still held Venetia;[2] the pope ruled central Italy[3] except the province of Romagna; and, in the south, the king of Sicily and Naples was making frantic bids for support by offering a free constitution to his subjects. His word nobody trusted for a moment, and Garibaldi, whose story we will now resume, soon gave the final blow to his power.

1. Piedmont had not conquered them. Why should they be annexed to Piedmont? 2. When and how did Austria acquire Venetia? 3. How long had the popes been rulers of central Italy?

Garibaldi and "The Thousand." — Garibaldi returned from America in 1854 and took up the quiet life of a farmer. In the war of 1859 he played a subordinate part and, after the peace with Austria was signed, turned his attention to Sicily, which was already in revolt against the grinding tyranny which had long existed there.

With a small band of venturesome spirits like himself — his world-renowned "Thousand" — he sailed from Genoa in the spring of 1860 with the connivance of Cavour and the blessing of England to aid the rebelling Sicilians. After a brief, strenuous campaign Sicily came wholly within his control. Invading next the kingdom of Naples, he speedily wrested it from the grip of the incompetent tyrant who ruled the Two Sicilies.

But what would Garibaldi do with his romantic conquests? Here he suddenly found himself a popular hero in personal possession of territory with some 11,000,000 souls. He was known to prefer a republic to a monarchy. He had always distrusted Cavour, whose cautious ways and diplomatic schemes were repugnant to his own bold and open character. Most of all, Garibaldi's passionate desire to seize Rome and make it the capital of a united Italy was almost certain now to cause war with Napoleon III, since the French garrison still occupied Rome in support of the pope. Cavour realized that he must act quickly and tactfully to prevent the failure of his plans.

Therefore, on the news of Garibaldi's sensational victories, Cavour induced Victor Emmanuel to invade the Papal States himself from the north. Umbria and the Marches were occupied,

and then the king moved south into the territory of Naples already under the control of Garibaldi. With a generosity and self-denial rare in history, Garibaldi unhesitatingly sacrificed his own personal desire to the cause of Italian unity. He offered the king his conquests. He advised the people of Naples and Sicily to accept Victor Emmanuel as their ruler and at the height of his fame retired to his simple island estate on Caprera (kä-prā′rä), refusing a dukedom and all other rewards pressed upon him by the grateful king and people.

The New Kingdom of Italy Announces Itself. — By an overwhelming majority in plebiscites held in each, the people of Umbria, the Marches, Naples, and Sicily accepted union with northern Italy under the constitution of 1848. A national parliament soon met in Turin. There, on March 17, 1861, the kingdom of Italy was proclaimed and Victor Emmanuel was hailed as its first king. Three months later Cavour died, worn out with labor and anxiety. He went before his work was completed, for Venice and Rome had not yet been permitted to join the new state. But Cavour had brought Italy through the critical stages on her way to complete union.

THE RIGHT LEG IN THE BOOT AT LAST
From *Punch*, November, 1860.

Italy Finally Gains Venetia and Rome. — In Germany, meanwhile, a keen rivalry was growing up between Prussia and Austria for leadership in central Europe, as a later chapter will show. When Bismarck decided to settle this question by war, he sought

the help of the new kingdom of Italy to distract Austria's attention in the south while Prussia attacked her from the north. Austria was speedily overpowered by Prussia in the war of 1866, and Italy received her promised reward; for Venetia, which since 1815 had suffered deeply under the oppressive rule of Austria, was now allowed to join Italy after the Venetian people had voted emphatically in favor of the move.[1]

As long as Napoleon III remained in power, he kept a French garrison in Rome, upholding the pope as ruler of the city. But when that garrison was withdrawn during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871, Victor Emmanuel at once occupied Rome with an approving vote of the people there, and made it the capital of his kingdom. As none of the Catholic powers was in a position to interfere this time, the States of the Church ceased to exist and the unification of Italy was consummated.

1. Account for the eagerness of the people of the different sections of Italy to be annexed to Piedmont.

Position of the Papacy since 1870. — The pope steadfastly refused to accept the new situation, and the authority of Italy in the old States of the Church was not officially recognized until 1929 (page 805). In 1871 the Italian parliament passed the Law of Papal Guarantees in the effort to overcome his objections. By this law the head of the Catholic Church was assured the status of a reigning monarch within the grounds of the Vatican; he was voted a subsidy of $650,000 a year in place of the revenues from his former territory; and he was guaranteed freedom in his relations with other countries.

For many years the pope refused to accept the provisions of this law, and until 1929 lived as a voluntary prisoner in the Vatican district of Rome. The failure to reconcile the claims of the church with those of the Italian state formed one of the most serious problems of modern times.

Problems and Progress in United Italy

Instability of Cabinets. — In Italy, as in France, the group system prevailed, rather than two clear-cut political parties.

The result was that prime ministers usually formed coalition[1] cabinets by merging temporarily several groups which could work together on some of the issues of the day.[2] These short-lived, shifting cabinets gave Italy the reputation of instability in government.

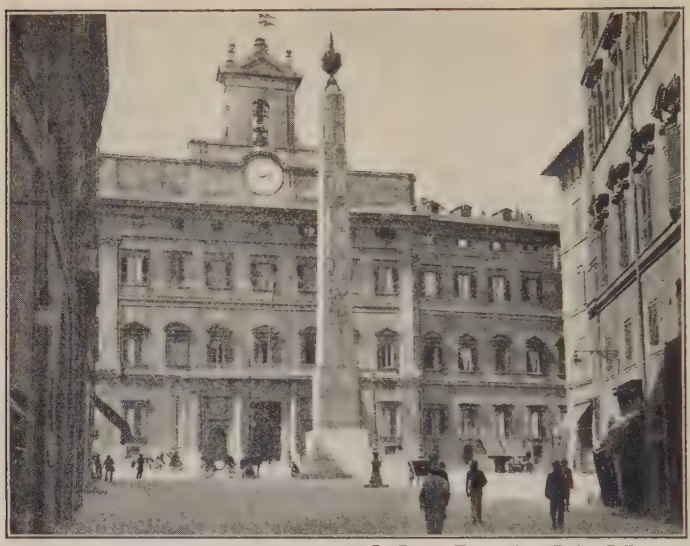
1. A word to understand and remember. 2. What happens when such groups cease to work together?

Ambitious Nationalism. — After becoming united, Italy aspired to be a great European power. This ambition led her to maintain an army and navy of burdensome size and to adopt in 1875 a system of compulsory military training patterned after that of Germany.[1] The same ambition also led Italy to keep a watchful eye on possible opportunities for national expansion. The fact that even after 1870 a considerable number of Italians were still living under Austrian rule in Trieste (trĕ-ĕst′) and on the neighboring parts of the Adriatic coast, as well as in and around Trent, kept alive the desire for further unification, and made "Italia Irredenta" (unredeemed Italy) a patriotic slogan.

Farther from home, too, Italy had ambitions to expand — in Tunis, in Alba′nia (Epirus), in Tripoli, and in Abyssinia — drawing her into the competition of the powers and making her a member of Bismarck's Triple Alliance from 1882 to 1914. How Italy finally acquired Tripoli (1912) and Italia Irredenta (1919) will appear later.

1. Why was the German military system widely imitated?

Illiteracy, Lawlessness, and Poverty. — These three closely related evils[1] have formed a weighty problem in modern Italy, especially in Sicily and south Italy, where the backwardness and oppression of the old days had been worst, and where still existed many great estates worked by poor, benighted peasants. In helping to remedy these conditions the efforts of the government to maintain a system of compulsory education since 1877 and the increased introduction of modern machine industry have produced a considerable improvement. Owing to the program of militarism, general education, colonization, and the making of public improvements such as harbors and highways,



By Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, ROME

the burden of taxation in unified Italy has been extremely heavy. No wonder that many Italians eagerly sought to flee to the United States, Argentina, and Brazil!

1. Why are illiteracy, lawlessness, and poverty closely related?

Elements of Progress. — In the face of all these obstacles the leaders of modern Italy down to 1914 were not inactive. A national system of education was operated with a fair degree of thoroughness, cutting down illiteracy, especially in the northern provinces; industrial progress was marked in the north and somewhat in the south, resulting in a thriving foreign commerce; improved harbors, roads, and railways were constructed; and confidence in Italian democracy increased.

Concluding Interpretation

In the years from 1859 to 1870 Italy was transformed from a "geographical expression" into a modern, united nation. Instead of forming a federal union, as was done in the United

States, Switzerland, Canada, Germany, and Australia, when each of these countries became united, the former fragments of Italy were merged into a highly centralized state, like France. Rejecting also the outright republican type of Switzerland and the United States, the Italians adopted for themselves that disguised form of republic, a limited constitutional monarchy, of which Great Britain is the outstanding example. The people of Italy grappled courageously with their complicated problems and worked out hopefully a broadening democracy.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Find what treatment the ancient republic of Venice received from Napoleon Bonaparte in 1797; from the Congress of Vienna (1815); from Austria (1815–1866); from Italy in 1866.

2. Make a comparison between the adventures of Garibaldi and those of Louis Napoleon.

3. Compare the steps in the unification of Italy with the process by which the American states were united up to 1789.

4. Make sure that you understand *Italia Irredenta* — the lands included in it, their location, and the reasons why they were desired by Italy. Use Davis's *Roots of the War*, pp. 156–159, if necessary.

5. Tell the story of Garibaldi's adventures between the Revolution of 1848 and his Sicilian expedition. Use Thayer's *Throne-Makers*, pp. 139 ff.

6. Describe Garibaldi's goat farm on the island of Caprera. Use G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, Ch. 2.

7. In Hazen's *Europe since 1815* read a brief sketch of the career of Garibaldi, pp. 232–237.

Reading List

Thayer, W. R., *Throne-Makers*. Excellent sketch of Garibaldi.

Trevelyan, G. M., *Garibaldi and the Thousand*. A well-written, not elementary, narrative of Garibaldi's adventures in exile, his life on Caprera, and the Sicilian expedition.

Trevelyan, G. M., *Garibaldi's Defense of the Roman Republic*. Garibaldi's part in the dramatic events of 1848–1849.

Fueter, E., *World History*. A recital of Italian unification in Chap. 25.

Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol II. Contains excellent brief accounts of Italian unification, pp. 163–175; and Italian problems since 1870, pp. 367–378.

Stillman, W. J., *The Union of Italy*.
Cesaresco, E. M., *Cavour*.
} Scholarly accounts suitable for older students.

A Barn in Baden, South Germany

CHAPTER XVIII

GERMANY IS UNITED AND BECOMES AN AUTOCRATIC EMPIRE

Germany Unreformed and Disunited

German and Italian Unification Compared. — Within one year both Germany and Italy became united into modern nations and took their places as great powers alongside the older states of Europe. During the same year the empire of Napoleon III was overthrown, and France, which for twenty years had played the chief rôle on the stage of Europe, was humiliated and demoted. The year 1870–1871, therefore, marks a real turning point in the history of the world.

The process by which Germany became united resembled Italian unification in many respects, while in others it differed sharply. Both were the result of that spirit of nationalism which was aroused by the French Revolution and was given new life by the uprisings of 1848. In Italy, Piedmont took the lead and built a nation by uniting the other sections to herself. In Germany, a similar part was played by Prussia. Both Piedmont and Prussia owed their success to great statesmen in the service of wise kings — in the one case, Cavour, chief minister of King Victor Emmanuel; in the other, Bismarck, the minister of

William I of Prussia. Final union in Germany, as in Italy, came only after a series of successful wars, and the form of government established in each was a monarchy rather than a republic.

But here the parallel stops. Every step in the unification of Italy, from the acquisition of Lombardy to the occupation of Rome, was submitted to a plebiscite and ratified by an almost unanimous vote of the population annexed. Still more significant, the Italian Cavour was a liberal statesman who believed in the right of the people to control the government under which they lived. United Italy thus became a democratic country with a cabinet system like that of Great Britain.

Prussia, however, dealt only with the autocratic rulers of the petty German states and secured, by conquest or by treaties, their consent to the changes involved. The Prussian Bismarck was a conservative of the old school, a defender of autocracy. Thinking the people wholly unfit to rule a nation, he had ideals of government similar to those of Austria and Russia rather than those of England and the United States. To gain support for his plans, Bismarck felt obliged, it is true, to give united Germany some appearance of self-government; but in all important matters he was careful to retain the real power in the hands of a small governing class. Thus Italy and Germany, though they became each a united state at the same time, represented wholly opposite ideals of how a modern nation should be governed.

Liberty and Union in Eclipse. — After the failure of the Revolution of 1848 to create a united democratic Germany,[1] the old confederation was restored. This was the same confederation established under the guidance of Metternich in 1815 to keep the Germans from uniting. Once more Germany was divided into more than thirty separate parts, chief of which were Austria and Prussia, together with Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, Hanover, Baden, and Hesse.

The confederation which was supposed to unite them was nothing more than a defensive league against foreigners without and against liberalism [2] within. Being such a device, it failed entirely to satisfy the growing sentiment of nationality among

the German people. It had no executive head, no federal officials, no army, no navy, no flag. Its governing board, called the diet, could pass resolutions which each German ruler was free to apply or to ignore within his own state. The confederation therefore failed to unite the country in any real way.

1. What attempt was made to do this in 1848? 2. What had Metternich's confederation done against liberalism?

Prussia Receives a Conservative Constitution. — In the leading German state, however, the drift against liberalism was not quite complete. Partly yielding to popular demands, the king of Prussia, in 1850, granted to his subjects a constitution which remained in force until 1918. This constitution created a parliament [1] for Prussia, but the king was careful to give it only a shadow of power. In the first place, the nobles and the wealthy classes chose the majority of its members through a plan by which the few richest men who paid a third of the taxes were allowed to elect one third of the assembly,[2] and a second prosperous group paying their third of the taxes, elected another third. Then, too, the king reserved the right to veto any act of the assembly. Besides, it had no control over the selection or dismissal of the king's advisers and other government officials.

Though such a constitution failed to make Prussia self-governing, it marked some advance over the complete absolutism of earlier days and gave great hope to Prussian liberals. The most important power granted to the new parliament was the right to vote the taxes. No new taxes could be levied without its consent. This provision led the liberals to accept the constitution gladly, awaiting the time when the need of money would force the king to grant further concessions.[3] Unhappily, that time never came.

1. Where did the modern idea of parliaments come from? 2. Why should not the chief taxpayers control the government if they pay for it? Answer thoughtfully. 3. Recall cases in which monarchs were forced to grant reforms owing to lack of money.

What Hindered Germany from Becoming United. — Many difficulties had to be overcome before the German states could be united. There were the thirty-odd German rulers who

would surely lose some or all of their powers if union came. Union likewise threatened the nobility with the loss of privileges and offices long enjoyed at the courts of petty princes. It also

THE TOWN HALL OF MUNICH, BAVARIA
From a photograph.

alarmed the conservatives of every sort, because in their minds reform was associated with revolutionary ideas. Thus after 1848 rulers, nobles, and conservatives alike were opposed to a closer union of the German states.[1]

Austria was a powerful hindrance to union. Ever since 1815 she had been recognized as the leading state in the confederation. This was only natural because the House of Hapsburg, which ruled Austria, was an old, well-established firm, accustomed for centuries to leadership in German affairs. The Hapsburgs had held the title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation until Napoleon I compelled them to exchange it for the less pretentious title of Austrian Emperor. They continued, however, to claim their old prestige in Germany —

a prestige admitted in 1815 when Austria acquired the presidency of the German Confederation.

In spite of this position, the Austrian Empire was not merely a German state. Indeed, from early times the Hapsburgs had been doing business in other directions. Not being the least exclusive in their taste regarding taxpayers, they had acquired by a series of conquests and marriage alliances such diverse lands as Bohemia, Hungary, part of Poland, northern Italy, and extensive Slavic territory to the south and east.[2] For such a sprawling, heterogeneous empire the principle of nationalism would be fatal.[3] A weak league exactly suited Austria's needs.

1. Compare these obstacles with those which at first hindered Italian unification. 2. It is essential to use maps here. 3. Why?

Prussia Grows Rapidly and Aspires to Lead. — Compared with the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns of Prussia were mere upstarts. But Prussia had grown rapidly in the eighteenth century as the result of successful wars.[1] In fact, a shrewd Frenchman once said that war was Prussia's national industry. In 1815, moreover, at the peace following Napoleon's wars, her population was more than doubled by the annexation of territory along the Rhine, on the Baltic, and in Saxony. This made her a dangerous rival of Austria and far more powerful than any of the remaining German states.[2]

Prussia, for her part, favored a closer union with the other states. As her population was wholly German except in her Polish provinces,[3] she had little to fear from the growth of national sentiment. Then, too, Prussia's military strength and closely-knit absolutism assured her a commanding position in any national union that might be built up. In 1850, therefore, the Prussian king proposed important reforms in the confederation of 1815, but abandoned the plan on the demand of Austria, who was supported by the jealousy of the other German rulers. It became clear that if Germany was to become really united, Austria must be thrust out or overwhelmed.

1. See pages 118, 121. 2. Name and locate five other German states of 1815–1866. 3. How did Prussia come to have Polish subjects?

Germans Not Content with Ruling the Clouds. — In spite of the opposition of Austria and of the rulers of the smaller states, national sentiment continued to grow among the mass of the people. Fond of power as they were, the Germans felt that their divisions were making them count as a cipher among the nations. In the middle of the nineteenth century Germany led the world in science, history, philosophy, and music; the population was vigorous and growing rapidly; factories and railroads were being built and wealth was increasing.

Yet in spite of all these elements of power, Germany, politically speaking, did not exist. As observed by the witty Voltaire some half century before, it was still largely true that Germany ruled only the clouds.[1] In questions of international interest and in the affairs of the world Austria and Prussia might be consulted, it is true; but as for the other half of the German people, who lived outside those two states, their existence was scarcely noticed by the other nations of Europe.

1. What does this mean?

The Zollverein Fosters Sentiment for Union. — Already the benefits of closer union among the Germans had been clearly shown by the success of the Customs Union or Zollverein, formed by some of the states soon after the Congress of Vienna (see page 281). So evident were the advantages that by 1867 all the members of the original confederation, except Austria, were included in the Zollverein.

Free trade was in this manner practically established throughout Germany, and a common tariff was levied on all goods coming from outside. Thus economic interests were forcing the Germans to act together in matters of commerce, while still retaining their separateness in political affairs. Austria sought, though in vain, to interfere with the success of the Customs Union, for she saw in it an important step toward union.

Bismarck Prepares Prussia to Unite Germany

Bismarck, the Empire Builder, 1815–1898. — The German Empire, which finally came into existence in 1871, owed its

formation and its character entirely to the genius of one man, Otto von Bismarck. In the space of nine years (1862–1871) this maker of history overcame the difficulties that for centuries had kept the Germans divided.

The Prussian Bismarck, like the Italian Cavour, came from a noble, but undistinguished, family of landowners. Like Cavour, too, he spent his earlier years in the management of the family estates. But, unlike the Italian statesman, he was a frank reactionary in politics, who first attracted attention by his violent hostility to the efforts of the reformers of 1848 in Prussia. He even objected to the conservative Prussian constitution of 1850, and when he came into a position of leadership he never felt bound by it when it conflicted with his plans.

Bismarck in 1858
From a painting by Jacob Becker.

To his standards of right and wrong he was absolutely loyal, but unfortunately he felt that the ordinary rules of private morality did not apply in public life. The best interest of the state was the only thing to be considered, he held, and that interest justified any methods that would succeed. He never shrank even from telling the truth when that seemed the best way of advancing the cause of Prussia.

Bismarck gained a profound knowledge of European affairs, first as Prussia's representative in the diet of the German Confederation, and later as ambassador at the Russian court and at that of Napoleon III. So when, in 1862, the new king,

William I (1861–1888), appointed Bismarck chief minister of Prussia, he was well equipped by his diplomatic experience to deal with the troublesome problems of German unity.

Bismarck's Plans for the Advancement of Prussia. — From the moment he became chief minister, Bismarck seems to have had clearly in mind the course to be followed in unifying Germany under the control of Prussia. The necessary steps, as he saw them, were: (1) Reëstablishment of the absolute authority of the crown in Prussia by overriding the rights granted to parliament under the constitution of 1850; this would give the king and Bismarck a free hand in dealing with all questions. (2) Securing the friendship and support of Russia. (3) Expelling Austria from the confederation, leaving Prussia as the chief state in Germany. (4) Arousing the national patriotism of all Germans by a war with France, the hereditary enemy. The enthusiasm aroused by such a war, if successful, was counted upon to overcome local jealousies and lead to a union of all the German states outside of Austria.

To carry through the items in this program meant war, — at least with Austria and France; but Bismarck did not hesitate at all to face such a prospect. In fact, war was to him the normal, God-given means by which a strong state imposes its will upon its neighbors.[1] For parliamentary government and public opinion he had only contempt, and in a speech which revealed the very heart of his philosophy he once declared that "the great questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and resolutions of majorities — that was the blunder of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron." [2]

1. By contrast, give your own definition of war. 2. One of the most famous statements ever made. Origin of the nickname "Iron Chancellor"?

Bismarck Vanquishes the Prussian Liberals. — The first problem facing William I when he became king of Prussia in 1861 was to strengthen his army. Following Napoleon's sudden conquest of the country in 1806, Prussia, then led by the famous Stein, had adopted the plan of compulsory military service for her men, the first nation to begin this type of preparedness.

Every young man was supposed to serve three years in the army. After this period of training, he became a member of the reserves, trained and ready to be called out if necessary in time of war. The idea was to have all Prussian men prepared to fight on short notice.[1] This law had not been changed since 1814.

Meanwhile, the population had grown so that the number of regiments originally planned was no longer sufficient for the training of all the Prussian young men, nor were there enough officers to drill them. So, by 1861, nearly one third of the yearly recruits had to be rejected. The king, therefore, asked parliament for the funds necessary to provide the new regiments and new officers and to equip the whole army with breech-loading rifles, which were then just coming into use.[2]

The Prussian constitution, as we have seen, gave parliament the right to vote all new taxes. The liberals, who then had a majority in the lower house, refused to grant the money asked, fearing the use to which the army might be put. Besides, they hoped to make use of the king's need in order to gain for parliament a greater share in the government. But to William the army was the most sacred institution of his monarchy. How could he allow mere representatives of the people to interfere in military matters? He therefore dissolved the obstinate assembly and ordered new elections, hoping to secure a more pliable parliament. But popular opinion in Prussia supported the liberals and they came back with a larger majority than before.[3]

At this point, when the king was baffled and ready to resign, Bismarck consented to take matters in hand. Defying parliament, he advised the king to collect what taxes he needed without its consent. This was done year after year, and the army was greatly strengthened. The Prussian people, long trained in habits of obedience, paid the money without open resistence, and the iron Bismarck was unmoved by the heated protests of the liberals. Thus the Prussians surrendered control over taxation and admitted that the royal power was not bound by the constitution except so far as the king chose to observe it.[4] After the great victories of the Prussian army over Austria, the liberals

quietly surrendered their principles and passed an act legalizing all that Bismarck had done. This triumph of Bismarck meant that the Prussian people, brought sharply to face the issue, proved willing to sacrifice the ideals of self-government for the sake of power and nationalism.

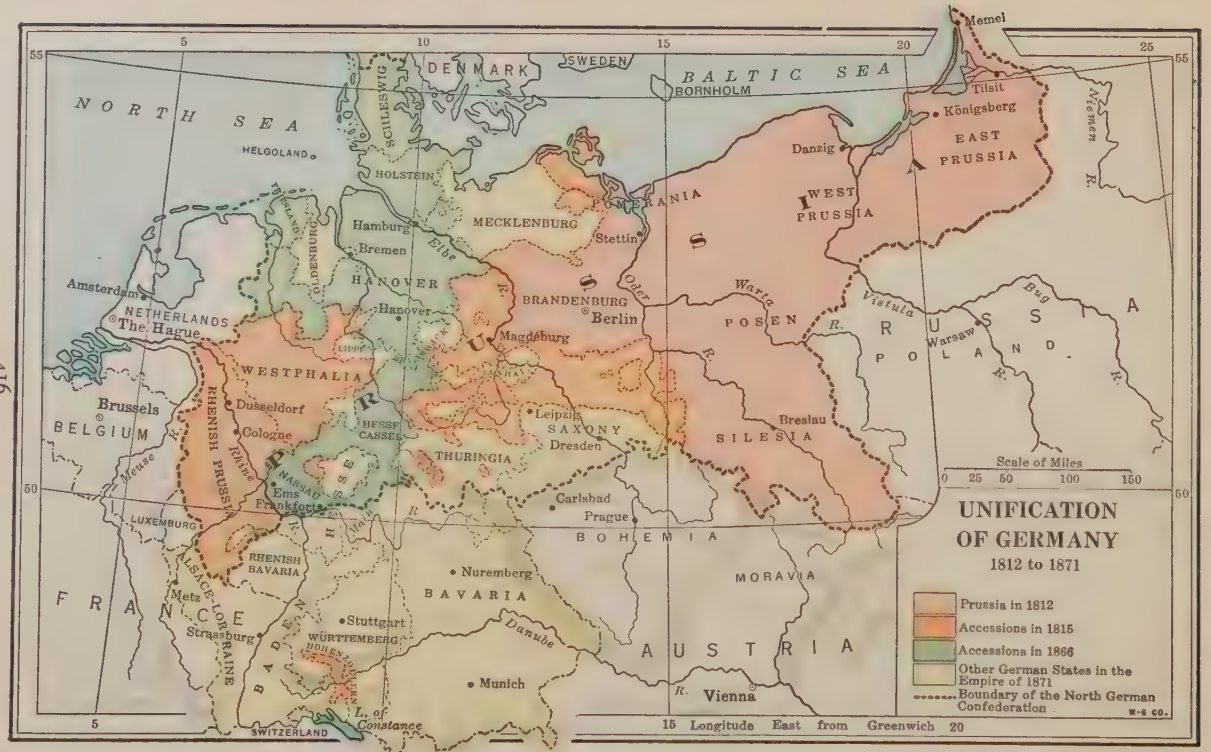
1. What are the objections to such a plan? 2. How were guns of older types loaded? 3. Remember right here how undemocratic Prussian elections were. What conclusions do you draw? 4. Why should not a king or a president have a veto upon the constitution as well as upon ordinary laws?

Bismarck Makes Friends with the Czar, 1863. — A year after Bismarck came to the rescue of his king, there broke out in Russian Poland a rebellion which excited lively sympathy throughout Europe.[1] The Great Powers threatened to intervene on behalf of the Poles, and public sentiment even in Prussia favored similar action. But Bismarck refused to be influenced by popular clamor. He had no sympathy with national movements except in Germany, and saw his opportunity now to gain the gratitude of the czar. So he let it be known that he would support Russia against any interference from outside.[2] Along the Polish border he stationed troops to drive back all rebels who attempted to escape, and thus assisted the czar to crush the rebellion. Nor was the czar ungrateful. Bismarck's reward was the firm support of Russia in his struggles with Austria and France which soon came on.

1. For what special reasons did a revolt of Poland arouse sympathy? 2. How did Napoleon III act at this crisis?

Bismarck Creates the German Empire

The War with Denmark. — Just south of Denmark lay the two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Although ruled by the Danish king, they did not form a part of the Danish realm. Most of the people of Holstein were German, as were many of those of Schleswig. In 1863 the Danish king decided to annex the two duchies. This aroused a great outburst of national feeling throughout Germany, for the German people felt that the merging of these sections with Denmark would be a crime against German nationalism.[1]


UNIFICATION OF GERMANY
1812 to 1871
Prussia in 1812
Accessions in 1815
Accessions in 1866
Other German States in the Empire of 1871
Boundary of the North German Confederation
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 100 150
15 Longitude East from Greenwich 20
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BORNHOLM
HELGOLAND
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
Bremen
HANOVER
Hanover
MECKLENBURG
Stettin
POMERANIA
Danzig
WEST PRUSSIA
Tilsit
Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
Memel
Niemen R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Warta R.
Vistula R.
Bug R.
Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
The Hague
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Magdeburg
POSEN
Warsaw
POLAND
RUSSIA
WESTPHALIA
Dusseldorf
Cologne
RHENISH PRUSSIA
Brussels
BELGIUM
Meuse R.
Rhine R.
HESSE CASSEL
Leipzig
SAXONY
Dresden
THURINGIA
Breslau
SILESIA
NASSAU
Ems
Frankfort
HESSE
Carlsbad
Prague
BOHEMIA
LUXEMBURG
RHENISH BAVARIA
Nuremberg
BAVARIA
MORAVIA
FRANCE
Metz
ALSACE-LORRAINE
Strassburg
BADEN
Stuttgart
WÜRTTEMBERG
HOHENZOLLERN
Danube R.
Munich
AUSTRIA
Vienna
L. of Constance
SWITZERLAND

Taking advantage of the excitement, Bismarck proposed that Austria and Prussia should unite in seizing the duchies and should hold them jointly until their final relation to the German Confederation could be decided. In making this proposal he had two objects in mind. One was to secure, ultimately, both Schleswig and Holstein for Prussia; the other was to draw Austria into a position where he could pick a quarrel with her when he felt ready to drive her out of the confederation.[2]

Austria, with her usual blundering and shortsightedness, consented to Bismarck's proposal. The two countries declared war on Denmark in 1864. That little kingdom was quickly defeated and forced to surrender the duchies, which were at once occupied by the two allies. Having thus won the first point, Bismarck sat down to plan the defeat of Austria.

1. What is meant by "a crime against nationalism"? 2. Why did Bismarck wish to drive Austria out of the confederation?

Bismarck Makes Sure of his Neighbors. — Before egging Austria on to fight, Bismarck aimed to make sure that she would have no outside assistance when the war came.

Austria's only possible allies against Prussia were Russia, Great Britain, France, and Italy. Russia caused Bismarck no worry. The czar would not forget Prussian support during the Polish insurrection. Great Britain could be counted on to stand aloof from the disputes of central Europe. With the newly formed kingdom of Italy, Bismarck made an active alliance, promising Austria's province of Venetia to King Victor Emmanuel in return for his assistance in the coming war.

But what would France do? Napoleon III secretly sympathized with the national aspirations of Germany, as he had with those of other lands; but French pride would not consent to the increase of Prussian power without the prospect of a corresponding increase in that of France. To overcome this difficulty, Bismarck worked a trick. Arranging a private interview with Napoleon, he led him to believe that Prussia was willing to let France annex some German territory on the west bank of the Rhine. The hope of such annexations kept Napoleon neutral.

Bismarck Conquers Austria in Seven Weeks' War (1866). — When all was ready, Bismarck proceeded in 1866 to provoke a quarrel with Austria. She and Prussia still occupied together the conquered duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, since every attempt to settle their relationship to the German Confederation had been blocked by Prussia. Bismarck now made this failure to agree an excuse for proposing a reorganization of the confederation from which Austria was to be entirely excluded. Since the prestige of the Hapsburg empire had so long rested on its leadership in German affairs, Bismarck's proposal was a direct challenge. Austria declared war, as was intended. In this move she was joined by most of the smaller German states from fear of the ambitions of Prussia.

The Prussian army, made over by King William and Bismarck and led by Von Moltke (môlt'kē), the greatest military genius since the first Napoleon, quickly showed its superiority. In a campaign of only seven weeks in the summer of 1866 the smaller German states were overrun and Austria was defeated. After the overthrow of her armies at the battle of Sadowa (sä'dô-vä) (or Königgrätz), she asked for peace and consented to all the conditions imposed by the triumphant Prussians.

Prussia is Recognized as Sole Leader of Germany. — After Sadowa the Prussian military leaders proposed to occupy Vienna and to annex large sections of Austrian territory. This Bismarck would not permit, preferring not to make Austria a bitter and permanent enemy. Therefore, in the Treaty of Prague he merely required her to pay a small indemnity, to give Venetia to Italy, to withdraw from the German Confederation, and to allow Prussia to unite Germany in her own way.

The Austrian allies in north Germany were not treated so gently. The king of Hanover was driven into exile and his entire kingdom annexed to Prussia. In addition, Prussia absorbed Schleswig, Holstein, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort. She was now far more powerful than all the other German states combined and could impose her will upon them as she saw fit.

For a time the south German states, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, were left to themselves. But Bismarck persuaded them to agree to a military alliance with north Germany. By revealing Napoleon III's ambition to annex the

An Inn in Miltenberg, Bavaria
Built in the sixteenth century.

left bank of the Rhine, he also aroused their fear of French aggression and secured their support for the next war he had in mind.

Bismarck Unites North Germany with Prussia. — The old confederation being now out of the way, Bismarck united the twenty-two states north of the river Main (mīn) into the North German Confederation under the presidency of Prussia. Since this federal union [1] was intended as the basis of a future German

Empire it was organized by Bismarck with the utmost care. In his plan were three central principles: the ultimate control of the league was to be in the hands of Prussia; her military system with its discipline was to be introduced among all its members; liberal sentiment was to be satisfied by some form of parliamentary government which would not seriously interfere with the control of the ruling classes.

All these principles were fixed by Bismarck in the formal constitution of the new confederation. The armed forces of North Germany were placed under the command of the king of Prussia, and compulsory military training was extended to the smaller states. The king of Prussia was to be hereditary president of the new confederation, with full executive authority, the power of appointing all federal officials, and the right to control foreign relationships.

The lawmaking power of the North German Confederation was assigned to a new parliament of two houses. The lower house, or Reichstag (rīĸs′täĸ), was elected by general manhood suffrage; the upper house, or Bundesrath (bo͝on′dĕs-rät), consisted of delegates appointed by the rulers of the various member states.[2] In this upper house Prussia was always to have seventeen members; to enable her to control its actions she would have to win but few followers from the other states. Since the Bundesrath prepared most of the business to be discussed in the lower house,[3] the whole action of parliament was in reality controlled by the Prussian government. Under such a plan the adoption of manhood suffrage for the lower house did not give much power to the people, and the Reichstag was little more than a debating society.[4] The German people, however, accepted this constitution and, on account of the success of the new government, learned to like the arrangement.

1. Define "federal union." 2. How was this a natural and logical plan? 3. Do "upper" houses generally prepare bills and other business for "lower" houses to act upon? 4. Think of other legislative assemblies you have learned about which were also debating societies.

Bismarck's French War Consummates Union (1871). — The next step in Bismarck's program was a war with Napoleon III

in order to sweep the southern German states into his Prussian-controlled union. By intrigues he inflamed the French into declaring war in 1870, as explained in Chapter XVI, and then called upon Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt to help, as agreed. The age-long hatred of France blazed up throughout the land. As in a holy crusade, all Germany joined in the invasion of the western neighbor. In a brief but bloody campaign Napoleon III was taken prisoner, France was overrun, and siege was laid to Paris.

In the midst of the national enthusiasm aroused by the German victories, while the French were still desperately defending their capital, the union of all the German states was completed. Bismarck negotiated with the rulers of the southern German states, who, not daring to oppose the sentiment of their people, accepted his terms. Certain concessions were made to the pride of the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, but in all important respects the constitution of the North German Confederation became the constitution of united Germany.[1]

In the new German Empire now proclaimed, the king of Prussia exchanged his title of president of the North German Confederation for that of German Emperor. But though the twenty-five states of Germany continued to control largely their own local affairs, Bismarck saw to it that Prussia retained the same predominence in the new empire that she had enjoyed in the recent confederation.

1. How long did this famous constitution last?

Lasting Effects of Bismarck's Methods. — The ceremonies that marked the completion of German unity took place in the famous old palace of Louis XIV at Versailles. There, on January 18, 1871, within hearing of the guns that were still bombarding Paris, the new empire was proclaimed. The time and place, the presence of the various German sovereigns and generals in their brilliant uniforms, lent a strikingly dramatic tone to the event and at the same time emphasized the rigorous methods by which it had been brought about. For German unity, though desired by a majority of the people, was not the result of popular votes

PROCLAMATION OF WILLIAM I AS GERMAN EMPEROR AT VERSAILLES, JANUARY, 1871
From the painting by Anton von Werner.

or of spontaneous uprisings, as in Italy. Rather, it was imposed upon the country by the military power of an absolute state directed by an absolute minister.

The empire never wholly lost the character thus given it. The German people were led to believe that war is a paying enterprise, and that force is the final argument in international affairs. Liberalism, which had been the inspiration of Germany's best leaders during the preceding decades, ceased to be a power in national life.

In Bismarck's program the final step was the crushing of a neighboring state. For this reason the French inevitably associated Bismarck's empire with their own defeat. Resentment against Germany was also kept alive by the conditions of peace, which compelled the surrender of Alsace and Lorraine, two loyal and devoted French provinces. When Bismarck violently annexed them to Germany, he embittered for generations to come the relations between the two neighboring countries.

Bismarck's Blood and Iron Speech

In discussing the need for the increased appropriations for the army in 1862, Bismarck said in a speech to the Prussian parliament: If the crisis could be met honorably, the government would gladly lend a hand. The great independence of individuals makes it difficult to govern with a constitution in Prussia. A constitutional crisis is no disgrace; it is an honor. We are, perhaps, too cultured to tolerate a constitution; we are too critical. Public opinion changes; the press is not public opinion; it is well known how the press is sustained. . . . Germany does not admire the liberalism of Prussia, but her power. Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden may indulge in liberalism, because they are not called upon to play the part of Prussia. Prussia must husband her strength for the favorable opportunity which has already been several times neglected; the frontiers of Prussia are not favorable to a good state constitution. The great questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and resolution of majorities — that was the blunder of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron!

Problem and Reference Work

1. Describe to the class the three-class system of voting in Prussia under the constitution of 1850. Use Priest's *Germany since 1740*, p. 98 and pp. 168 ff.; or P. Collier's *Germany and the Germans*, pp. 77 ff.

2. Tell the story of Bismarck's early life. Thayer's *Throne-Makers*, pp. 9–12; or Headlam's *Bismarck*, pp. 14–19.

3. Find a description of the Prussian junker class and of Bismarck as one of them. Headlam, pp. 6–8 and 22–29.

4. In the same book read about the setting of Bismarck's famous "blood and iron" speech, pp. 162–166.

5. Get a direct impression of important events treated in this chapter by using Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II: (*a*) Bismarck's own account of the Ems telegram incident, pp. 158 ff.; (*b*) The official account of the proclamation of the German Empire in 1871, pp. 163 ff.

6. Just how did the Zollverein make it easier for Bismarck to unify Germany? Think out your answer carefully.

7. Work out a comparison between Bismarck and Cavour, covering their early lives, their methods, their achievements, and their characters.

8. In what ways was the unification of Germany different from the process by which the American states were unified (1775–1789)?

9. Read another account of the struggle over the Prussian military system in the sixties. Hazen's *Europe since 1815*, pp. 247–256.

Reading List

Priest, G. M., *Germany since 1740*. A brief narrative, simple and impartial.

Headlam, J. W., *Bismarck*. A sympathetic biographical sketch.

Fueter, E., *World History*. Chapters 16 and 17 are of value here.

Hayes, C. J. H., *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II.

Schapiro, J. C., *Modern and Contemporary European History*, Ch. 9.

Smith, M., *Bismarck and German Unity*.

EMBLEM OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

The motto, under the ship of state, means "Live in freedom or die." The other French words mean "French Republic," "Liberty," "Equality."

CHAPTER XIX

THE FORTUNES OF FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

MODERN FRANCE HAS APPEARED FICKLE

Ten Revolutions within a Century. — During the eighty-one years from 1789 to 1870 France changed ten times from one kind of government to another. Early in the French Revolution the old Bourbon absolutism was turned into a constitutional monarchy. In 1792 this monarchy gave way to the first republic, which Napoleon changed to the consulate in 1799. The first empire was established in 1804. In 1814 the old Bourbon monarchy was restored, and was followed for a brief hundred days the next spring by the revival of the Napoleonic empire, which was again replaced after Waterloo by the Bourbon monarchy. In 1830 this was overthrown by a revolution which brought about the reign of Louis Philippe. The Revolution of 1848 created the second republic, which Louis Napoleon transformed in 1852

into the second empire. Finally, in 1870, when Napoleon III was overthrown, for the third time France became a republic.

To these revolutions must be added several other violent upheavals, such as the street fighting which threatened the Directory in 1795, the bloody struggles between the socialists and republicans in the June days of 1848, and the revolt of the Paris mob in 1871. No other country in Europe saw so many governments set up and pulled down during the nineteenth century.

Fickleness Not the Only Reason. — In the face of such a record, it is not strange that other peoples have often rated the French as fickle, unstable, and sadly lacking in capacity to govern themselves. Yet this judgment cannot be wholly right, for since 1875 no country has shown finer qualities of steadiness and self-control, both in defeat and in victory, than republican France. Evidently fickleness alone cannot account for the instability of French governments in the nineteenth century.

In truth, the frequent changes from 1789 to 1870 were due to special conditions. First of all, the forces of liberalism and conservatism, of progress and reaction, were for a century so evenly balanced that only a slight change of opinion was required to tip the scales one way or the other. No government had much chance of permanence until a distinct majority of Frenchmen had come to think alike on the character and form of government.

Moreover, it was a striking fact that all the revolutions of the century arose in Paris. This was because the political life of the country was centered in the capital, and, under the highly centralized French system, the national authorities controlled all local government throughout France. An insurrection in Paris, the erection of barricades in its streets, a sharp attack upon royal palace or representative assembly — these were sufficient to overturn one government and set up another. It was not until the rest of France turned upon Paris in 1871 and crushed its commune in the bloodiest street fighting of modern times, that the capital lost its grip upon the rest of the country.

Finally, many of the changes in government were not so sweeping as they seemed. The great mass of officials who collected

Keystone View Co.

AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF MODERN PARIS

An island in the river Seine, near the center of the city. Notice the bridges, and beyond, at the right, the cathedral of Notre Dame.

the taxes, enforced the laws, and carried on the everyday business of government were scarcely affected by the frequent revolutions. This meant that an insurrection in Paris, although changing the leadership in the government, did not interfere with the practical working of its machinery.

The Third Republic Makes a Dubious Beginning

Overthrow of Napoleon III Leads to a New Republic. — News of the battle of Sedan and of the capture of the emperor reached Paris on September 3, 1870. Next day an excited mob took possession of the city, declared the empire at an end, and proclaimed a republic. Without waiting to consult the rest of the country, they hastily set up a government of national defense. In the heroic but hopeless efforts of this government to drive out the German invaders, it received the hearty support of the whole nation, under the inspiration of the popular leader Léon Gambetta, who escaped from the besieged city in a balloon to rouse the provinces. The city of Paris stood a bombardment of almost one month and a siege of five months, refusing to surrender until all food was gone — even horseflesh, dogs, and rats — and the people had to starve or yield. All sacrifices were useless and with the surrender of the capital France surrendered.

The country conquered, Bismarck refused to make peace with either Louis Napoleon or the self-appointed leaders of the people. He would deal only with a government able to act for the whole nation. Therefore a national assembly was elected by universal manhood suffrage. Meeting at Bordeaux, it took up its first task, and accepted the harsh terms imposed by Bismarck in the Treaty of Frankfort; namely, the surrender of Alsace and Lorraine, the payment of a billion dollars indemnity, the military occupation of French soil until this sum was paid, and the triumphal parade of the German armies through the streets of Paris.[1] Peace being thus restored, the national assembly took over the temporary government of France until the country should decide upon a permanent constitution.

1. Comment on the picture on page 429.

Paris Fights France in a Desperate Civil War. — Even before the final peace with Germany was signed, the most violent insurrection of modern times broke out in Paris — the city against the nation. This outburst was due to various causes. In the first place, the people of the city, who had suffered so keenly and fought so desperately during the siege, felt they had afterwards been betrayed by the rest of the country. Their wrath was fierce, especially against the national assembly, which had agreed to the surrender of French territory instead of fighting to the last ditch as the Parisians had done. In the second place, the city was hotly democratic in sentiment,[1] and feared the conservative royalist tone of the new assembly. Paris, for its part, was determined to force a liberal republic upon the country in place of a monarchy. Finally, the jealousy, always felt more or less between the capital and the rest of the nation, suddenly blazed up in a combat merciless on both sides.

Discussing the Terms of Peace

Conference of Bismarck with Favre, French minister of foreign affairs, and Thiers, president of the French assembly. From a painting by Wagner.

Mindful of the influence of the city mobs during the Revolution of 1789,[2] the national assembly made Versailles the capital of the country. To this insult to Parisian pride was now added a very acute injury. During the siege the payment of rents and other debts had been suspended. Now, before business had again started up and while many of the people were still on the edge of starvation, the assembly at Versailles decreed that money payments must be resumed. Poor people were at once in despair. When the surrender of all their arms was demanded, the citizens of Paris seized control and defied the authority of the Versailles government.

Thereupon the national assembly resolved to crush once for all the dominance of the capital over the rest of the nation. Troops were summoned from the provinces, for two months Paris was again besieged, and after a final week of the most desperate street fighting the " Commune " was conquered. No quarter was shown on either side. In the last days of the struggle the communards [3] set fire to the city, destroyed many of the great public buildings, and murdered the more prominent sympathizers of the assembly whom they were holding as hostages. On the other side, the soldiers of the assembly shot down seventeen thousand prisoners in cold blood after the fighting was over, while more than eight thousand were afterward condemned to exile or prison.

Paris, now thoroughly cowed, never again was able to rule France. For eight years longer, Versailles remained the seat of the government. But in 1879, when all distrust had finally disappeared, Paris again became the capital.

1. Why? 2. How was that influence shown? 3. Define "communards."

The National Assembly Splits over the Choice of a King. — After subduing Paris, the assembly was ready to decide what kind of government to give France. Its members had been elected in the midst of the great crisis of the German war, not for their political views, but for their prominence in their home communities. Now it turned out that a great majority of them were out-and-out royalists. It was clear that France would

again become a monarchy in 1871 if the majority in the assembly could only agree upon a king and upon his powers. But that was just what they could not do. And the longer they quarreled among themselves, the more time the republicans had to convert the nation to their own views.

The monarchists of 1871 were divided about equally into Legitimists and Orleanists. The Legitimists believed in the divine right of kings. Their candidate for the throne was the Count of Chambord (shäN-bôr′), grandson of Charles X.[1]

The Orleanists were more liberal monarchists. They held that the nation had the right to form its own constitution and to choose its own king, who should owe his power not to God but to the people. For king they supported the Count of Paris, grandson and heir of Louis Philippe.

Since the two factions could not agree on either candidate nor on the power of the crown, they had to postpone a decision and allow the assembly to continue in power tentatively. As a compromise, they chose Thiers (tyâr), an able and experienced leader not definitely attached to any party, as president of a provisional republic.[2]

1. Why were they called Legitimists? 2. Learn all you can about Thiers, using a reference book.

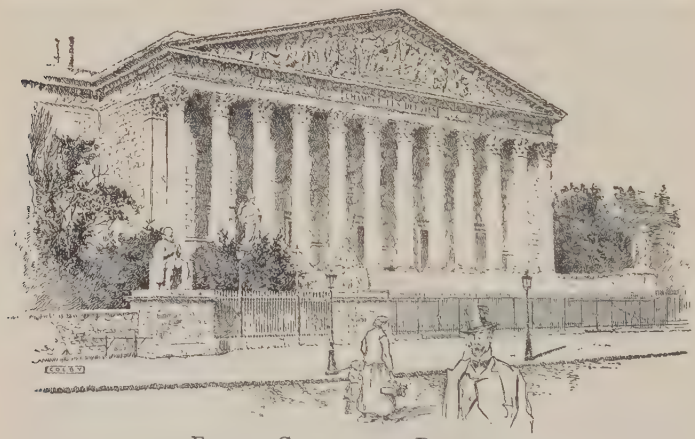
A White Flag Wrecks a Compromise. — Public sentiment in favor of a republic was strong and kept increasing. Seeing this, the monarchists grew alarmed and decided to settle their own differences by a compromise. Thiers, although very successful as president, was forced to resign in 1873 because he declared himself in favor of a republic. In his place was chosen an ardent royalist, Marshal MacMahon (mȧk-mȧ-ôN′), who was willing to resign on a moment's notice in favor of a king. Legitimists and Orleanists now agreed to accept the Count of Chambord as Henry V with the understanding that he should adopt the Count of Paris as his successor.

The problem seemed to be solved. The monarchy was about to be proclaimed, when suddenly the whole scheme was ruined by the stupid obstinacy of the Count of Chambord. Like so

many other Bourbons,[1] he was a man who "never learned anything and never forgot anything." Now he insisted that France must discard the glorious tricolor flag of the Revolution and adopt the white flag of the old monarchy, the symbol of absolutism. On no other condition would he give the French people the privilege of having him for their king. This was too much for the Orleanists, who were, after all, believers in constitutional government. The compromise was cut short. All that the Orleanists could do was to wait as patiently as they might for the death of the obstinate old Legitimist. Then, they hoped, both parties could unite on the Count of Paris.

1. What Bourbons are meant?

Monarchists Make a Republican Constitution. — Meanwhile, years were going by and the country had to have some regular government. So in 1875 the assembly, still monarchist in tone,



French Chamber of Deputies

adopted a series of constitutional laws. By a majority of only one vote it decided to call the head of the state "President of the Republic." The legislature was to consist of two houses, a Chamber of Deputies elected by manhood suffrage for four years and a Senate composed partly of life members [1] and partly of elective members to serve nine years. To direct the govern-

ment a cabinet system was adopted similar to that of Great Britain. The entire arrangement was such that a limited monarchy could be made merely by the substitution of a king for the president.[2] Such was the hope of the majority of the assembly. But the constitution thus adopted as a makeshift proved so satisfactory to the nation that it has remained, with slight changes, the government of France to the present day.

1. Is this still true? 2. What advantages in this system?

The Triumph of the Republic. — Between 1871 and 1875 the republicans, led by the energetic Léon Gambetta, had been carrying on throughout the country a vigorous campaign in favor of a permanent republic. The peasants and the lower middle classes were especially affected by this appeal, as was seen in the first election under the new constitution, when a strong republican majority was chosen for the Chamber of Deputies. For the time, however, the Senate remained royalist. But finally, in 1878, the elections overturned the monarchist majority in that body as well. MacMahon was forced to resign. In his place was chosen Jules Grévy (zhül grā-vē′), a man in sympathy with the new régime. The republicans had at last conquered the republic.

The Growth of Radical Democracy

The Main Issue. — When the French people had at last decided that a republic suited them best, they had next to decide the great question as to what sort of republic it should be. Should it be a conservative affair managed by the upper classes, or should it be entrusted to popular control? Was it better for the nation that its destinies be guided by a minority enjoying special privileges and a superior social position, or could the masses be trusted to decide intelligently what was best for the country as a whole? It was the same battle between aristocracy and democracy fought out in all the countries of Europe during the last hundred years. In France the victory has steadily inclined toward the democratic side.

The French Cabinet System. — We could understand French

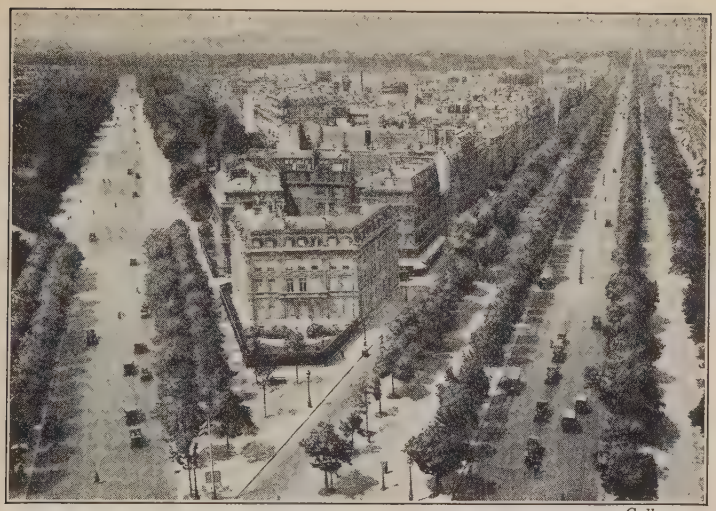
politics more easily if that country had been content to imitate England and the United States by having two great national parties. The French, however, have an annoying habit of doing things their own way and refuse to admit that the Anglo-Saxon peoples are always right in matters of government. So the French people are divided into a great number of small political groups, each with its own leaders and its own views on the questions of the day.

As the French say, however, every virtue has its defects; and the defect of the French party system is that it does not harmonize at all well with the cabinet system of government, which they borrowed from the English. In order to govern the country, a cabinet must have the support of a majority in the popular branch of the legislature. Since no one of the many French parties ever has such a majority, a cabinet can be formed only by a combination or coalition of several parties. Such combinations never last long. The leaders in a coalition agree on a few points and start off gaily enough to conduct the government. As soon as new questions arise, however, they are sure to disagree, part of the cabinet resigns, and the leaders of other groups take their places.

Thus cabinets come and go in rapid succession. Between 1871 and 1914 France was governed by fifty different ministries, while during the same period Great Britain had only nine changes of cabinet and the United States only six shifts between Republican and Democratic presidents.

Yet the government of France is not so changeable as it appears. No French cabinet ever is entirely new, since many of the old ministers hold over and form a part, often the larger part, of the new combination. Thus, a change in cabinets often means only a slight change in policy. As a matter of fact, few countries since 1875 have shown a steadier progress toward a definite goal than has France — and the goal toward which France has been traveling is radical democracy.

Right, Left, and Center. — Like French cabinets, French parties are not very stable. They split up or combine; their



Galloway

AVENUE OF THE BOIS DE BOULOGNE, PARIS

This beautiful boulevard (at the right in the picture) is named for the large park to which it leads.

membership varies; even their names are sometimes changed. All seems a meaningless confusion of party labels. But in the confusion can be seen a consistent, sure drift of public opinion. There has been under the present republic a slow but steady shifting of voters from the more conservative to the more radical groups — in the language of French politics, a shift from the Right to the Left. For the numerous parties are grouped into three general classes — the conservative groups, called the parties of the Right; the radical groups, called the parties of the Left; and, between them, more moderate parties, known as the Center. This classification as Right, Left, and Center in politics has come down from the days of the great Revolution and is usual in most Continental countries.

France Deeply Stirred by the Dreyfus Affair. — In 1894 a certain Captain Dreyfus (drā-füs′), condemned by a military court on the accusation of betraying to Germany important government secrets, was sentenced to banishment for life to an unhealth-

ful island off the coast of South America. The trial was secret and at first excited no special interest, as it was generally assumed that the officer was guilty. Two years later, however, evidence came to light indicating that a mistake had been made and that the condemned man was innocent. Certain public men then became interested and demanded a rehearing of the case. Immediately a great outcry arose.

Now, Dreyfus was a Jew, and for some time a bitter anti-Semitic campaign had been under way in France, led by violent newspapers. These at once threw themselves into the dispute, declaring it an act of treason to question the military court. They blindly asserted the guilt of Dreyfus and even pretended to see in the demand for a new trial a deep-laid plot of Jews, Protestants, freemasons, and foreign enemies of France, bent on discrediting the army and ruining the country.

The military authorities, too, refused to admit that they had made a mistake. They declined to reconsider the case, while the friends of Dreyfus, led by the novelist Zola, continued to insist on a revision. The honor of the army seemed to be at stake, and therefore the royalists, the clerical party, and most of the conservative elements rallied to its defense. The rabid nationalists denounced the defenders of Dreyfus as traitors willing to betray the nation and destroy its military power.

Many of the best minds of France, however, refused to be stampeded by popular clamor and insisted that all the evidence in the case should be brought to light and laid before the highest court of the land. To this view they won over most of the Radicals and Socialists as well as many moderates of the Center. Thus all political parties eventually became involved in the controversy. France was divided into two bitterly hostile camps, and what had begun as a simple question of the guilt or innocence of one man became a great fight for justice and human rights. On the one side were the conservatives, honest for the most part, but blinded by political and religious prejudice; on the other, the liberals demanding fair play and refusing to submit to the dictates of a clerical and military clique.

Gradually the facts in the Dreyfus case came to light. The conservatives were found to have a weak case, so weak, indeed, that some of their leaders committed forgery to bolster it up. When the false documents were exposed and the forger had confessed his guilt by committing suicide, the innocence of Dreyfus became clear. He was then acquitted, restored to his place in the army, and promoted.

Significance of the Dreyfus Episode. — The Dreyfus case had far-reaching effects. It had created the bitterest enmities between different sections of the French people. It had shown every one how close the sympathy was between the higher officers of the army and the clerical and royalist parties, thus emphasizing the danger of an alliance for the overthrow of democracy in France.

In the face of this danger, the parties of the Left sank their differences and drew together in a combination known as the "republican bloc," [1] made up of Radicals, Socialists, and many of the more liberal members of the Center. This coalition, led by such able men as Combes (kôNb), Clemenceau (klā-mäN-sō′), Millerand (mēl-räN′), and Briand (brē-äN′), was strong enough to secure control of the legislature in 1899 and for ten years continued to govern the country. Declaring their devotion to "the defense of the republic," they assailed the privileges enjoyed by the Catholic Church in France, which had up to this time been the main support and rallying point of the conservatives.

1. What is a bloc?

The French Church and the Clericals. — Through the Concordat of 1801 a close alliance had been established between the church and the state in France.[1] The lands of the church, confiscated during the Revolution, were not restored, but the state allowed the church to use all ecclesiastical buildings, and paid the salaries of the clergy from the public treasury. In return, the government had the right to nominate the French bishops. Through all the upheavals of the nineteenth century this Concordat remained in force, keeping the church and state united.

Most Frenchmen were Catholics, but the spokesmen and

leaders of the church formed a distinct party in society who sought to keep the influence of the church dominant in the government. These *clericals*,[2] as they were called, made the mistake of allying the church with the royalist party. They

MODERN FRANCE

opposed the Third Republic [3] from its very beginning so vehemently that Gambetta exclaimed, "Clericalism, that is our enemy." Even when the republic became firmly established, they accepted it only with reluctance. They would have been wise to follow the lead of the pope, who in 1892 urged all good

Frenchmen to accept the republic. Many prominent Catholics heeded this advice and joined the moderate parties of the Center, but the ardent clericals refused to be reconciled, and the Dreyfus affair showed how bitter and intolerant they still remained. Their reactionary attitude irritated the republican bloc,[4] not only against them, but also against the church itself.

1. Who made this Concordat? Why? 2. Distinguish between clericals and clergy. 3. Why? 4. Explain this.

The Republicans Attack the Monastic Orders. — The first law against the clericals, known as the Associations Act, was passed in 1901; it provided for the expulsion from the country of all religious orders which had not received formal authorization from the government. As most of the orders had failed to secure this permission, monks and nuns in large numbers were forced to leave France, and some ten thousand church schools were closed. In 1904 a second law provided that after another ten years no monk or nun, even of an authorized order, should be allowed to teach in any school, whether public or private.

Separation of Church and State. — The expulsion of the religious orders from France soon led to a complete separation of church and state. The Associations Act seemed like deliberate persecution to the clerical leaders. Especially did they resent the government's attempts to shut them out of the work of educating Catholic children. Their resentment led to further disputes.

Taking advantage of these additional causes of irritation, the French legislature, under the leadership of premier Combes and the staunch anti-Catholic Briand, passed in 1905 a law repealing the Concordat of 1801 and ending all official connection between the church and the state[1] — an action that was confirmed by a large majority in the next national election. Thus an alliance which had existed (except for a brief period during the Revolution) since the beginning of the nation's history was brought to an end. The government ceased to pay the salaries of the clergy,[2] while, on the other hand, it surrendered its right to nominate the bishops or to control in any way the action of

the clergy. Religious bodies in France became strictly private associations, as they are in our own country, while the state no longer had the right to interfere in matters purely religious.[3]

1. Mention, if you can, any other countries in which church and state are completely separated. 2. Had the government been paying salaries of other than Catholic clergymen? 3. What are the main arguments for and against the maintenance of established churches?

France Becomes Again a Great Power

The Return of Prosperity after 1870. — The defeat of the French in 1870 had no such disastrous effects on economic conditions as one might have expected. The war was so soon over that the resources of neither combatant were exhausted. France suffered not an economic defeat but a purely military one, and the sources of her wealth except Alsace and Lorraine remained undisturbed. Owing to this, prosperity returned rapidly. Declining a foreign loan, France was able to borrow from her own citizens the billion dollars for the indemnity to Germany. By 1873, two years before it became due, the obligation was paid in full and the German army of occupation was withdrawn from France.[1] French industries, interrupted but not shattered by the war, now took on an increased vigor so that the country was able to undertake at once a program for national defense.

1. Why had German soldiers remained in France until 1873?

France Copies the German Military System. — The Prussian system of universal military service by which the whole nation was trained in arms, had proved its decided superiority in three recent wars.[1] In self-protection the French now felt compelled to imitate it. By a law of 1872, therefore, they adopted the principle of universal military service. Recruits were to serve five years in the active army and to remain members of the reserves for another fifteen years. Liberal exemptions were granted, however, so that many young Frenchmen either escaped the army altogether or served for only one year with the colors. As part of the program of preparedness, vast sums were spent on equipment and on the fortification of the new frontiers along the borders of Alsace and Lorraine.

In 1889, after seventeen years, France felt herself strong enough to shorten the period of military service from five years to three. In 1905 this was further reduced to two years; but at the same time all exemptions were canceled and every Frenchman, physically capable, was obliged to undergo military training. In 1913, under the stress of new international rivalries, the term of service was again increased to three years.

1. Which ones were these?

France Builds a New Colonial Empire. — Another evidence of the revival of French national spirit is seen in the steady development of the French colonial empire after 1880.[1] Through all the changes in domestic politics and frequent shifts of cabinets, a definite policy of expansion outside of Europe was followed. On the overthrow of Napoleon III, the French colonies were only Algiers, a few scattered areas in West Africa, some unimportant islands, and a foothold in Cochin China. Since that time French African territory has grown into a vast empire, including most of northern and western Africa as far east as Tripoli and as far south as the Congo River, together with the large island of Madagascar off the eastern coast; while in Indo-China French territories have been greatly enlarged and consolidated. In this expansion the prime mover was Jules Ferry, who was twice premier in the eighties and who may justly be classed among great empire builders of modern times. By 1910 the area of French colonies had grown to more than four and a half million square miles, with a population of over forty million people.

1. When had France previously lost a colonial empire? How? Where?

French Industries Thrive under the Republic. — The government of the Third Republic eagerly stimulated the industrial life of the nation. In a marked degree prosperity in France is based on agriculture. This has received special attention. A system of high tariffs after 1892 [1] protected the raisers of wheat and sugar beets; bounties encouraged the raising of flax and hemp, the breeding of horses, and the development of the silk industry, while government grants assisted the vine growers

and sugar refiners. Coöperative societies among the farmers have been encouraged and land banks established for their benefit. In addition to the extension of railroads, some 125,000 miles of improved highways have been built, forming a network of roads throughout the country. Most important of all, perhaps, a large number of schools have been endowed for the scientific study of agriculture. Thus stimulated, the production of French farms was greatly increased and the value of the land [2] nearly doubled in the forty years, 1871–1911.

FRENCH PEASANT
Redrawn from a photograph.

During the same period, manufacturing increased at an even greater rate, the value of shop products being nearly three times as great in 1914 as it had been in 1871. One serious handicap, however, cramped French industrial expansion — a limited supply of coal and iron. France was not rich in minerals. Besides, since her chief deposits were located in Alsace and Lorraine, the seizure of these provinces by Germany gave her most important industrial resources to her rival. As the economic struggle of the European nations grew more intense after 1900, this loss was more and more keenly felt and played an important part in bringing on the World War.

1. How do protective tariffs protect industries? 2. What do you know about the size and the ownership of French farms?

France in 1914. — By 1914 France had fully recovered her position as one of the leading countries of the world. Her democratic government, having weathered the plots of monarchists and reactionaries, was firmly established in the affections of all the people. Her army, based on the Prussian system, was

in some respects even superior to its German model. Her colonial empire was second only to that of Great Britain. The country was rich and prosperous. French science, art, and literature in many departments led the world.

In only two respects did she need to fear her old rival across the Rhine. With each year, she was growing more dependent on Germany for coal and iron; and the population of France remained stationary while that of Germany went on increasing, thus making the latter more powerful with each generation.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Prepare a talk on the career of Gambetta, the leader in the early years of the Third Republic. Consult Hayes's *Modern Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 342–345, and also the index; or Wright's *Third French Republic*, index.

2. Treat likewise the career of Thiers. Use the index of Hayes.

3. Compare the Third Republic with the first and the second ones as to circumstances of origin.

4. Compare our president with the French president and the premier.

5. Compare thoroughly the present relation of church and state in England, France, and the United States.

6. In Bracq's *France under the Republic* read some of these: (*a*) Problems of the opening years of the Republic, pp. 1–6. (*b*) The growth of personal liberty under the Republic, pp. 17–24; (*c*) Education under the Republic, Chapter 4; (*d*) Contents of the Separation Act of 1905, pp. 292–296.

7. Read a supplementary account of the Dreyfus case in Davis's *History of France*, pp. 552–560, or Hazen's *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 80 ff.

8. In Davis's book find a brief vivid description of the siege of Paris, p. 510, and of the Communard War of 1871, pp. 514–516.

9. In Wendell's *France of To-day* read one of these: (*a*) The French family, Chapter 3; (*b*) Religion in France, Chapter 6.

10. Using Hazen's *Europe since 1815*, pp. 337 ff., learn how France paid off the heavy indemnity imposed by Bismarck.

Reading List

Davis, W. S., *A History of France* (1919). Brief and simple.

Hazen, C. D., *Fifty Years of Europe* (1919). Ch. 4 covers this field.

Bracq, J. C., *France under the Republic* (1916). Clearly anticlerical.

Guerard, A. L., *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century* (1914). Scholarly and advanced.

Wendell, B., *France of To-day* (1907). For mature readers.

Wright, C. H. C., *The Third French Republic*. A chronological narrative.

CHAPTER XX

THE GERMAN EMPIRE UNDER BISMARCK'S LEADERSHIP

How the German Empire was Governed

The Founder and Guide of the Empire. — Otto von Bismarck by his vision, his grim determination, and his "blood and iron" policy [1] had merged all of the German states into one empire. His methods stamped deeply upon this new empire the main characteristics it bore until it collapsed in 1918.

The outstanding traits of the German Empire were these: (1) It was a federal union, in which each of the twenty-five states — kingdoms, duchies, and principalities — retained some definite powers of its own, while the more important functions belonged to the imperial government. (2) Yet Prussia was by far the leading state, containing over half the population of the empire, and dominating the whole. (3) Though Bismarck gave to Germany a very definite written constitution of his own workmanship,[2] he carefully planned it so that the basic principle of government throughout the empire should be autocracy, not democracy. (4) He had given great prestige to Germany's efficient and apparently invincible military system.

Not only had Bismarck founded in 1871 an empire according to his own fancy, but he had also the fortune to guide that newly-made empire until 1890. For, during those two decades, the emperors left the direction of the government to the "Iron Chancellor."

1. Recall the origin of this expression to characterize Bismarck's methods.
2. For what union was this constitution first used?

Chief Parts of the Imperial System. — The chief parts of the imperial government were: (1) the emperor, or kaiser, who was always the king of Prussia; (2) the Bundesrath, or imperial council, consisting of representatives of the rulers of the various

states of the empire; (3) the Reichstag, or national assembly, elected by the voters of the empire in districts based originally upon population; (4) the chancellor, who was the direct adviser and minister of the emperor, responsible to him alone; (5) a uniform system of state courts, perfected in 1879, culminating in the Imperial Court at Leipzig.

THE STATES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The four kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg; the six grand duchies of Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxe-Weimar, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and Oldenburg; five duchies; seven principalities; the three free towns of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck; and the territory of Alsace-Lorraine. In several cases, one state consisted of two or more separated areas.

Why the Empire Was an Autocracy; the Bundesrath. — The very heart of Bismarck's plan of government was the Bundesrath. This council consisted of fifty-eight members (increased to sixty-one in 1911 by three from Alsace-Lorraine), distributed among the states roughly according to population. Thus, Prussia had seventeen members; Bavaria, six; and so on down to the smallest states with one member each.

These members represented, not the people, but only the rulers of the twenty-five states, and always voted exactly as those rulers directed. This meant that the emperor always had at his command at least seventeen votes. As the states of the empire were practically all autocracies in their own governments, a natural sympathy among the rulers generally furnished enough additional votes in the Bundesrath to give a majority to the plans of the emperor and his chancellor. Furthermore, the president of the Bundesrath was always the chancellor, who was the immediate adviser and servant of the kaiser.[1]

This kaiser-controlled Bundesrath was the real planning and directing force in the government of the empire. In secret sessions it shaped all bills for national legislation. These predigested [2] bills were then presented to the Reichstag, and backed by all the impetus and prestige of the combined royalties of the empire. Moreover, even in the Reichstag the chancellor and other members of this imperial council might make speeches and help push their proposals.[3]

1. Is it usual to have an active and powerful executive officer as president of a legislative body? Give an answer with reasons. 2. How were they "predigested"? 3. Do our senators have this power over the House of Representatives?

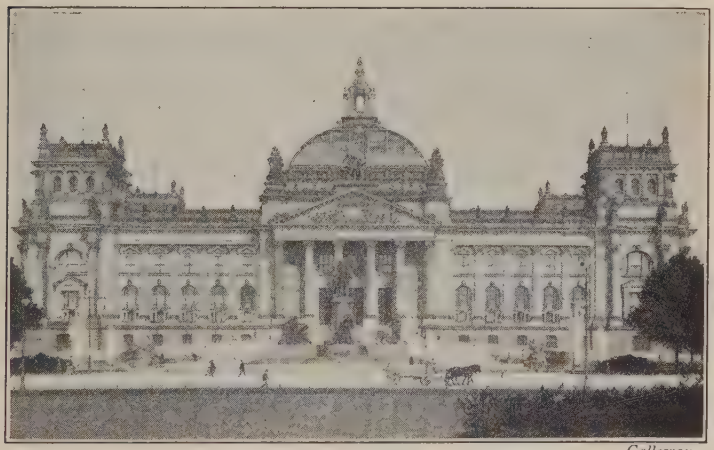
The Reichstag, Bismarck's "Debating Society." — Bismarck's only reason for creating the Reichstag was to make his system more acceptable to the German people by giving it an appearance of democracy.[1] In electing the Reichstag, practically all German men over twenty-five could vote. That looked much like democracy. Yet, although all national legislation and all new national taxes required the consent of this popular body, its real power in the government was very slight.

There was no cabinet system, as in Great Britain and in many other countries which have imitated her form of democracy. Such a cabinet system would have made the chancellor responsible to the Reichstag.[2] But in Germany the chancellor was responsible only to the kaiser; and the kaiser, under the "divine right" theory, was responsible to his own conscience alone.[3] Neither Bundesrath, nor kaiser, nor chancellor, was in

the least responsible to the Reichstag, or to the German people. In lawmaking the Bundesrath, guided by the chancellor, directed; while the Reichstag merely discussed and ratified.

1. Since he hated democracy, why did he do even this? 2. Why would it? 3. State the principle of "divine right of kings."

The Kaiser, or Emperor, and his Chancellor. — The king of Prussia was *ex officio* kaiser. Now, Prussia herself included



Galloway

HALL OF THE IMPERIAL DIET, BERLIN
Meeting place of the Reichstag.

about sixty-three per cent of the empire. Under her long line of "divine-right" Hohenzollern kings, Prussia had become well steeped in autocracy, and though a constitution had been granted in 1850, royal power had not suffered thereby. All government ministers were completely subject to the king. The Prussian crown was responsible to no one. There was a legislative assembly; but as the elections were controlled by the wealthiest voters,[1] this assembly was very likely to see things in the same way as the king did. So in the great state of Prussia, power almost supreme lay with the German kaiser.

To assist the kaiser in running the government of the empire there was only one direct adviser, the chancellor, who was also

Iron Works
Developed under Prussian rule.

head of the ministry of the kingdom of Prussia. As chief executive of the empire, the kaiser through the chancellor directed the workings of government machinery. Over army and navy the kaiser was direct and supreme lord. Foreign relations were likewise under his control.

As monarch of Prussia, as master of the Bundesrath through his chancellor, as irresponsible head of the empire, the kaiser wielded a power far beyond that of most modern rulers.

1. How were the wealthiest voters able to control elections?

Separate German States also Autocracies. — Divine-right absolutism, only slightly checked by a constitution, prevailed in Prussia, as we have seen. The same principle prevailed, too, in practically all of the other state governments of the empire under their kings, grand dukes, or other rulers. Although nearly all of the states were finally granted constitutions, until 1914 Bavaria was alone in employing the cabinet system.

AT ESSEN, GERMANY
From a recent photograph.

Why the German People Accepted Autocracy. — Several reasons explain why the intelligent people of modern Germany accepted (until 1918) Bismarck's plan of government, heavily weighted as it was with absolutism. One main reason was that a firm combination of militarism and autocracy had produced amazing results. Between 1862 and 1871 Bismarck had accomplished these things: (1) He had united Germany into one powerful empire, in sharp contrast to the miserable failure of the German liberals' efforts to unify the Fatherland in 1848.[1] (2) By the suddenness and completeness of his victories in the wars of 1866 and 1870 [2] he had raised the new Germany to an almost dizzy height of power in Europe. (3) He had routed the opponents of his high-handed methods — the German liberals — by the very successes he had achieved. Indeed, in 1866 the Prussian assembly, which had vigorously fought against Bismarck's illegal increases of the Prussian standing

armies, heartily voted to forgive him because these armies had so completely crushed Austria. Thus Bismarck's "blood and iron" policy won against foreign foes, and captivated as well the German people.

Again, the great sources of thought and of inspiration in German life were dominated by a spirit of loyalty to the new imperial system. There was the established state church of Prussia, long closely allied with the Hohenzollerns. There were the German universities and the German school system, much colored by government control, and teaching loyalty to the existing régime. There was the close supervision by the government over such molders of sentiment as the press, public meetings, associations, and the like. Public opinion, thus directed, enthusiastically supported the government.

The autocratic system was endurable, also, because it conferred real benefits upon the people of Germany. The country was orderly and peaceful. The government was honest and efficient, even though it was strict and was managed in the interest of favored classes.[3] Business prosperity and business expansion were greatly promoted by the imperial government. German cities were well and honestly ruled, and there was little real poverty.

For these reasons, as well as many others, the German nation accepted the autocracy fastened upon it by Bismarck, and supported the imperial system with remarkable devotion.

1. What "miserable failure" is meant? 2. What wars were these? 3. Are autocracies generally honest and efficient? Are democracies?

The Iron Chancellor as Pilot (1871–1890)

Bismarck Tries to Unify and Prussianize the Empire. — After uniting Germany, Bismarck, as imperial chancellor, practically ruled the new empire until 1890. One part of his program during those years was to standardize the nation and to increase the power of the central government. Thus, the Prussian military system was extended to all the other German states. The courts were made uniform throughout the empire, and in

1879 an Imperial Supreme Court at Leipzig was created. The great Imperial Bank was established in 1876. Work was begun on a uniform code of laws — a task finally completed in 1900.

Bismarck thought that the alien peoples within the empire should become Germans, preferably Prussians. Therefore, he tried to make Prussians out of the Poles in the eastern provinces[1] by insisting that their children learn the German language.[2] In Alsace-Lorraine he and his successors tried, likewise, to prevent the use of the French tongue and to Germanize the newly gained subjects in that region. In both provinces, not loyalty but lasting bitterness and resentment were the results.

Bismarck Memorial at Cologne

1. Why were these Poles within Prussia at all? 2. How would *you* "make Prussians out of Poles"?

Bismarck Quarrels with the Catholic Church. — In his zeal to prevent any rival power from conflicting with the influence of the government, Bismarck, in the seventies, got into a bitter conflict with the Catholic Church.

In 1870 the high officials of the Catholic Church held at Rome a famous conference, known as the Vatican Council. Most widely noted of the acts of this council was one indorsing belief in the infallibility of the pope in his official rulings in matters

of faith or morals. In Germany, as elsewhere, some of the Catholic bishops and clergy refused for a time to accept this doctrine. In Prussia, Bismarck declined to discipline nonconforming priests [1] holding positions of influence, when urged to do so by the orthodox [2] Catholic leaders. Instead, he began a crusade of his own against the main body of the Catholic clergy who were supporting the papal position, on the ground that the increased authority of the pope might be a menace to royal power in Prussia and in other parts of Germany.

Through Bismarck's influence drastic laws were now passed, partly imperial acts, but mostly state laws within Prussia.[3] These laws aimed to keep the training and appointment of Catholic priests under government supervision, and to prevent teaching by Catholic orders, such as the Jesuits. When the great bulk of the Catholic clergy refused to comply, penalties such as fines and exile were applied to the disobedient.

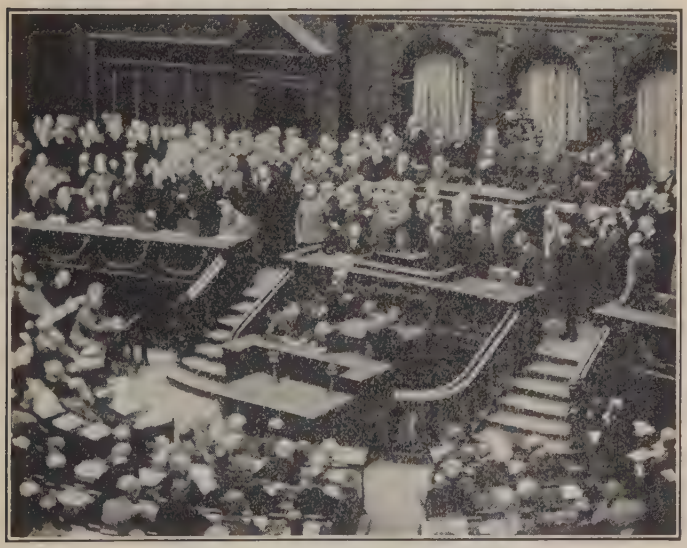
All was vain, however. Throughout the empire, the supporters of the pope stood together, and also began to vote together at elections, so that a regular Catholic political party, the Center, grew rapidly in strength. This clerical party, like the clerical parties elsewhere, steadily tried to uphold the influence of the Catholic clergy and the pope. In the eighties Bismarck abandoned the fight. Gradually the anticlerical laws were weakened and then repealed, but the significant thing is that the Center has continued, even to the present day, as one of the leading political parties in Germany. Such was the outcome of the "Kulturkampf" (kŏŏl-tōōr'kämpf), the conflict of the German Catholics with Bismarck.

1. What is the meaning of "nonconforming"? 2. Explain what "orthodox" means here. 3. How did Bismarck happen to be able to shape legislation in both Prussia and the empire?

Bismarck's Crusade against Socialism. — Scarcely had Bismarck abandoned his unsuccessful quarrel with the Catholic Church before he was pitting the power of the government against the socialists. In fact, one reason for dropping the church dispute was to be able better to combat the increasing influence

of socialism in Germany; for it was evident in the seventies that socialistic ideas were speedily gaining ground among German workingmen and liberals. The chief reason for the spirit of discontent was this: business in Germany was booming in those years; but the benefits were unevenly distributed, and the cost of living was mounting.

The agitation in those years was much broader than the word "socialism" suggests. True, many of the discontented were



The Reichstag in Session

thoroughgoing socialists,[1] hoping to bring about the public ownership and operation of all kinds of business. Like most other socialists, they also advocated the ending of compulsory military training and of large standing armies. They were champions, too, of thorough democratization of the German government. Multitudes who were not eager at all for the socialistic part of this program were strong backers of the opposition to militarism and autocracy.

Well might Bismarck be alarmed when successive elections

showed an increasing socialist representation in the Reichstag.[2] He abhorred real socialism, and here were the socialists and their liberal allies trying to undermine the very system of militarism and autocracy upon which the empire rested. Therefore, beginning in 1878, Bismarck secured the passage of severe imperial laws [3] forbidding socialistic agitation through books, papers, or public meetings. The government's power of censorship and supervision over personal activities was far more sweeping in Germany than with us, and now Bismarck was using this power closely and severely to silence the agitators. The repressive laws were rigorously applied, and remained in force until Bismarck's lease of power ended in 1890.

The socialist party, in spite of repression, became, like the Center, a compact political force, and, when the anti-socialist laws were dropped by the new emperor, William II, after Bismarck's fall, the party continued to grow until, when the World War broke out, it was the strongest one in the Reichstag.[4]

This was a party devoted to democracy, however, even more than to real socialism. It opposed the militaristic system of the empire. It favored making the powerful chancellor responsible to the Reichstag rather than to the emperor. It stood for a fresh division of the population for representation in the Reichstag, to coincide with the very rapid growth of German cities in recent decades. Thus the party which passed as socialistic was a near approach to a democratic or liberal movement in the years between 1871 and the outbreak of the World War.

1. Of what leader were thoroughgoing socialists disciples? 2. Could laborers vote for members of the Reichstag? 3. Just how were German imperial laws made? 4. What is the standing of socialists in the Reichstag to-day?

Bismarck's State Socialism. — Partly to "take the wind out of the sails" of the socialist agitators, Bismarck, in the eighties, put through a program of his own, planned especially to benefit and safeguard the laboring classes. Hours of labor for women and children in industry were limited by law. Conditions under which people worked in factories and other industrial plants were regulated in the interest of health and morality.[1] Insurance of

workingmen was provided by the government against accidents in industry, against sickness, and against want in old age. The expense of this plan of protection was borne partly by the insured workmen, partly by the employers, partly by the government. This program of social welfare for laborers is what is known as Bismarck's " State Socialism." Of course, it was not

By Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

UNTER DEN LINDEN STREET, BERLIN

Victoria Café, a meeting place for politicians.

really socialism at all, because socialism calls for the public ownership and operation of business enterprises. Bismarck's plan was a substitute for socialism and was meant to remove the workingmen's discontent by conferring benefits upon them.

In this program of benevolent legislation for the workers, Bismarck was an innovator, trying out devices which succeeded and which came to be imitated widely in other lands, notably France, Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, and later, America. Although Bismarck did not invent these ideas, he should be given due credit for his broad vision and for his achievements. He was a far-sighted statesman in that he ventured to tackle squarely the vast social problems arising from the modern age of machinery.

In the main, Bismarck's program for safeguarding the laborers worked well. It helped much in giving to Germany a great class of fairly contented workers, but it did not stop the agitation of the socialists for greater democracy in government and for greater control by labor in industry.

1. Was the modern factory system old or recently grown in the Germany of Bismarck's day?

Bismarck Gives German Business a Protective Tariff. — A cardinal principle with Bismarck was to make and to keep German business prosperous. This desired prosperity in Germany received a big impetus from the payment of the great French indemnity between 1871 and 1873.[1] Then from his study of conditions in other countries, especially in America, Bismarck came to the conclusion that a protective tariff [2] would be a bulwark of the widening activities of German business men.[3]

In 1879, therefore, a law was made which definitely committed Germany to the plan of a protective tariff. Within fifteen years from that time the same idea came into use generally in other lands — Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, France, as well as many other countries.[4] The United States, too, in 1890 and 1897 [5] adopted her highest protective tariffs.

As for Germany, Bismarck's policy of protection, gradually extended and increased in later years, accomplished its purpose. It kept German manufactures and German world-wide trade growing by leaps and bounds until the opening of the World War. As in America during the same period, this growth was marked by a striking development of enormous business corporations such as the Krupp Iron Works and the North German Lloyd Steamship Company.

1. How large was that indemnity? How soon was it paid off? 2. Explain just what a protective tariff is. 3. What did he notice in America to influence his opinion? 4. In what other policy of Bismarck's was France then imitating Germany? 5. What were the names of these two famous American tariff laws?

Bismarck Builds a Colonial Empire. — Prior to 1884, Bismarck had insisted that Germany needed no colonies. In settling with France, for instance, after conquering her in 1870–1871,

Bismarck had refused to accept Algeria as a German colony in place of Alsace-Lorraine. But in the early eighties other powers began to acquire new colonies, especially in Africa. At this time German industry was rapidly expanding, and so needed increased opportunities for trade abroad. These facts converted Bismarck into a colonial expansionist.

Even before Bismarck entered the race for colonies, energetic individual Germans had been busy in unclaimed parts of Africa and in some Pacific islands, doing missionary work or making agreements with native chiefs permitting trade. Beginning in 1884, Bismarck gave government backing to these ventures, and began to claim for Germany some of the regions partly blocked out by private initiative. Soon a German colonial empire arose, consisting of Southwest Africa, German East Africa, Togoland, Kamerun, and various islands in the far Pacific. Bismarck and his successors were also suspected of having designs upon parts of South America, where, however, the Monroe Doctrine stood in the way.[1]

As a colonizing power, Germany began late and never had great success. The new colonies were not attractive to those German people who were looking for a fresh start in life away from the crowded homeland. These emigrants sought their new homes, not in the German colonies, but mainly in the United States, Brazil, and Chile.

1. How did it stand in the way?

Bismarck Increases the Influence of Germany. — Having made Germany a united and powerful nation, Bismarck aimed to maintain and increase her influence among the powers. In this, too, he had marked success. At the famous Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bismarck and Disraeli (dĭz-rā′lĭ) of Great Britain were the leaders in rescuing Turkey from the defeat recently inflicted upon her by Russia. By various diplomatic moves Bismarck succeeded, as long as he guided Germany, in keeping France friendless among the European powers. In 1879 he made a defensive alliance with Austria. By the addition of Italy in 1882, this became the famous Triple Alliance, which we shall

meet again. With the two other great powers, Russia and Great Britain, Bismarck kept Germany on friendly terms.

Germany Without the Old Pilot

Emperor William II Drops his Pilot. — Bismarck had enjoyed the complete confidence of his official master, William I,

William II and the Death's Head Hussars. Painting of 1908.

throughout all the history-making moves by which he had built up the German Empire and guided its policies. But in 1888 this master died, his son Frederick survived him only three months, and then his grandson, at the age of twenty-nine, succeeded to the thrones of Prussia and the empire, as William II.

William II had exalted ideas of his position as king and emperor. To him the belief in the divine right of kings was a

conviction as deep as it had been to the Stuart kings of England [1] or to the Bourbon kings of France.[2] On such autocratic principles, William II ruled Germany until he was overthrown at the close of the World War in 1918.

DROPPING THE PILOT
A cartoon from *Punch*, March, 1890.

Naturally, a man who was as forceful, domineering, and accustomed to rule as Bismarck had been for twenty-six momentous years, could not long serve under this new master. The two differed over the policy toward the socialists, for the emperor favored more moderation than the chancellor. Furthermore, the emperor wished subordinate ministers in the imperial government to be responsible to him directly, whereas they had previously taken their orders from the chancellor. After an open quarrel, the young emperor in 1890 dismissed his lion-like old chancellor.

1. What caused the English Revolution of 1688? What were its deep results? 2. What Bourbon kings have you studied?

William II and his Advisers Guide Germany until the World War. — After dropping the pilot, the kaiser was the responsible guide of the destinies of the German Empire for twenty-eight years. He was self-assertive, spectacular, emotional — of far

different mold from the great Bismarck. Though boasting often of his irresponsible authority, he was, in fact, much influenced by his advisers. These advisers were military and naval officers; Prussian nobles of the aristocratic and conservative sort, known as Junkers; and German captains of industry and finance.[1] This group of men, together with Emperor William II, generally known abroad as " the Kaiser," continued in a large degree the program of Bismarck. The plan of imperial government through kaiser, Bundesrath, chancellor, and Reichstag was continued unchanged. German industrial and commercial development increased amazingly, fostered by the generous protective tariff. " Made in Germany " became a well-known mark on multitudes of wares the world over. Aided by government subsidies,[2] German-owned shipping on all the seas moved toward a leading place, excelled only by the British. Toward the laboring classes, the generosity of Bismarck was continued, until emigration from Germany almost ceased.

Vigorous efforts were made to develop the scrawny German colonies and with some promise of ultimate success. The military system of Bismarck — compulsory training for all young men, large standing armies, and great bodies of trained men in reserve — was continued and even enlarged. Germany began to rival Britain's power on the sea by building a magnificent navy of the newest types of warships. Among the powers, Germany demanded increasing recognition as the leader of the Continent, and as a force not to be lightly disregarded anywhere in the world. Within Germany, all efforts to democratize the imperial government — to create anything like responsible government (cabinet system) or to make the Reichstag a more effective enforcer of public opinion — were uniformly negatived.

Such was the German Empire in the opening years of the twentieth century. The character of the Germany that Bismarck had made and that his successors continued had a great deal to do, as will appear later, with causing the World War.

1. Note carefully the groups in this ruling class. 2. What are ship subsidies? Do we use them in America?

Problem and Reference Work

1. Compare the German Bundesrath with the American Senate, showing resemblances and differences.

2. Compare the German chancellor (before 1918) with the British prime minister.

3. Was Germany under the régime of Bismarck an argument for democracy, or against it? How? Work this out thoughtfully.

4. Using Thayer's *Throne-Makers*, pp. 35–43, form a clearer impression of the character of Bismarck.

5. Read Headlam's full account of Bismarck's break with William II in 1890, pp. 452–462, and report to the class.

6. Read pointed comments on Berlin and its people before 1914, written by an American. P. Collier's *Germany and the Germans*, pp. 211–228.

7. Give a five-minute talk on the position of woman in German life before 1914. Collier, pp. 338 ff.

8. For the rapid industrialization of Germany, use Priest's *Germany since 1740*, pp. 128 ff. and 146–151.

9. In Davis's *Roots of the War*, pp. 90–97, read a good description of the Congress of Berlin (1878).

10. Now form your own estimate of Bismarck, writing out favorable and unfavorable conclusions about him as a man, and as a statesman.

Reading List

Priest, G. M., *Germany since 1740*. Good on Germany under Bismarck and under William II.

Davis, W. S., *The Roots of the War*. Good treatment of the Russo-Turkish War and the Congress of Berlin.

Thayer, W. R., *Throne-Makers*. Contains an excellent sketch of the career of Bismarck.

Headlam, J. W., *Bismarck*. A sympathetic treatment of the life of Bismarck, written by an Englishman.

Collier, P., *Germany and the Germans* (1913). A spirited journalistic sketch, full of outspoken impressions both favorable and hostile. Chs. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 are the most useful.

Hazen, C. D., *Europe since 1815*, old ed., Ch. 14; enlarged ed., Vol. I, Chs. 15, 16, 17.

TOWER GATE OF WINDSOR CASTLE
One of the residences of the king of England.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN GREAT BRITAIN

ENGLAND MAKES PROGRESS BY EVOLUTION, NOT REVOLUTION

During the nineteenth century Great Britain was moving toward democracy along her own road. She went through no revolutions. The same royal family held the throne in peaceful succession. The orderly government of the country was upset by no insurrections or violence. During the century, however, England advanced from a narrow oligarchy [1] to democracy through a slow, steady process. This progress was not free from bitter struggles; but the issues were all finally settled by voting rather than by fighting.[2]

This peaceful transformation of England was due to various causes. In the first place, the English people were willing to compromise [3] and so the changes came gradually. Whenever reformers were not able to carry through their entire program at one time, they accepted less in the hope of gaining more later; while the privileged classes in England, for their part, never tried

to recover by violence what they had lost. This fairly graceful acquiescence in the loss of old privileges was one of the chief differences between the upper classes of England and those of the Continent. While the latter refused to surrender their worn-out privileges except after bitter fighting, the English aristocracy displayed the national characteristics by yielding without an open display of force.

Since the country was an island with a navy strong enough to beat off foreign invasion, no great military system was ever adopted, nor was the military class allowed to dominate the government. In Great Britain army officers had little influence in either political or social life, while in France or Germany they were felt to hold the safety of the state in their hands. Freedom from any such military control left the people of England free to settle differences of opinion by discussion and vote rather than by military repression or armed revolution.[4]

Again, England escaped violent revolutions because her people were already comparatively free. Even though the England of 1815 was governed by a small aristocracy, the rule of this group was not so oppressive as that of the governments on the Continent in the age of Metternich. Englishmen were freer to express their opinions and to bring pressure to bear on their rulers. Class distinctions, too, in England were not rigid enough to prevent men from rising out of their own class to some other. This was especially true during the Industrial Revolution, when many opportunities for advancement arose for men of energy and ability. Thus, economic opportunity as well as absence of the worst forms of oppression, helped to lessen the bitterness of political struggles in England.

1. Define "oligarchy." 2. Distinguish between revolution and evolution. 3. Read Chapter 3 — "A Land of Compromise" — in P. Collier's *England and the English*. 4. Is America a land of evolution or revolution?

What England was Like in 1815

The Crown Loses All but its Glitter. — At the close of the Napoleonic wars the control of affairs in England still lay as in the preceding century with a small number of families.

This governing aristocracy was in one way even more powerful than a generation before, because the crown had grown weaker. George III (1760–1820) attempted in the earlier part of his reign to restore the king's influence,[1] but the loss of the American colonies ruined his plans.[2] George IV (1820–1830) was an utterly depraved and worthless person, despised by all right-thinking Englishmen. His brother William IV, who succeeded him (1830–1837), was more respectable, but stupid and eccentric. It was not until Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837 that the monarchy again became popular. This was due to her simple and upright character and to her wisdom in leaving public affairs largely to her ministers. Since that time the crown has remained almost powerless in government, although continuing its glittering social leadership.[3]

QUEEN VICTORIA AT THE TIME OF HER CORONATION

1. How did he attempt to do this? 2. Why did the loss of the colonies ruin his plans? 3. Of what value is an ornamental head of a government?

A Representative Parliament Ceases to Represent. — When the English parliament first came into existence, it represented reasonably well the interests of all important classes. The House of Lords, composed chiefly of hereditary nobles, or "peers," represented the great landowners. The House of Commons represented the smaller landowners of the country districts, who elected two members for each county. It also represented the artisans and tradesmen of the towns who chose two members for each important town, or "borough." The peasants and common workmen, however, were not considered important enough for any direct representation.

Since the time of the Stuart kings [1] no changes had been made in this system and parliament in theory still represented the most important groups in the nation. But the economic life of the country had meanwhile been so changed that by 1800 this theory no longer held true. While the House of Lords continued as before to be made up of the great landowning nobility, the House of Commons long before 1800 had ceased to represent in any fair way the other classes of society.

That had come about in this way. The Industrial Revolution had reduced the importance of farming and had made manufacture and commerce England's leading industries. Since the small farm owners had largely disappeared and since their land had been absorbed into the great estates of the nobles, these nobles now controlled in most regions the election of the county members of the lower house.

A similar change had occurred in the boroughs. The factory system caused a great shift in population from the south to the north of England, where coal, iron, and water power led to the growth of large cities. But these new centers of industry had as yet no share in parliament,[2] because no changes had been made in the old list of places entitled to membership. On the other hand, many of the old towns on the list had fallen into decay, some becoming mere villages, others disappearing altogether.[3] In the towns which still survived, the election was in the hands of a small group of "burgesses" who were easily influenced by the nobles of the neighborhood. Therefore, the great families who made up the House of Lords also selected the majority of the members of the Commons. This meant that the entire government was in the hands of this small group, while the great mass of Englishmen, the business men as well as the workingmen, had very little part in political life.

A few figures will indicate how small a part the people played in their own government. The population of Great Britain and Ireland in 1815 was about 16,000,000. Of these, only 160,000 could vote for members of parliament. In 1816 it was estimated that 487 of the 658 members of the House of Commons were

appointed without any real election. Of the 513 members from England and Wales, 197 were returned by boroughs with less than 100 voters each.

Such figures show how far parliament was from representing the whole country. The members of the House of Lords, through family connections, social influence, ownership of land, and even open bribery,[4] practically chose the House of Commons and thus controlled the whole governmental machinery.

1. When did the Stuart kings reign? For what are they famous? 2. Name four of those new industrial centers. 3. Why were these called "rotten boroughs"? 4. Why was bribery easy? Give two or three reasons.

Community Government also Undemocratic. — In the local government of town and county the people had no more voice than in the election of parliament. The incorporated towns were ruled by small groups of men known as "corporations." The corporation was not elected. Instead, its members were appointed for life and chose their own successors. In the hands of these little oligarchies the government of British towns was corrupt and inefficient, while the main body of the citizens had no power to interfere.

Outside the old chartered towns, in the new cities as well as in the country districts, local government was in the hands of the justices of the peace, who kept order, conducted criminal trials, and fixed the amount of taxes for local purposes. These officials were not elected, but when a vacancy occurred, the government filled the place by appointing a man suggested by the other justices of the county. Thus the justices of the peace really chose their colleagues from men of their own class, which consisted of the important landowners of the county. All together, the government of England was a tight little system in which a few hundred wealthy families managed both national and local affairs.

England Really a Plutocracy in 1815. — Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century England was controlled by the wealthy classes. Such a form of government is known as a plutocracy. The landed aristocracy controlled the government.

A Riotous Parliamentary Election in London, 1804. From an engraving by Gillray.

The wealthy manufacturers and rich merchants controlled industry. The lower middle class had no influence in public affairs, while the laborers had no political rights or other means of protecting themselves against the power of their employers. In neither theory nor practice was the English system democratic. Yet during the next hundred years the government was peacefully transformed from the narrow oligarchy above described into one of the most complete democracies of our day. Let us examine briefly how this change came about.

Breaking the Power of the Old Aristocracy, 1815–1832

Who Opposed the Aristocrats? — Most of the governing class in England were firmly set against any changes, however slight, in the system handed down from past ages. They believed no one could tell where reform would lead, once the necessity of it was admitted. There were, however, four classes of people who, for different reasons, were advocating reforms.

The *humanitarians* were men of the upper classes, many of them members of parliament, who were moved by the injustices of social life and the miseries of the poor. Their sympathies were given also to the oppressed in all lands. We find them supporting the abolition of the slave trade and the independence of the Greeks from Turkish rule, as well as demanding justice for the unprivileged classes at home. These humanitarians, represented by such poets as Lord Byron and Mrs. Browning, and by such philanthropists as Wilberforce, Lord Shaftesbury, and John Bright, were an influential group in English society, and greatly assisted the cause of reform by keeping the public conscience sensitive to injustice.

The *radicals* were a small group of theorists deeply influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution. They were so strongly convinced of the evils of the old order that they demanded a complete change, a reform "from the roots up." Hence they were named radicals from *radix*, meaning "root." They advocated a vote for every man and the abolition of all special privileges. Though few in numbers, the radicals[1] had great

influence in shaping the opinions of the working classes and persuading them that political reform was necessary in order to gain higher wages and better working conditions.

The *business men* desired a change in the system of representation in parliament that would give them greater influence. They complained that the government, under control of the landed interests, favored agriculture to the injury of industry by duties on food which kept wages high, and by tariffs on raw materials which increased the cost of manufacturing. Holding that the chief duty of government was to promote the business interests of the country,[2] they demanded an extension of the franchise to all men interested in manufacture, commerce, and local trade — in short, to all members of the middle classes in the towns.

The *workingmen* at the close of the Napoleonic wars passed through a period of acute distress. The return of peace brought business depression which threw many of them out of work, while the government did nothing to aid the situation. In political reform the workingmen saw the means of improving these conditions. Under the guidance of the radicals they demanded universal manhood suffrage and a distribution of parliamentary seats in accordance with population to make parliament subject to the will of the majority of the people.

Thus the demand for reform came from four groups — from humanitarians interested in the welfare of the people, from radicals with democratic theories of government, from industrialists who wished to wield a political influence corresponding to their wealth and importance, and from the working classes who wished to improve their own wretched condition.

1. Read about William Cobbett, the radical leader. Use Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 33, 35, 110. 2. Is this the chief duty of a government? Give your reasons.

Some Reforms are Wrung from the Aristocrats. — The aristocrats remained in full control of the British government until 1832. By this time, however, they were fully aware of the growing discontent of the people, and they therefore attempted to

check it by concessions. They hoped, by this move, to satisfy many of their critics without yielding their hold on the government.[1]

At the demand of such humanitarians as Wilberforce and Clarkson the slave trade was abolished in 1808. A little later the criminal laws were made less harsh by the abolition of the death penalty except for the most serious crimes, and a few feeble efforts were made to protect pauper children from abuse and overwork in factories. By a law of 1825 workmen were at last permitted to unite to bargain with employers, provided they did not use intimidation or threats.

The most striking reform of this period was the repeal of the laws prohibiting Dissenters and Catholics from holding public office.[2] In 1828 Dissenters were at last placed on a legal equality with the members of the Church of England. Exclusion from office had been more strictly enforced in the case of Catholics, however, than in the case of Dissenters, and had been coupled with the denial of many other rights of free citizens. In England the Catholics were not numerous, but in Ireland they made up the great majority of the population. The movement for Catholic equality was therefore largely an Irish movement. It finally grew to such proportions under the leadership of Ireland's great orator, Daniel O'Connell, that it threatened open revolution. At last parliament, urged by Robert Peel,[3] yielded reluctantly, and in 1829 passed the Catholic Emancipation Act removing nearly all the disabilities under which the adherents of that religion had suffered for centuries.

None of these reforms affected the membership or election of parliament in such a way as to weaken the hold of the old ruling class on the government. Under such conditions, discontent continued to increase among the people until there seemed to be danger of a revolutionary outburst. Such a revolt was avoided by the peculiar methods of the English party system.

1. How had the French Revolution affected the attitude of the old oligarchy toward reform and reformers? Why? 2. What was the reason for excluding these people from office? 3. Find whether Peel really believed in this reform or not. Use Joy, *Ten Englishmen.*

England's Old Parties, Tories and Whigs. — The two great political parties of that period, the Tories and the Whigs, were alike in many ways. Both were made up of the great landowners who sat in the House of Lords, and of their dependents, who filled the House of Commons. Together they had a monopoly upon the government and benefited equally by excluding the great mass of Englishmen from public affairs. Both Whigs and Tories were naturally opposed to democracy and distrustful of the common people. The Tories had come into power under the corrupt autocratic system of George III, which enabled them to gain the upper hand in parliament and to retain it with brief intermissions until 1830. The reaction against the French Revolution and the successful wars against Napoleon strengthened their grip, since during that period of national danger the Whigs loyally supported the Tory rule.

The era of patriotic coöperation between the Whigs and Tories did not long survive the period of national danger. The return of peace in 1815 was soon followed by a renewed struggle for office and power between the two political parties. The Tories, however, being in possession of the offices, were satisfied with things as they were; while the Whigs saw an opportunity of returning to power by extending the vote to classes who would support Whig candidates, and thereby give them control of the Commons and help them to coerce the Tory lords.

Thus the Whigs, gradually accepting the idea of political reform, undertook to make the first breach in the walls of aristocratic privilege.[1]

1. What is the meaning of "the walls of aristocratic privilege"?

The Whigs Gain Control. — In 1830 the Whigs finally gained a majority in the House of Commons. There were several reasons for this. The Duke of Wellington, one of the most hard-shelled of the Tory leaders, had recently become prime minister, and the merchants and manufacturers, convinced that they could hope for no reform from him, were now ready to throw all their influence in favor of the Whigs. The country was full of discontent owing to a business depression, poor crops, and the

agitation of radicals. An outbreak seemed imminent. In July, 1830, came news of the overthrow of the arbitrary government of Charles X in France and the substitution of a liberal monarchy under control of the middle classes.[1] This event gave a tremendous impetus to the demands for similar changes in England and showed the dangers of unyielding opposition to the popular will. Following immediately on the news of the July Revolution came the death of King George IV, necessitating the election of a new parliament. These various causes combined to give the Whigs a slight majority in the new House of Commons. The Duke of Wellington was forced to resign, and a Whig cabinet was organized with Lord Grey as prime minister.

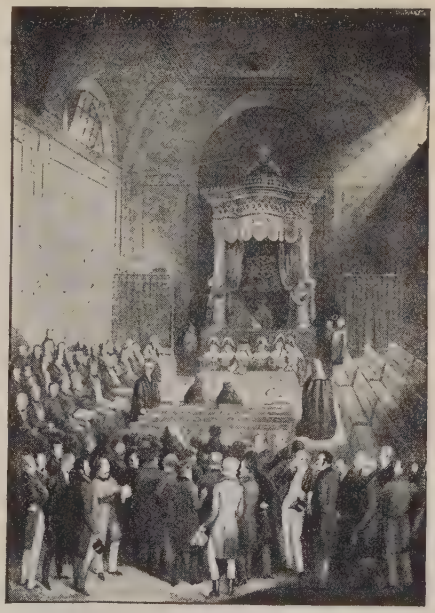
1. What "liberal monarchy" was this?

A Lively Fight over the Reform Bill of 1832. — A bill was at once introduced by Lord John Russell of the new cabinet, granting the franchise to the middle classes and deeply altering the representation of different communities in parliament. Since a few of the Whigs, however, were not yet converted, the bill failed by eight votes. Lord Grey refused to accept this result, and dissolving parliament, appealed directly to the country.[1] The election was held amid the wildest excitement. Workmen joined with employers and shopkeepers in monster demonstrations.[2] Under such pressure of public opinion the Whigs secured a majority of 136 members so that when parliament again assembled, Russell's Reform Bill was promptly passed by the Commons.

The membership in the upper house, however, could not be changed by an election,[3] and the House of Lords refused to pass the bill. Again revolution threatened, but the prime minister forced the king to agree to create enough new Whig peers to swamp the opposition of the Lords.[4] Rather than see this happen, the Lords, led by Wellington, gave way and allowed the Reform Bill to become a law.

1. Can our President dissolve Congress and appeal to the country? 2. Why were workmen in favor of the Reform Bill? 3. Why could it not be changed? 4. What is meant by "swamping the opposition"?

What the Reform Bill Accomplished. — The reform of 1832 extended the franchise generously and rearranged the districts from which members of the House of Commons were elected. In boroughs, all householders who owned or rented houses with a rental value of £10 or more a year were now given the vote, while in the country the vote was extended to all farmers who rented land worth £50 or more a year.



THE REFORM BILL OF 1832 RECEIVING THE ROYAL ASSENT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

After a painting. Notice that the benches of the Tory peers are vacant.

The bill also attempted to arrange the representative districts somewhat according to the population. Many of the old "rotten" boroughs lost entirely the right of sending members to parliament, while others were reduced to one member each. Although no attempt was made to create equal election districts, the old inequalities were no longer so glaring.

The Reform Bill of 1832 marks an important turning point in English history. Democracy, indeed, was not established, for it will be noted that the Whigs were careful to enfranchise only the middle classes — the men who owned property, or rented either land or comfortable houses. The total number of voters was about doubled; but the great masses of factory workers and the whole class of farm laborers were still denied the ballot.

Still, this bill was the first and most important step toward democracy. The number of voters became too large to be controlled any longer by a few aristocratic landholders. The struggle showed that the Lords could be forced to yield to a cabinet backed by the Commons.[1] Furthermore, the old fear of reform as the forerunner of anarchy [2] passed away, when it was seen that changes in the government could be made without destroying the entire framework of society. Even the Tories loyally accepted the new arrangements.

1. How did it show this? 2. Why had reform been so considered?

Reform of Parliament Brings an Epoch of Social Reform

Parliament Has a New Complexion. — The changes brought about in 1832 were reflected clearly in the legislation of the next few years. Now that the old landed aristocracy had lost its monopoly of the government, the sentiments of the middle classes began to appear in new laws. Liberal ideas soon led to the grant of self-government to Canada (as we shall see in Chapter XXVI), as well as to the cities of old England. Humanitarian sentiment forced the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, and some protection to the factory and mine workers at home. The interests of the poorer classes and of business men as well, led to the abolition of high taxes on food, followed by the adoption of free trade in most commodities. Some of these changes must now be considered.

British Cities Become Self-Governing (1835). — The principles of the Reform Bill of 1832 were soon applied to the government of British cities, when the middle classes demanded the same control over local affairs that had been given them in the national government.[1] This meant the abolition of the old town "corporations" whose corrupt and selfish government had so long blocked any improvement in municipal affairs. In 1835 incorporated towns were placed under control of city councils, elected by all the voters of the city.

This change in local government was followed by a great improvement in the management of municipal affairs, because the

new councils felt responsible for the welfare of the people. Modern police departments were organized; streets were paved and properly lighted; sewer systems were constructed; questions of public health and of popular recreation received attention.

1. How did the Reform Bill of 1832 make the middle classes dominant? Were the former ruling classes deprived of their votes?

Slavery is Ended in British Colonies (1833). — The law of 1808 against the slave trade had made it illegal to seize the native Africans and transport them to other lands; but it had not interfered with the system of slavery within the British colonies. In 1833, under the leadership of Wilberforce, the final step was taken by the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. Parliament showed itself willing to pay the price for this act of humanity by appropriating about $100,000,000 to compensate the slave owners, most of whom were in Cape Colony and the island of Jamaica.

A Pioneer Child Labor Law. — In 1833, also, the first effective step was taken to protect children from the inhuman demands made upon them in industry. In many ways the condition of English working children had been worse than that of the slaves in the West Indies. Unsanitary surroundings bred diseases which carried off many of them; they were constantly exposed to accidents on dangerous, unguarded machinery; the hours of work were barbarously long — fourteen hours a day was not uncommon, while some employers kept children working fifteen or even seventeen hours a day.[1] There were no holidays except Sunday; the work went on six full days in the week.

The Factory Act of 1833 prohibited in any factory the employment of children under 9 years of age. Children from 9 to 13 were not allowed to work more than eight hours a day or more than forty-eight hours a week. Young people from 13 to 18 were restricted to twelve hours' work a day and to a total of sixty-nine hours a week. All children were to be given two whole holidays and two half holidays each year in addition to Sundays. Yet even these mild restrictions were adopted against the violent opposition of a majority of the factory owners.[2]

The enforcement of the new law was placed in the hands of government inspectors, who made periodic visits to all the factories in the country. Sworn to perform their duties faithfully, receiving fixed salaries, and with power to prosecute all violators, these factory inspectors made much safer guardians for working children than local justices would have been.

1. Read first-hand reports about this in Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. II, p. 282. 2. Why is this factory law of 1833 very important in history?

Protection of Women in Industry. — This first child labor law was soon followed by laws for the protection of women workers. In 1844 a parliamentary report revealed the brutal conditions under which women were obliged to work in the coal mines. This led to a law forbidding the employment of either women or children in underground labor. Two years later the working hours of women in factories were reduced to twelve hours a day; and in 1847 a further reduction to ten hours a day was made.

Repeal of the Corn Laws. — The extension of the franchise to the middle classes compelled parliament to pay greater attention to the interests of industry. Earlier trade laws had been designed to protect the English landowners from foreign competition by a system of tariffs, especially by high duties on imported grain. But this interfered with the cheap manufacture of goods by increasing the cost of food and so compelling employers to pay higher wages. In any case, England could not raise enough food at home for her growing population of factory workers. So a strong demand arose in the thirties for the admission of foreign grain without any tax.

Duties on grain were known as the "Corn Laws."[1] Now there began a struggle for their repeal — long and bitter. The old aristocracy with its wealth invested in land rather than in manufactures used all possible influence to keep the protective duties. But the new economic forces were all against them. Merchants, employers, and workmen, all united in opposing the old grain taxes.

The leaders of the movement against the Corn Laws were Richard Cobden and John Bright, both wealthy cotton manufacturers. There was much agitation, until the great Irish famine of 1846 put an end to the opposition. With people actually starving, the landowners were forced to give way; the duties on food were abolished in 1846 under a Tory premier, Robert Peel, supported more by Whigs than by his own party.[2] From that time on Great Britain has definitely followed the policy of sacrificing her agricultural interests to the advantage of trade and manufacture.

1. Why were they so called? 2. Find what effect this produced upon Peel's administration. (Joy, *Ten Englishmen*, p. 118.)

England Becomes a Free Trade Country. — The repeal of the Corn Laws marks the breaking down of the whole system of protection. Within a few years, nearly every protective duty on foreign goods was removed and England became definitely committed to free trade.[1] The loss of revenue was covered by other forms of taxation, especially by increased income taxes.

Since 1850 Great Britain has been conspicuous among the nations as the one great champion of free trade. Her people have even been inclined, sometimes, to assume a tone of moral superiority over other nations so misguided as to cling to a protective tariff. As a matter of fact, English zeal for free trade has been due to two motives — an unselfish desire to promote peaceful relations between nations, and a canny appreciation of the fact that free trade is profitable for English merchants and manufacturers. Two classes — humanitarians who wished to promote peace and business men who wished to promote profits — joined to make free trade the gospel of England during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

1. Define "free trade."

The Current of Reform Eddies — and Moves On

The Reform of 1832 Disappoints Laborers. — The Reform Bill of 1832 satisfied the middle classes. It did not satisfy the workingmen. Laborers had backed the reform vigorously in

the hope that it was only the first step toward complete manhood suffrage, which the American states were rapidly adopting at about this time. But when the middle classes contentedly settled down, labor began to clamor for further changes. When hard times came on in England in the late thirties, labor leaders felt sure that the way to relief was through the ballot. This feeling led the workingmen to form in 1836 a great political association to agitate for further reform. Their demands were listed in a document called the People's Charter in memory of the Great Charter of 1215; hence the name Chartists.

The Chartists Try to Open Politics to Laborers. — The Chartists demanded complete political equality for British men under these six points: (1) Universal manhood suffrage. (2) Vote by ballot, which meant secret voting. (Under the old system the voters publicly announced their votes at the polls in answer to their names; this was hard on poor men if they voted against the wishes of their employers or patrons.) (3) Equal representative districts; that is, districts with the same number of voters in each. (4) Abolition of property tests for members of the House of Commons. (5) Payment of salaries to the Commons, so that poor men could afford to become members. (6) Annual elections of parliaments, instead of once in seven years.

Between 1836 and 1838 the Chartists tried to force parliament to accept their program. They held great mass meetings, attempted to organize the unenfranchised classes,[1] and finally drew up a monster petition containing, it was claimed, over two million signatures.

To the modern mind the demands of the Chartists seem reasonable enough. In fact, all but the last one have now been accepted as part of the British constitution. Back in the thirties and forties, however, these proposals seemed to the ruling classes wildly revolutionary.[2] The Chartist movement, therefore, excited great alarm. Parliament refused even to consider the petition and stamped out the agitation with a strong hand. Chartist meetings were broken up by the police with some loss

of life. Of the more prominent leaders, some were imprisoned and others transported to Australia.[3]

As a result the movement died down for a few years, to revive again in 1848 as part of the revolutionary wave that swept over the whole of Europe in that year. But this second attempt was no more successful than the first, and after that Chartism disappeared. A betterment in business conditions and rising wages turned the workingmen from political agitation to the use of trade-unions as the best way to improve their condition.

1. Who were these classes? 2. Tell why they seemed so. 3. What is meant here?

English Parties Take New Names. — Most of the men who gained the vote by the reform of 1832 seem to have become Whigs.[1] This made the old Whig party more progressive.[2] Gradually the former name of Whig was dropped and the party began to call itself the Liberal party in order to emphasize its new aim to liberalize British institutions. About the same time the Tories adopted the name Conservatives to describe their attitude toward public questions. By their new title the Conservatives wished to give the impression that they accepted loyally the reforms already made but sought to conserve all that was good in the past and to move slowly along new ways. They never again took the position of that typical old Tory, the Duke of Wellington, who in 1832 declared that no conceivable change could improve the British constitution.[3]

1. Why did the new voters become Whigs? 2. Why did it make the party more progressive? 3. Read Wellington's famous Tory speech. E. K. Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, p. 382.

Unrest Stirring in a Time of Calm. — For some time after that turbulent year, 1848, English life ran along in quiet routine. After the Corn Laws were repealed and free trade was in force, the commercial classes made no further demands on the government, but were satisfied to be left alone in their trade and manufacture. Well-to-do men, now able to vote and to hold office, felt that reform had gone far enough. For about two decades, too, Englishmen were much interested in events outside

of England, such as the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the struggles of Italy and Germany for unity, the American Civil War, and the designs of Napoleon III.

Still, during this period of domestic calm, influences were at work which soon led to further change. The working people, because they were shut out of politics, remained discontented. Great writers were producing a new literature which aroused men's sympathies with the oppressed and unfortunate, and pointed out the shortcomings of English life. Another generation was arising which saw how much had been gained by the reforms since 1832, and was therefore not afraid of further change. New leaders were coming to the front in both parties, keen to seize upon any issue which promised advantage to their side. Finally, the American Civil War was a powerful influence for further progress along the road of democracy.[1]

After the failure of 1848, the Chartist movement died down, it is true, and better times came on for British workingmen; but, as their condition improved, it seemed more unjust than ever that they should be only passive citizens. The right to vote, at least, they demanded; and in this demand they began to attract an increasing number of supporters. Among these the most influential was John Bright, the greatest English orator of the century. He was a Quaker and a successful manufacturer, who had taken a prominent part in the repeal of the Corn Laws. Now he devoted all his energies and great enthusiasm to urge the enfranchisement of the factory workers.[2]

1. Why was it a powerful influence? 2. Did factory workers have the right to vote at that time in our states? In France?

New English Novels Favor Reform. — The long reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901) was one of the most brilliant periods of English literature. Because the taste for reading had spread throughout the middle classes, writers were able to reach a larger audience of readers than ever before.

The most popular form of writing was the novel which pictured contemporary life and manners, pointed out social evils, and suggested needed reform. Among the writers who thus stirred

the consciences of Englishmen were Thackeray with his pictures of the snobbishness and selfishness of the upper classes, Kingsley with his descriptions of the hardships of the factory workers, and many others.

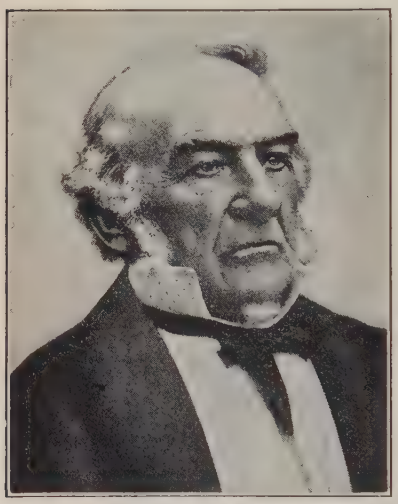
Most influential of all, however, was Charles Dickens. His group of readers was enormous and his popularity equally great

OLIVER PLUCKS UP A SPIRIT
An illustration for *Oliver Twist* by Cruikshank, whose clever drawings helped to popularize Dickens's novels.

among all classes of people. In all his books, Dickens vigorously attacked the abuses of the time. In *Oliver Twist* it was the cruel treatment of paupers in the workhouses of the day. In *Little Dorrit* he attacked the practice of imprisonment for debt and denounced the incompetence of the upper classes in their management of public affairs. In *Bleak House* he portrayed the

delays of the courts and the misery caused by inefficiency in government. But most of all, Dickens aroused a sympathy for the common people, proclaiming their virtues and emphasizing their rights. His vivid and humorous portrayal of the abuses of English life awakened the consciences of his readers and encouraged the growing movement toward further reform.

Gladstone and Disraeli, Rivals for Leadership. — After the middle of the century a younger generation of public men came to the front, among whom the most important were Gladstone (glăd'stŭn) and Disraeli, rivals for leadership of the country for nearly a generation.



GLADSTONE

William E. Gladstone was first elected to parliament in 1833 at the age of 23 and, except for one interval of two years, served in the House of Commons continuously until 1895. He began his long career as a Tory, opposed to the Reform Bill of 1832 and to many of the other reforms advocated by the Whigs. Being a young man of excellent ability, training, and energy, he was soon recognized by the older leaders of his party as having unusual promise. Backed by their influence, he was admitted to the cabinet in 1843.

As he became more prominent, he became less and less a Conservative. By 1850 he had drawn away from his former associates and finally joined the Liberal party, in which he was soon recognized as the leading champion of reform. He supported such measures as the extension of the franchise and, later on, home rule for Ireland, on the ground of simple justice.

For the same reason he opposed an aggressive foreign policy, especially when directed against weaker peoples. Because of this opposition he was bitterly hated by the imperialists, who wished to extend the British Empire and to bring the backward peoples of all parts of the world under the British flag.

Benjamin Disraeli, the great rival of Gladstone, fought his way to the leadership of the Conservative party in the face of enormous difficulties. Though he was admitted to the English Church while still a boy, his Jewish birth was a serious handicap to political success. He had, moreover, outstanding peculiarities which aroused the prejudice of the ordinary Englishman. Theatrical in manner, he shocked many staid people by his ostentation in manners and dress. When a young man he once appeared at a dinner party dressed in green velvet trousers, a bright yellow waistcoat, low shoes with silver buckles, and his hair curled in ringlets.[1] When he entered parliament he was openly and noisily ridiculed by his opponents and was laughed down when he first tried to speak in that body.[2]

DISRAELI

But beneath his fantastic exterior was one of the strongest wills and keenest minds of England. Disraeli was self-confident and determined to succeed. His opportunity was made for him by the condition of the Conservative party, for ever since 1832 the Conservatives had been weak, standing for little except opposition to more reforms. What they needed was a positive program to stir enthusiasm and win votes. Their older leaders lacked imagination. That Disraeli supplied in abundance.

Disraeli's program when worked out consisted of two parts. First, the Conservatives should face about and favor a widening of the franchise, trying to persuade the workingmen that the landowning nobility [3] would look after their interests better than the merchants and manufacturers of the Liberal party. Second, he urged a vigorous foreign policy to extend the British Empire and he fired the imagination of the English by impressing upon them the greatness of their dominions.

1. Read another description of him in Joy's *Ten Englishmen*, p. 172. 2. Read the account of this episode in the same book, pp. 173–174. 3. Of what party were they?

Influence of the American Civil War. — The Civil War in America divided English sympathies along class lines, the aristocratic elements favoring the South, while the laboring classes supported the Union cause. In the eyes of Englishmen the war was a test of democracy on a large scale. Could a government based on such an idea succeed in holding a great nation together, or was it bound to fall apart into fragments? If the latter, then democracy was doomed as a system of government for all except small communities. It was natural, therefore, that the conservative classes in England should hope to see the American Union broken up.

As for the laborers, they never wavered in their support of the Union cause, even though they had to make great sacrifices for their principles. For instance, when the blockade of Southern ports by Lincoln's orders cut off the supply of cotton from English factories, thousands of workmen lost their jobs and were threatened with starvation. If they had then brought pressure to bear upon the government, it probably would have intervened in the struggle to secure the independence of the Confederacy. But the common people stood by the North to the end and gave the ruling classes no excuse to interfere.[1]

The triumph of the Union gave renewed confidence to the friends of popular government in England. The hope of the upper classes that democracy could not survive great national dangers or act vigorously in times of crisis was shown to be

groundless. This brought new confidence to those who wished to give political rights to the masses, and the demand for a wider franchise grew insistent.

1. Account for this attitude of British laborers.

The Second Great Reform Bill, 1867. — Two years after the close of our Civil War the British government took a second step

A Leap in the Dark

A cartoon in *Punch*, August, 1867, showing Britannia carried by Disraeli into the uncertainties of reform.

toward universal suffrage.[1] Gladstone had already proposed a very mild measure to increase the number of voters, but the bill was defeated by the opposition of some of his own followers. Then the Conservatives came into office, and Disraeli saw his opportunity to "dish the Whigs," as he called it. Aware of the discontent among workingmen, he persuaded parliament to pass a bill which gave the vote to nearly all the factory workers in the towns. By this law of 1867 the franchise was extended to all men occupying houses in towns or renting rooms for £10 or more a year. Something like a million new voters were thus added to the lists. The only considerable groups of Englishmen who still lacked full political rights were the farm laborers in

the country districts, the servant classes, the poorest class of floating workers, and young men on small incomes.

1. How long after the first step was this?

Gladstone Makes Notable Reforms. — To Disraeli's disappointment, the new voters failed to flock to the Conservative party. Instead, the next election gave the Liberals a large majority,[1] and Gladstone became prime minister in 1868. During this first of his four terms as premier (1868–1874) an important series of reforms were made: (1) A national system of education supported by public money was established (1870). A few years later (1880), attendance of children at elementary schools was made compulsory, and (1891) all tuition fees were abolished so that England began to provide free elementary education for all children. (2) A law of 1872 did away with the old method of oral voting at elections, and adopted the secret ballot as a protection against intimidation.[2] (3) Trade-unions were fully legalized, thus removing all the old rules against peaceful combinations of workingmen. Such unions had existed for years, but their work had heretofore been much hampered by various legal restrictions. (4) The civil service was thrown open to competition. Previously the permanent government officials had been appointed by the ministry and the positions had been reserved as the private property of the younger sons of the aristocracy. Now appointment was based upon competitive examinations which gave equal opportunity to all.[3] (5) In foreign relations, Gladstone, despite strong objections at home, insisted upon settling the *Alabama* dispute with the United States peacefully by arbitration (1872).[4] No wonder Gladstone is classed as one of the greatest reformers in all English history.

1. Why did it give them a large majority? 2. When did your state adopt the secret ballot? 3. When did this competitive civil service system first come into use in our national government? 4. What was this dispute about and how was it settled?

Disraeli's Program of Imperialism. — By 1874 the country's appetite for reform was satisfied and the Liberals lost office. Disraeli, again prime minister, turned the attention of the country from domestic to foreign interests. In harmony with

his imperial ideas, he purchased for the government the controlling shares of the Suez canal (1875), thus giving England easy access to India and the East and placing her in a position to dominate Egypt. In 1876 Disraeli caused Queen Victoria to be proclaimed empress of India, partly to please her vanity and partly to emphasize in dramatic style the commanding position of England in world affairs. In return the queen made him Earl of Beaconsfield. Two years later he intervened in the

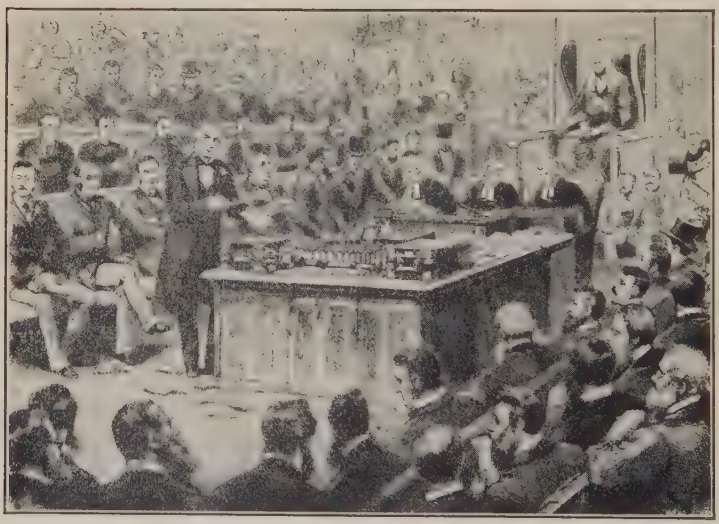
Palace of Justice, Pretoria, Union of South Africa

Russo-Turkish war to protect Turkey and forced the calling of the famous Berlin Congress of 1878 to try to settle the Balkan problem. In the work of that congress Beaconsfield conspicuously shared. In 1872 he annexed to the empire the unruly Boer (bo͝or) republic of the Transvaal in southern Africa. Never had Great Britain seemed more aggressive or more willing to go to war in the interests of her world empire. But by 1880 the country grew tired of Disraeli's restless foreign policy and Gladstone was returned to power.

Gladstone Passes the Third Reform Bill. — In 1884, under Gladstone's leadership, the third step was taken in parliamentary reform by granting the vote to the farm laborers on the same

terms as it had been given to the town workers in 1867. From this time on the men of every important class in the country were able to qualify as voters, and the principle of political equality among all male citizens was finally recognized. The next year the system of representation was made more fair in the way the Chartists had favored by dividing the country into nearly equal election districts each of which elected one member.

Thus, within the space of fifty-two years (1832–1884), without resorting to violent revolution, Great Britain had progressed from an oligarchy of great landholders to political democracy, and the result had been loyally accepted by all classes.



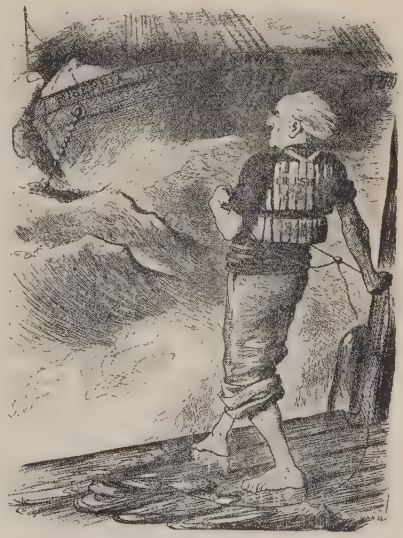
Gladstone Addressing the House of Commons on Home Rule

John Bull Carries the "White Man's Burden"

Home Rule Splits the Liberal Party. — Though the reforms carried out during the last half of the nineteenth century were not altogether the work of the Liberal party, they were due to the liberal sentiment which that party represented. But in 1886, during his third premiership,[1] Gladstone came forward

with a plan that split his party asunder and threw the control of the government into the hands of the Conservatives for nearly twenty years.[2] That proposal, so fatal for the Liberals, was home rule for Ireland. Gladstone was convinced that the time had come for creating a separate parliament for that island. But a section of his party, led by Joseph Chamberlain, refused to support this program and, under the name of the Liberal-Unionists, went over to the Conservatives. Their members added a more progressive tinge to the Conservative party and enabled it to remain in power, with one short interval, until the end of 1905.

1. How many times may one be prime minister of Great Britain? 2. Be sure you understand and remember the chief reforms of Gladstone.



SINK OR SWIM
Cartoon published in *Punch* in 1886, on Gladstone's Irish policy.

Climax of Imperialism under Conservatives. — During those years of Conservative rule, under Lord Salisbury (sôlz'bĕr-ĭ) (1886–1892 and 1895–1902) and Arthur Balfour (1902–1905), as premiers, and Chamberlain as chief ally, the question of home rule was thrust into the background, while in England itself the tide of democratic reform was held back. Ignoring most domestic problems, the government devoted itself to foreign affairs, especially to the expansion of the British Empire. In doing this they were following in the footsteps of their former leader, Disraeli, who had been the first English statesman to impress on the minds of his countrymen the glories of their world-wide possessions.

From about 1890 on, another influence strengthened the spirit of imperialism — the writings of Rudyard Kipling. Just as the democratic ideals of Dickens made his books a powerful force in spreading liberal ideas among the people, so, at the end of the century, the genius of Kipling fired the imagination of Englishmen with the romance of empire and inspired them with the belief in their mission to rule and civilize the backward parts of the earth. His stories and poems called upon them to take up the " white man's burden " of bringing peace and justice to inferior races. For this task he felt that of all white men Englishmen were best qualified. Thus a moral justification was given to the extension of British territory, while at the same time, by Kipling's vivid imagination and his picturesque descriptions of many lands and peoples, these undertakings were turned into a series of romantic adventures.

During the years of Conservative rule the policy was adopted of making the British navy superior to the combined navies of any other two powers, — the " two-power policy " as it was called. Numerous small wars were fought in Asia and Africa resulting in the annexation of much territory. Finally, under the leadership of Chamberlain, an effort was made to consolidate the empire and bind the English-speaking colonies more closely to the mother country by allowing colonial products special privileges in the British markets. To accomplish this it was suggested that the old free trade policy of England be given up and that protective tariffs against goods imported from other countries be revived.

This proposal to revive the protective tariff split the Conservative party as home rule had split the Liberal twenty years before. The suggestion of dropping free trade, even though protection might be helpful to the colonies, roused widespread opposition. Liberal-Unionists, who had deserted their party on the question of home rule, now returned to the Liberal camp, carrying with them many Conservative voters. In the election of 1906 the Liberals swept the country, gaining an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons.

A New Chapter in Progressive Reform

England Safeguards her Workers. — The new Liberal government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1905–1908), followed by Herbert Asquith (1908–1916) and David Lloyd George (1916–1922), at once turned its attention to plans for social reform — for two reasons. In the first place questions of social betterment had been thrust largely into the background during the long period of Conservative control. In the second place, the common people were beginning to realize their power and to insist on closer attention to their interests. Though the reform bills of 1867 and 1884 introduced manhood suffrage, it took another generation for the new voters to realize how powerful their vote really was. By 1900, however, the laboring classes were becoming politically educated. A separate Labor party succeeded in 1906 in electing more than fifty labor members to parliament. The Liberal leaders were convinced that social reforms alone could prevent the working classes from ultimately sweeping both the old political parties from power.

The demands of the common people led the Liberals, backed by the Labor party, to adopt a series of laws which to conservative people seemed socialistic. Certainly they resembled closely the state socialism program of Bismarck. The most important of these laws were three: (1) *A Workmen's Compensation Act*, extending the principle of earlier laws, provided that employers must compensate their workmen for injury or disease resulting from their occupations. In case of death his family was to be given a lump sum. (2) Under the *Old Age Pensions* law the government agreed to pay a pension to all persons over 70 whose income did not exceed $150 per year. The pension varied according to the pensioner's other resources, but averaged about $1.25 a week. (3) *The National Insurance Act* insured workers against sickness and unemployment. The government furnished only part of the funds required for this purpose, the remainder being contributed by the employers and the workmen in weekly payments.[1]

In addition to these acts, Parliament undertook in various other ways to promote the interests of the less fortunate members of the community. Attention was given to child welfare by establishing juvenile courts and public playgrounds, by providing medical inspection and furnishing cheap or free meals at school for poor children. To lessen unemployment, government agencies were created to assist laborers in search of jobs. Minimum wages were fixed in some industries and the hours of work were limited in many.

1. Does your state have any of these kinds of insurance for laborers?

The Lloyd George Budget of 1909. — To carry out these provisions for laborers required so much money that the government was driven to find new kinds of taxation. Social reformers argued that the new taxes ought to be planned so as to bring about a more equitable [1] distribution of wealth and to check the growth of enormous private fortunes. In spite of the continuous prosperity of England during the nineteenth century, the great mass of the people had profited but little from the new wealth, while the rich had grown steadily richer. In 1900, for instance, it was estimated that one eighth of the people received one half of the income of the country, while the other seven eighths had an annual income averaging less than $125 apiece. This made it seem reasonable to many people that in raising the money for the new social reforms the rich should be taxed proportionally more heavily than the people of moderate means.

The most earnest advocate of the plan to tax the rich at a higher rate than others was David Lloyd George, a Welsh Liberal, who had rapidly risen to prominence in public life by rare political skill and eloquence, and his fearless support of democratic ideas. In 1909, as Chancellor of the Exchequer,[2] he introduced a budget [3] embodying the following ideas: A supertax (i.e. an extra tax) on incomes over $25,000 a year; [4] higher taxes on unearned than on earned incomes; higher inheritance taxes on large estates than on small ones; a tax of twenty per cent on the increased value of land due not to the owner's improvements but to the growth of the community; a special tax

© Brown Bros.

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT IN LONDON

on unimproved land worth more than $250 an acre. Lloyd George's budget met violent opposition from the wealthy classes and from people living on incomes from investments. In spite of that it passed the House of Commons. But in the House of Lords it was defeated.

1. What is the meaning of "equitable"? Does it mean equal? 2. What does this mean? 3. Explain what a budget is and how it works. 4. What graduated taxes like these does the United States government use?

The Reform of the House of Lords, 1911. — This rejection of the new type of budget led to a spirited struggle between the two houses of parliament. To become a law, a bill had to receive the assent of both houses. Were the hereditary peers, who owed their position to birth and not to election, to be allowed to defeat the will of the nation as expressed by the people's representatives in the Commons? The question had been met before in connection with many other reforms,[1] but had been avoided either by the withdrawal of the Lords' opposition or by popular support of their position. This time, however, the majority of the people favored the new forms of taxation, while the Lords were refusing to give way, since they were defending their own pockets.[2] Either they must now be shorn of their powers or the democratic theory of government must be discarded. The Liberal slogan became "Mend or End!" and on this issue they carried the election in 1910.

The Liberal leaders now solved the dilemma in a way characteristically English. The House of Lords was not abolished, but a bill was passed in the Commons in 1911 providing: (1) that since the House of Commons had control of the public purse no money bills, such as a budget, should require the assent of the upper house at all; (2) that all other public bills should become law after having passed the lower house at three successive annual sessions, even though rejected each time by the Lords. Thus the peers might block a piece of legislation for three years but could not ultimately defeat the will of the people.

At first the House of Lords, as might be expected, stoutly refused to consent to the new veto bill. But the cabinet secured

the promise of the king, George V, to create, if necessary, enough new peers to carry the law. The upper house then gave way and passed the Parliament Act of 1911, or the "Lords' Veto Bill," which stripped them of all real power as an independent part of the government. This seemed a crowning victory for the principle of democracy in Great Britain.[3]

1. Name one instance. 2. How were they defending their own pockets? 3. Now state clearly and fully the significance of Lloyd George's Budget of 1909. Do the same for the Lords' Veto Bill of 1911.

The Progress of Democracy, a Summary. — In less than a hundred years the British government had been transformed from a narrow oligarchy to an almost complete democracy. In 1832, though political power already rested in the hands of parliament, that body was completely controlled by a small class of aristocratic landholders. The reform bill of that year extended the franchise to the middle classes in the towns. In 1867 the workingmen of the towns received the same gift. In 1884 the country laborers were granted the franchise. Step by step practical manhood suffrage had thus been established.

Meanwhile other democratic changes had taken place. Local self-government was established for city and country alike (1835, 1888, 1894); property qualifications for membership in parliament abolished (1858); the secret ballot introduced (1872); the country was divided into nearly equal representative districts (1885); and finally (in 1911) salaries were given to members of parliament so that poor men could afford to occupy seats in that body. Religious as well as political distinctions had likewise been removed: by the beginning of the twentieth century, Dissenters, Catholics, and Jews enjoyed political rights equally with members of the established church.[1] Finally the last stronghold of special privilege, the House of Lords, was stormed. Nothing then seemed left to obstruct the will of the majority.

1. Does England still have an established church?

Two Unsolved Problems — Woman Suffrage and Home Rule. Two important constitutional questions, however, remained to

be settled at the outbreak of the World War. One was the right of women to share the political privileges of men; and the other was the right of Irishmen to govern themselves under home rule instead of being governed by the British parliament.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the subject of woman suffrage had been discussed from time to time and various suffrage bills had been introduced. The matter attracted little interest, however, until 1906, when a group of enthusiastic women undertook to force the government to take up the issue.[1] Feeling that violent agitation alone would awaken the interest of the public, they undertook a campaign of riot and destruction which soon made woman suffrage the most conspicuous, if not the most agreeable, question of the day.

The militant leaders of the movement, soon given the nickname of "suffragettes," succeeded admirably in making themselves a nuisance to all persons courageous enough to disregard their demand. They interfered with the sessions of parliament by screaming and yelling in the sacred chamber; they broke up political meetings, started riots on the streets, and destroyed public property. They invited arrest, refused to pay fines, and when thrown into prison, went on hunger strikes. The government obstinately refused to be coerced by such methods; but the situation had become both ridiculous and dangerous when the World War suddenly brought a truce to the petticoat war and postponed for a while the settlement of the suffrage problem.

The Liberal premier, Gladstone, had sought as far back as 1886 and 1893 to carry through a plan of home rule for Ireland, but was defeated in both attempts. During the long period of Conservative rule that followed nothing further was done in the matter. In 1912 the Liberals again took up the problem. After long debates a home rule bill was at last passed, which marks an important stage in the long struggle of the Irish for self-government and requires a brief survey of the relations between England and Ireland during the preceding century.

1. What bills only are likely to be passed where the cabinet system exists? Compare with the system in the American Congress.

England Muddles Through the Irish Problem

England's Great Failure. — Despite all her progress England had failed conspicuously in her relations with Ireland. The Irish had always been discontented with English rule, which meant to them, as they were Celtic, the rule of foreigners; and with the growth of national sentiment in modern times, their feelings of resentment steadily increased. England's policy toward Ireland had been dictated by self-interest. Ireland lies so near her western coast that, in alliance with a foreign enemy, it would form a dangerous base for invasion of England or for an attack on English commerce. National safety, therefore, seemed to require an effective control over the smaller island.

Ireland's grievances centered about three questions — religion, landholding, and self-government. Sometimes one, sometimes another, of these questions came to the front, but until all three causes of complaint were removed there could be no hope of settling the Irish problem.

Ireland's Religious Problem. — Although probably seven eighths of the Irish people were Roman Catholics, the British government had established the Anglican Church as the one official church of the country. It was given very large endowments of land and was allowed to collect from all the people, Catholic as well as Protestant, a yearly tax, known as the church tithes. Even the Irish Protestants of the north felt the injustice of this, since they were mostly Presbyterians. But the Presbyterians had at least full political rights, while the Catholics at the beginning of the nineteenth century were debarred from all public offices.

The Land Question. — The chief industry of Ireland is farming. Outside of Belfast and a few other manufacturing towns in the north almost the entire population get their living from the land. But until recently the Irish farmer has not owned the land he worked. Instead it has belonged to great landlords who did not live on their estates but rented them in small plots to tenants at exorbitant rates.

The population of the island grew rapidly from 1700 to 1845. In 1700 it numbered about 1,500,000; in 1800, about 4,500,000; while by 1845 it had grown to over 8,000,000. Such an increase in numbers meant the division of the land into smaller and smaller plots and created keen competition among the tenants.

Taking advantage of this, the landlords kept raising the rents until the peasant farmer was left with barely enough to support his family in the most abject poverty. To make matters worse, the landlord usually rented these small plots for one year at a time and could evict the tenant on six months' notice. This he seldom hesitated to do whenever he found another man willing to pay a higher rent or when the tenant fell behind in his payments.

The great mass of the people, therefore, lived in extreme poverty, uncertain of their means of livelihood and exploited by their landlords. The latter constituted a ruling class supported by British law and British officials and heartily hated by the tenants. Acts of violence and even assassination were frequent. As Irish juries would seldom convict the guilty, the British parliament at various times passed coercive acts suspending the work of ordinary courts and giving arbitrary powers to the police and magistrates. This naturally increased the bitterness of the people against a government so closely identified with the interests of the Irish landlords.

The Question of Self-Government. — In earlier times there had been a separate parliament in Ireland which legislated for the country. In 1800 this was abolished, and in its stead the Irish were allowed to have 100 members in the British House of Commons and twenty-eight peers in the House of Lords, who had to be Protestants.[1] In the eyes of the English, this put the Irish on the same footing as themselves, since the Irish now had a share in making the laws for both countries. But this did not mean Irish self-government. In the first place, their representatives in parliament were too few to secure the passage of the laws they desired without the support of one of the great English parties. This support they were seldom able to secure. In the

second place, the actual government of Ireland was in the hands of officials appointed by the British cabinet. The Irish members had no control over the cabinet, since it was made up from the majority in parliament. Thus the Irish could vote and talk if it relieved their feelings, but could not secure any beneficial legislation for Ireland.[2]

1. Was a group of 100 members a liberal or meager share for Ireland? How do you know? 2. Would representation in Parliament have satisfied the American colonists in 1775?

Daniel O'Connell, Ireland's Great Spokesman. — Irish discontent in the nineteenth century found its first spokesman in a brilliant young lawyer, Daniel O'Connell. In 1823 he organized a " Catholic Association " with branches in all parts of Ireland. Its first object was to secure full political rights for Catholics. After several years of agitation the British government finally yielded, as we have seen, and passed the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, placing the Catholics on a political equality with Protestants and permitting them to sit in parliament. Nine years later another concession was granted, when the Irish peasants were relieved from the payment of tithes to support the established church, these taxes being transferred from the tenants to their landlords. Still later, in 1869, Gladstone secured the complete disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland, substituting for it religious equality.

" Young Ireland " in the Hectic Year 1848. — About 1842 a group of ardent young men organized a society called " Young Ireland," patterned after the patriotic societies in Italy,[1] Poland, and elsewhere, which were working for national independence.[2] The object of " Young Ireland " was frankly revolutionary. During 1848 the society undertook an armed uprising, which was a complete failure, because the British government was kept informed of its plans and nipped the revolt in the bud. The attempt at rebellion, however, was a clear indication of the deep-rooted discontent of the Irish people.

1. Who was the founder of "Young Italy"? What did it do? 2. Why is the word "Young" used in connection with such nationalistic agitations?

The Famine of 1846. — This discontent was due in large measure to the poverty and misery of the people, caused not only by overpopulation and the exactions of landlords, but also because in earlier years England had by her navigation acts crippled the growth of manufacturing in Ireland. Living mostly by agriculture, the people had come to rely on potatoes as their chief food supply, since potatoes will yield a very large amount of food per acre. In 1845 and 1846, when the potato crop failed, a terrible famine carried off nearly 750,000 of the population. Distressing too was the suffering of the survivors. Then a great emigration set in which, together with the famine, reduced Ireland's population by about half. A majority of the emigrants came to the United States, bringing with them a hatred of England which has given this country a keen interest in the Irish question ever since.

Parnell and the Home Rule Party. — There have always been two parties among Irish patriots; one of them demanding complete national independence, and the other willing to remain within the British Empire provided Ireland were given self-government in domestic affairs. After the failure of earlier efforts at violence this moderate party grew rapidly in strength and was known as the Home Rule or Irish Nationalist party. It owed its importance largely to the organizing ability of Charles Parnell, an Irish Protestant who was elected to parliament in 1875. Within a short time Parnell united a majority of his Irish fellow members into a well-disciplined group bent on obtaining a separate parliament for Ireland. Parnell's plan of campaign was simple but dramatic. He and his Nationalists undertook to obstruct all the ordinary business of the House of Commons until the demand for home rule was granted.

Following " filibuster " methods, they offered long strings of amendments on petty measures, indulged in endless speeches on every question, and interrupted other debaters with shouts and cries. Thus they succeeded in making themselves an unbearable nuisance to the bewildered English members. But they did force parliament to give serious thought to Irish claims.

Gladstone's Losing Fight. — In England the growth of democratic ideals led an increasing number of people to sympathize with the Irish desire for self-government. Gladstone became thoroughly converted to the cause of home rule, and under his leadership a home rule bill was actually passed by the House of Commons in 1893. But the Lords threw it out almost unani-

A London Street in 1895
Looking towards St. Paul's Cathedral from Ludgate Hill.

mously. The sentiment of the country was so evenly divided that Gladstone did not venture to push the matter any further; and home rule disappeared from English politics for many years.

The Land Question Finally Settled. — Although the Conservatives were unflinchingly opposed to home rule, they were

by no means blind to the dangers of Irish discontent. One of the chief causes of that discontent was the land system, as already shown. Since the great famine of 1846 the landlords had been using their legal rights of eviction with a callous selfishness that drove many tenants to violence and crime.

In England the Conservatives were finally convinced that settled conditions in Ireland would never appear so long as the landlords held their monopoly of the land. With the hearty cooperation of the Liberals, between 1885 and 1903 they adopted a series of revolutionizing land purchase acts. By these laws the British government advanced great sums of money — nearly $600,000,000 — to enable tenants to buy the farms they occupied. This money was a loan, not a gift; but the terms of repayment were generous. A government board acted as arbitrator in fixing the price to be paid the landlord. Then the tenant paid the government from $3\frac{1}{4}\%$ to 4% of the purchase price each year, partly as interest and partly as principal. At the end of a period varying from forty-two to eighty-nine years, the tenant would have paid back the government loan and become the absolute owner of the land. Yet the annual payments of the tenant to the government under the land purchase acts were actually less than the rent he formerly paid the landlord.

Under this plan of government-aided purchase, the Irish peasants rapidly became the owners of the soil, and the landlord class — "England's resident garrison in Ireland," as they were called by the Irish — began to disappear. By 1914 it was estimated that three fourths of the farm land of the island had come into possession of the tillers of the soil.

England at Last Grants Home Rule. — Since 1886 the Liberal party had been committed to the plan of self-government for Ireland; but had not been able to put it into effect. In the following years, however, democratic sentiment in England grew rapidly. In 1911, as we have seen, the Liberals were able to destroy the power of the Lords by the Parliament Act, by which a public bill which passed the Commons in three successive sessions was to become law without the consent of the upper house.

Accordingly, in 1912 a home rule bill, satisfactory to the Irish Nationalists, was passed in the House of Commons. It provided for an independent Irish parliament and a cabinet system of government for the smaller island, reserving only certain matters of common interest for the British parliament in London. The bill was, of course, rejected by the Lords, whose solemn minds had been penetrated by no new ideas during the past twenty

Sackville Street, Dublin, 1894

years.[1] But nevertheless it became a law by being passed at two more sessions of the Commons.

1. Why were the Lords so reluctant to accept new ideas?

Home Rule is Killed by Irish Dissensions. — What seemed like a settlement of age-long grievances was now ruined by dissensions among the Irish themselves. Northern Ireland, known as Ulster, refused to join with the rest of the country in accepting self-government, but insisted on maintaining the old relations with England. The reasons of the Ulstermen are easily understood. The majority of the people of Ulster are Protestant. Religious feeling has always been intense in Ireland, and the Protestants feared religious oppression, since they were greatly

outnumbered by the Catholics. Moreover, Ulster, which is the richest and most prosperous part of Ireland, feared unfair taxation from a parliament representing the whole of Ireland.

Since national feeling in the rest of Ireland forbade a division of the island, north and south prepared for civil war. Armies were raised in both sections, and hostilities seemed about to

Queen Victoria in 1897

commence when the outbreak of the World War brought a temporary truce. The British government agreed not to put the law into operation until the end of the war, and then only with due consideration to the interests of Ulster. But the world conflict, as we shall see, was to bring to Ireland even greater miseries before the Irish question reached a solution.[1]

1. Now summarize carefully the steps by which the religious question and the land question in Ireland were solved.

Conclusion

Apart from the dismal Irish question, Great Britain stood out during the nineteenth century as one of the most successful countries. Her evolution toward democracy was gradual, but without setbacks. Her cabinet system of self-government worked so well that it was widely copied. Her colonial empire was the most extensive in existence; and in several of its main parts, was advancing hopefully along the path of home rule and democracy. Her leadership of the world in manufactures, commerce, and finance was long undisputed. On the sea, until the close of the century, none questioned that Britannia ruled the wave. Naturally, in the nineteenth century England was regarded with mingled admiration and dislike, jealousy and awe.

Recessional, by Rudyard Kipling

The famous *Recessional* by Kipling was written after the celebration in honor of the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign, in 1897. It is available in many books, and should be read in full. The following stanzas are the second and fifth:

The tumult and the shouting dies;
  The captains and the kings depart:
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
  An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget — lest we forget!

For heathen heart that puts her trust
  In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
  And guarding, calls not Thee to guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word —
Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord!

Problem and Reference Work

1. Make a comparison between unreformed England of 1820 and unreformed France of 1789 — as to the nobility, the church, the crown, the legislature, and personal rights.

2. State clearly the effect of the revolutionary wave of 1830 upon France, Belgium, and England.

3. Show how the *laissez faire* theory worked when fully applied to industry after the Industrial Revolution.

4. Make a comparison between the foreign policies of Disraeli and Gladstone, listing the chief foreign problems each handled and showing the attitude taken in each case. Use Cheyney's *Short History of England* (index), or Hayes's *Modern Europe*, Vol. II (index).

5. Tell the class clearly just how the *Alabama* controversy was settled.

6. Compare the social reforms of the British Liberals after 1905 with the state socialism program of Bismarck.

7. Contrast the British way of solving the Irish land question with the way in which the French land problem was solved during the Revolution.

8. Read and tell the thrilling story of Florence Nightingale's work in the Crimean War. Use Hoffman's *Heroes and Heroines of English History*, pp. 316 ff.; or Elias's *In Victorian Times*, pp. 202 ff.

9. Get a vivid impression of people and things British by reading Collier's *England and the English*, Chapter 1.

10. In connection with British imperialism, read Tennyson's lines, *The Empire*, written in 1886.

11. Use this original material: (*a*) Speech of Lord Wellington against parliamentary reform in 1830, in E. K. Kendall's *Source Book of English History*, p. 382; (*b*) Lord Russell's speech on rotten boroughs (1832), in Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

12. In the *Outlook* for Jan. 29, 1924, read the article "When Parliament Opens."

13. In S. K. Bolton's *Famous English Statesmen* read these vivid biographical sketches: (*a*) Lord Shaftesbury, pp. 123 ff.; (*b*) John Bright, pp. 192 ff.; (*c*) Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli), pp. 313 ff.; (*d*) Gladstone, pp. 414 ff.

Reading List

Joy, J. R., *Ten Englishmen of the Nineteenth Century*. Good biographical sketches of Russell, Cobden, Peel, Shaftesbury, Gladstone, and Disraeli.

McCarthy, J., *The Epoch of Reform*. An enthusiastic treatment of the Reform of 1832 and reforms resulting from it.

Collier, P., *England and the English* (1912). Sketchy but very interesting. The best chapters are 1, 4, 6.

Moran, T. F., *The English Government*. A clear description suitable for high school use.

Bryce, J., *Gladstone*. A brief, sympathetic estimate.

Ilbert, C., *Parliament*. Brief and fairly simple.

Bagehot, W., *The English Constitution* (Chs. 2 and 3). An illuminating interpretation for mature students.

Fueter, E., *World History* contains a good chapter on Ireland in the nineteenth century, Ch. 20.

The Winter Palace of the Former Czars
St. Petersburg (now Leningrad).

CHAPTER XXII

THE BULKY, BACKWARD RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The Czars Imitate Metternich

The Restless Russian Giant. — Like a great giant, the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century sprawled across Europe and Asia. Over one third of these continents the czars ruled, and claimed one eighth of the land area of the earth. In the century 1814–1914 the subjects of the czar more than doubled in number, totaling over one hundred and seventy million.

Yet in spite of vast area, untold resources, and great population, Russia was a chained giant, penned in by deserts and mountain ranges, and, worst of all, bound for many months every year by the gripping chains of the unconquerable Ice King. In an effort to free himself from ice-bound harbors and rivers and from the Arctic climate, the Russian giant struggled restlessly to stretch out toward the more genial southland.

Throughout the century the czars tried constantly to reach the southern seas. Constantinople, the most obvious outlet, was the golden goal toward which Russian ambition steadily

aspired. On the Pacific, because the port of Vladivostok′ was icebound almost half the year, attempts were made to seize an open port in Chinese territory. In central Asia a push was made to cross Afghanistan in the direction of India; and another drive was opened upon Persia for an outlet by way of the Persian Gulf.

The giant was growing, and in his struggles for more room he cared little for the wishes or the rights of peoples in his way.

"Autocrats of All the Russias." — Five men occupied the Russian throne from 1801 to 1917. These "autocrats of all the

Russian Imperial Family Driving
A scene in the royal park about the year 1850.

Russias" were: Alexander I (1801–1825), Nicholas I (1825–1855), Alexander II (1855–1881), Alexander III (1881–1894), and Nicholas II (1894–1917). In private life these five czars were much better than their predecessors. Occasionally they were stirred by desires for reform and a hope of improving the condition of the poorer classes. But their proposed reforms were at best despotic in spirit and to be enforced only by the ukase[1] of the autocrat.[2]

This autocrat was cut off from any real understanding of the wishes and needs of his people, for he was surrounded by aristocratic and military officials who so hid unpleasant facts from him

that he lived always in an atmosphere of unreality. Even if the czars had sought consistently the welfare of their people, — and this was far from being the case — still, without a representative government or a free press, they would have been quite unable to know what was really wanted by the mass of the people.

1. What was a "ukase"? 2. What other benevolent despots can you name?

Nicholas I, a Typical Russian Autocrat. — Czar Alexander I, who was ruling Russia when the Napoleonic period ended, was a man of liberal and humane sympathies. But after 1815, under the influence of Metternich, he changed his entire attitude and came to fear revolution more than he admired liberalism. Even more hostile toward progress was the next czar, Nicholas I. If he approved plans for a moderate extension of schools it was but to strengthen his dynasty. The younger generation were to be made into " useful and zealous instruments of the government." They were to be brought into " a mood of devoted and humble love for the existing order of orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality."

During this reign the Polish uprising of 1830 was ruthlessly crushed, and Poland lost the partial self-government granted by Alexander I. It was Nicholas I also who helped the Austrians in 1849 to overthrow the Hungarian republic of Kossuth [1] and to reëstablish the oppressive rule of the Hapsburgs in that part of their empire. After the nerve-racking period of 1848–1849 the czar was even more resolutely set against change, and his minister of education boasted that he would die happy if he could " retard the development of the country by fifty years."

At the close of the reign of Nicholas I came the Crimean War, with its military defeat and diplomatic setback for Russia.[2] By many Russians the victories of the enemy were welcomed as likely to force the government to reform itself. Sevastopol (sĕ-vȧs′tŏ-pŏl) had fallen, it was said, that " God might reveal all the rottenness of the system of government." Amid the disasters of the war Nicholas passed away.

1. Read again the story of Kossuth. 2. By whom was Russia defeated?

Steps Toward Reform — and Away From It

Alexander II, Reformer and Reactionary. — The reign of Alexander II is sharply divided into two parts. In the first period, the czar made a series of valuable reforms. In the second period, after the Polish uprising of 1863 and an attempt to assassinate him in 1866, he lost all interest in progress.

Three of the chief reforms of the early period were the emancipation of the serfs, the establishment of local self-government, and the improvement of the educational system.

Emancipation of the Russian Serfs. — After the end of the Crimean War (1856), reading and thinking people hopefully believed that Russia stood on the threshold of a great era of reform. All advance, however, hinged upon the solution of the serf problem, which the czar first attacked. "It is better," said he, "to begin the abolition of serfdom from above, than wait until it begins to abolish itself from below." [1]

Nearly half of the 47,000,000 Russian serfs were peasants on the crown estates. The others belonged to private estates or persons, and were engaged mainly in farm labor, although several millions were domestic servants or workers in mines and factories.[2] After several years of discussion the czar at length ordered his council of state to complete within one month an emancipation decree. "This I desire, I demand, I command!" Accordingly on March 3, 1861, Alexander II signed the decree which freed more than twenty million serfs.[3] Later other groups of serfs were freed until by 1866 emancipation was completed — the most important event in the modern history of Russia.[4]

1. Did American slavery abolish itself from below? 2. Do we generally think of serfs as farm laborers or industrial laborers? 3. Compare this with the number of American slaves freed by the Civil War. 4. What was the final step in ending American slavery? When?

What Emancipation Meant to the Serfs. — Personal freedom without access to farm lands would have meant little to the Russian peasant.[1] Under the emancipation acts, therefore, the peasants were assigned pieces of land taken from their former lords; while the lords were repaid by receiving government bonds

in proportion to the amount of land surrendered. The peasants were to pay in taxes a sum sufficient to meet the annual interest and to pay off the principal of these bonds within a period of forty-nine years. The peasants of each little district were organized into a village community, called the *mir* (mēr), the members of which were made liable for the redemption payments upon all lands within the village.

Though the decree of 1861 made the peasant a free man, it did not improve his economic condition. As shown later (page 525), the land allotted to a peasant family was usually inadequate for their support, and the redemption payments and other government dues made the peasants the most heavily taxed class in the state. Moreover, the old class lines held, making it almost impossible for a peasant, a merchant, or a noble to change from one class to another.

1. Were slaves in America given farms?

Local Self-Government is Begun. — In 1864 the first step toward representative government was taken in Russia. Although no attempt was made to establish a national parliament, yet a decree of that year granted local self-government through elective representative bodies known as *zemstvos*. This system was gradually extended until it covered two thirds of the fifty-nine provinces of European Russia. Each province was divided into districts, in which the three classes of the population — nobles, townspeople, and peasants — elected representatives to a district zemstvo. These district bodies in turn chose representatives to a provincial zemstvo. The logical climax of such a system would have been a national representative assembly. But in spite of the hope of the liberals, it was to be forty years before even a faint shadow of a national legislature appeared.

In the meantime those regions having zemstvos progressed much faster than other parts of the country. The zemstvos were given a limited power of levying taxes, and were placed in charge of many public works, which brought them close to the life of the people. With them lay the task of repairing roads and bridges, as also the control of elementary and industrial

education. They were required to support and supervise poor-houses, hospitals, and insane asylums.

To these local duties the zemstvos attended even more energetically than the higher authorities desired. They acted as training schools for public men,[1] and by their studies and reports awakened wide popular interest in public questions. They

St. Basil's, One of Moscow's Five Hundred Churches
This brilliant, odd edifice, showing the influence of Byzantine architecture, is also known as the Pineapple Church.

became the strongholds of the moderate reformers who hoped without revolution to limit the autocratic powers of the czar by the establishment of an elective national assembly. As early as 1865 the czar had been requested "to crown the edifice of state" by creating such an assembly "in order that truth might penetrate unhindered to the throne."

1. Compare, in this respect, town meetings of colonial New England.

Reaction Triumphs over Reform. — By 1866, however, the czar and his advisers had decisively turned from reform and were seeking to upset the work of the previous years. The powers of the zemstvos were cut down. The press was brought again under strict censorship, while university freedom was overthrown and students and teachers were muzzled. In the secondary schools the popular liberal courses in history and sciences were forbidden, their places being taken by the most formal and lifeless study of Latin and Greek grammar.[1] Even the zemstvo elementary schools were crippled as to funds, textbooks, and courses of study, while the influence of government was thrown on the side of church schools [2] which taught a narrow orthodoxy and a blind loyalty to the czar.

Thus the reign of Alexander II, which had opened with bright promise, became a régime of intellectual and political repression. Between 1863 and 1874 over one hundred and forty-six thousand persons were exiled to Siberia. Reform, thought many, could now be brought about only by revolution. But before tracing the more radical revolutionary efforts, we must turn our attention to Russia's attempts to push out through Turkish lands to the warm waters of the south.

1. Why were Latin and Greek considered "safer" studies than modern languages, history, and science? 2. Schools of what church were these?

Turkey, Constantinople, and the Balkan Question

High-Water Mark of Turkish Power, 1683. — The tide of Turkish invasion into Europe reached its high-water mark by 1683, when nearly all of Hungary was occupied by the invaders. Before this time the Black Sea coasts had been brought under control, making that sea a Turkish lake. The Ægean Sea was likewise dominated; the eastern shore of the Adriatic was largely Turkish; and the sultan's authority had been extended along the entire African coast of the Mediterranean. In western Asia the Turks controlled the regions between the Caspian Sea, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. They thus occupied a most important strategic position for war or for commerce.

DECLINE OF THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Lost to Russia
Lost to Austria-Hungary
Lost to Independent Balkan States 1829-1898
Lost to Balkan States 1912
Lost to Great Britain
Lost to France
Lost to Italy
Turkey in 1926
Longitude East 40 from Greenwich
W-G CO.
514

Why Turkey's Power Declined. — In the closing years of the seventeenth century, when the Hapsburgs gradually wrested Hungary from the hands of the Turks, the tables began to be turned. Thereafter, for two centuries, Turkish power waned. Chief among the causes of this decline were these:

(1) The total Turkish population was not large. This led the Turks to control their subject peoples by military garrisons, and hence there was no fusion with the conquered.

(2) It has always been difficult to keep under discipline a number of army leaders scattered over a vast region. In the Turkish Empire there was constant rivalry among the military chiefs, flaring out in intrigues and civil wars, and leading finally to the establishment of semi-independent countries, such as Egypt and the Barbary States.

(3) Corruption and favoritism were rife in the Turkish government throughout the nineteenth century. The sultan was surrounded by venal officials who freely accepted bribes from foreigners. Governors of the subject Christian population bought their offices at high prices, sometimes at auction sales, and then were allowed to recoup themselves at the expense of the oppressed peoples.

(4) The Turks themselves did not develop the trade for which their empire was so favorably located, leaving this instead in the hands of the subject peoples, among whom the Greeks and the Armenians were the most successful. Further, the opening of Atlantic avenues of trade had taken away the monopoly held by the Levant routes to the East; and when, in 1869, the Suez Canal was completed, Turkey was too weak to benefit by the new lines of commerce.

(5) Religious differences, as already noted in Greece, kept alive intense hatred within the Turkish domains. This frequently led to revolts by the Christians or to brutal massacres of Christians by the Turks, as in Bulgaria and Armenia.

(6) With the growth of nationalism in the nineteenth century bitter racial feelings were aroused, while the spirit of patriotism urged the races on to seek freedom from Turkish control.

"The Sick Man of Europe." — The serious internal problems of Turkey were made more complicated by the rivalries of the great European powers. Russia and Austria each wished to nurture the budding Balkan states.[1] Russia wanted to get control of the Black Sea, but Austria feared such control might interfere with traffic on the Danube. Russia, after 1774, posed as the protector of Greek Christians [2] within the sultan's territories, and encouraged a "Pan-Slav" movement for the union of all the various Slavic races in southeastern Europe.

Pacific and Atlantic Co.

A View of the Constantinople-Pera Bridge

Pera is the main residential district of the foreign Christians of Constantinople.

Toward Constantinople, moreover, Russia looked with longing eyes, hoping to gain control of this outlet to the Mediterranean. But Great Britain feared such control would endanger her own colonies and commerce. Austria and France also were unwilling to permit so great an extension of Russian power.

Turkey really benefited by these rivalries. Since the great nations could not agree upon a plan for dividing the Turkish lands, it was to the interest of all that the sultan's power be

preserved at least in name. Thus the "sick man of Europe" [3] was kept alive by artificial stimulants administered by his international relatives who could not agree upon the division of his estate in case he should die.

1. What is meant by "nurture the budding Balkan states"? 2. What is meant by "Greek Christians"? 3. What is the origin of this expression?

Russia's Many Wars with the Turks. — From the days of Peter the Great until 1878 there was a long series of Russo-Turkish wars, whose dreary record fills many volumes of history. Almost always the Turkish soldiers proved themselves good fighters, but in the long run were compelled to fall back before the Russians. Poor generalship sometimes led to Turkish disaster; often the weakness lay in the bungling government at Constantinople; inevitably the superior resources and population of Russia would have conquered had not other countries come to the aid of Turkey. Even in spite of foreign intervention Russia slowly gained upon her enemy.

The Crimean peninsula and the sea of Azof region were permanently occupied by Russia in the reign of Catherine the Great (1783). The lands about Odessa were added in 1792, and in 1812 the region under Muscovite control was extended to the mouth of the Danube. In the nineteenth century Russia occupied the important port of Batum and the neighboring eastern shore of the Black Sea. But the goal of Russian ambition — Constantinople, the eastern Rome — was never reached. Like the cup of Tantalus, it was time and again snatched from her grasp when she seemed on the point of seizing it. The Crimean War (1854–1856) was fought by a jealous England and France to protect Turkey from the Russian advance. Later, a marked Russian victory over the Turks in 1877 was completely nullified by the action of the other great powers in the Congress of Berlin.[1] Hence in 1914 the Russian mastery of the Bosporus was still in the realm of unfulfilled dreams.

1. See index for other references to the Congress of Berlin.

New Balkan States Carved from Turkey. — Yet neither the ambition of Russia nor the uneasy fears of the other powers could

prevent the division of Turkish territory when the stirrings of nationalism [1] appeared among the subject races.

(1) Montenegro was formally recognized by the sultan as independent in 1799. Never really under Turkish authority, the freedom-loving inhabitants of the "Black Mountain" then entered the company of European states after a series of victories over the Turkish forces. After further wars with the Turks, Montenegro was again declared independent, with enlarged territory, in 1878.[2]

(2) Greece, as explained in a previous chapter, rebelled against the sultan's authority (1821) and eight years later was recognized by the great powers as an independent kingdom.[3]

(3) In 1830 Serbia won the right of self-government, although nominally a part of the sultan's empire. This autonomy continued until in 1878, when, at the Congress of Berlin, Serbia was recognized as an independent kingdom. But a large Serb population still lived within the limits of Austria-Hungary. It was the effort to unite these with the kingdom of Serbia which led to bitterness between the two countries, producing finally the immediate cause of the World War in 1914.

(4) North of the lower Danube, in the old Roman province of Dacia, was a Christian population which retained much of the Latin language, and proudly claimed descent from the ancient Romans. Their lands were known as the "Danubian principalities." At first encouraged by Russia, and later dominated by her, the principalities became largely autonomous after 1829, and the name Rumania was in 1862 applied to the united provinces. In 1878 Rumania's complete independence from Turkey was recognized by the Congress of Berlin.

(5) Bulgaria, being closer to the seat of Turkish power in Constantinople, was later in gaining independence. Here national sentiment was slow in awakening, but in 1876 an uprising against the sultan was planned by a group of patriots. When information of the plot reached the Turkish authorities they took a fiendish revenge. Ten thousand Bulgarians were slaughtered.

Posing as the protector of the Bulgarians and the other subject

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878. From a painting by Anton von Werner.

peoples in the Balkan region, Russia now took up arms against the sultan. In 1877, after a signal victory over the Turks, Russia sought to create a "Big Bulgaria," but the Congress of Berlin clipped the wings of the young fledgling. Until 1908 the principality was nominally under Turkish suzerainty. In that year, complete independence was proclaimed by Bulgaria.

(6) West and northwest of Serbia and Montenegro lay two Turkish provinces, Bos'nia and Herzegovina (hĕr-tsĕ-gō-vē'nä), occupied largely by people of the Serbian race, or as they are now called, Yugo-Slavs. Envious of the advance toward independence made by their fellow countrymen in neighboring Serbia and Montenegro, the inhabitants of the provinces longed to throw off the Turkish yoke and to unite in forming a larger Serbian nation. But these strivings brought down upon them the anger of Austria.[4] Consequently the Congress of Berlin, while recognizing the sultan's theoretical sovereignty over the two provinces, gave them to Austria "to occupy and administer." In 1908, to the great displeasure of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina were finally annexed to Austria-Hungary.

The more distant parts of the Turkish Empire, meanwhile, had also fallen away from the sultan. Great Britain occupied Cyprus; France conquered Algiers and the neighboring coasts; Egypt made itself nearly independent, and during the eighties came under the control of Great Britain. In 1912 Italy also helped herself to a large section of the African lands — Tripoli.

1. Just what does "stirrings of nationalism" mean? 2. What has become of Montenegro since 1918? Consult an up-to-date map. 3. Who helped Greece to gain independence? How? 4. Why did Austria object to the plan of an enlarged Serbia?

Russia's Share in the Turkish Plunder. — Throughout two centuries Russia has been intensely interested in Balkan affairs, her attitude varying at different times from that of an excited spectator to that of an actual participant. Yet the net result of her activities was not great. She took from the Turks the northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea. But the great powers unceasingly guarded Constantinople and prevented the occupation of the straits by Russia. Balked in the Near East,

Russian pressure was exerted at other points, bearing down the opposition of the weak nations of central and eastern Asia.

Russia Expands Across Asia

Siberia Becomes a Land of Exile. — Late in the sixteenth century Russian adventurers crossed over the Urals into what is now known as West Siberia. Trappers and hunters by the hundreds entered a region abounding in game and fur-bearing animals. Hardy Cossack [1] explorers pushed on ever toward the east until by 1650 they reached the Pacific coast.

After the early days of hunters and explorers, Russia adopted a definite policy for the military control of Siberia. Guards of Cossacks protected the lines of communication, while garrisons of soldiers held in check the small native population. Peasants and serfs were sent out to raise food for the garrisons, while stations for relaying horses were established on the main road to the east. Voluntary settlement was permitted at some periods, especially after 1875.

From a very early date, however, Siberia was a place of exile for political prisoners.[2] In the early nineteenth century about two thousand were sent to Siberia every year, while by 1900 the annual number was ten times as great. In periods of political unrest the number of exiles was greatly increased. Thus 50,000 Poles were exiled after the attempted revolution in 1863.

1. Use your dictionary. 2. What is "exile for political prisoners"?

Russia Advances into Central Asia. — In the forty years beginning with 1846 Russian officials in western Siberia conducted a systematic advance into the oases scattered throughout the arid regions of central Asia. Old caravan routes from China to the Caspian Sea came under Russian control; famed cities, such as Bokha'ra, were occupied by Russian garrisons; and all of Turkestan' outside the Chinese empire became Russian provinces. But in Central Asia Russia came into competition with the advance posts of Britain's Indian empire. The two countries, after many threatened hostilities, at length in 1907 reached an agreement, which is described in Chapter XXVII. Here too,

as at Constantinople, Russia was prevented from reaching an outlet on the southern seas.

The Siberian Railroad and the Pacific Ports. — The Russian government carried on railroad building in the same way as it directed other autocratic enterprises. For military and political reasons, as well as economic, the czar decided that a railroad should be built across the vast plains of Siberia. In accordance

STATION ON THE SIBERIAN RAILROAD
From a photograph of 1917.

with an imperial decree, work was begun in 1891, and eleven years later communication by rail, with only one break, was completed between Moscow and Vladivostok′.

But this was not easily done. On a part of the route in Siberia Russian engineers encountered great difficulties. In order to avoid these, they secured from China permission to build the road to Vladivostok for a thousand miles through the province of Manchuria. This concession proved only the beginning of Russian intervention in Chinese affairs. The important harbors of Port Arthur and Dalny were leased by China to Russia, and at length the czar's fleet had on the Pacific a seaport which was free from ice the year round. But defeat in the war with Japan (1904–1905) (see page 653) compelled Russia to withdraw to the

colder regions of the north. At great expense she now completed the Siberian railroad on Russian soil, and bent her energies toward the development of the Vladivostok harbor.

Russia Reaches the Point of Explosion

Autocracy Breeds Revolution. — The year 1905 brought defeat at the hands of Japan. It also witnessed great popular attacks upon autocracy and the derangement of industry by widespread strikes among the working people. A monarchy, outwardly the strongest in Europe, was compelled to fight for its very existence; and at last the czar, like the monarchs of western Europe half a century earlier, reluctantly promised his people a bit of self-government. Before viewing the events of 1905, we must study the agitation against autocracy during the preceding forty years.

The tide of reaction from reform had by 1866 become overwhelming. Alexander II was extremely conservative for the remainder of his reign. Public speech and the press were closely restricted, and many thousands of suspects were exiled.

Such conditions, like those in Italy, Austria, and Germany in the age of Metternich, could no longer be criticized publicly but were opposed, if at all, by secret societies. Official severity bred revolutionary extremists, who, in their rage against autocracy, attacked all that had been held sacred in society. Political despotism, the orthodox church, private ownership of land, capitalistic industries, even the family itself, were all described as creations of the ruling classes aimed at enslaving the people.[1]

1. Is rabidness usually the natural result of oppression?

Nihilists and Anarchists Plot against the Government. — Some of the Russian radicals of this period called themselves *Ni'hilists* (from the Latin *nihil*, meaning "nothing"). By taking this name they meant to emphasize their lack of respect for everything in church, state, and society. They would believe nothing taught them by the established classes. Other radicals took the name *Anarchists* to indicate their opposition to every form of government, which, they claimed, was a restraint upon the natural liberty of the people.

More moderate reformers wished to discountenance these nihilists and anarchists by free public discussion. In an address to the czar one of the provincial zemstvos stated that society could combat subversive ideas[1] only if it had the necessary weapons — freedom of speech, of opinion, and of the press.[2] But the author of this reasonable appeal was exiled to Siberia along with the revolutionary extremists whom he was opposing.

The radicals began their work by seeking to turn the people against the government. For this purpose they established Sunday schools for the study of elementary branches and current topics, and went out in various disguises as missionaries among the peasants. But the government authorities speedily broke up their schools and meetings, spies easily pierced their disguises, and hundreds of the radicals were exiled.

After 1878 the party of open violence began a policy of terrorism and outrage, hoping to disorganize the government and to frighten ordinary citizens into joining the revolutionary cause. High officials were marked for assassination by a small secret committee whose watchword was " Learn the use of dynamite! " Police officials were murdered after posters signed by " the executive committee " had marked them out as victims. Attack after attack was made upon the well-guarded czar. Railroad trains were dynamited, the streets of St. Petersburg were mined, the royal dining room was wrecked, and at length Alexander himself was killed by bombs thrown by the revolutionists (1881).

1. Define "subversive." 2. Is this idea correct or not?

Hard Lot of Russian Peasants. — The reign of Alexander III (1881–1894) was a period of almost complete reaction, in which much of the advance made early in the preceding reign was lost. The reform movement itself suffered because its moderate members were shocked by the outrages committed by the violent. And yet, as time went on, the need of reforms became greater than ever. In two very different fields this need was felt: in the life of the peasants, and in the condition of the factory workers in the new industrial plants.

Miserable indeed was the condition of the peasants even after

emancipation. The peasant land was generally owned not by individuals but by the village community (*mir*), and redivided at regular intervals among the inhabitants. There could be no improvement in farming methods under such a system.[1] Out of twenty-five countries raising food grains, Russia stood at the bottom — even below Italy, Algeria, and India — in the average yield from cultivated land. Great numbers of peasants, totaling one half of the adult males, were forced to hire out as laborers on the noblemen's estates for a few months every year, to avoid starvation.

But the peasant, after going out to hire, was bound to return

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THE GREAT CLOTH MARKET AT THE FAIR IN NIZHNI-NOVGOROD
From a photograph taken in 1924.

to his native village in order to pay the taxes placed upon his community after emancipation. He was not allowed to journey away from his home without a passport which would be given only to those whom the village community could trust. In the long winter days the reunited peasant families turned to simple

manufactures, a village often specializing in certain articles and selling them at fairs or markets.

Population increased, too, faster than the food supplies, and there were distressing famines in 1890, 1898, and 1907 in many parts of the country. Year by year the peasants sank deeper into arrears in their redemption payments to the government. Thus in the period from 1882 to 1900 the total amount of these arrearages increased over fivefold.

It was little wonder, therefore, that millions of people every summer wandered about in search of work; that thousands found their way, with or without passports, into Siberia; and that, in the thirty years 1884–1914, over three million Russian subjects reached the ports of the United States.

1. Why could there be no improvement?

Industrial Workers in Russia. — Although in 1914 seven out of every eight Russians were engaged in farming, still a considerable advance had been made in modern industry and in large-scale production by the factory system. Probably in no other European country, however, did the Industrial Revolution bring such harsh treatment of the workers as in Russia. The unprosperous condition of agriculture forced many people to go to work in industrial plants at very low wages and long hours. No proper care was taken of the workers, and living conditions in the factory towns were even worse than they had been in England and western Europe fifty years earlier. Many of the factories, too, were built with foreign capital and sometimes were actually managed by foreigners who cared only for fat profits and showed no sense of responsibility to their working people.

Japanese War Ripens Revolutionary Sentiment. — By the year 1905, when the Russian army met defeat at the hands of Japan, Russia was on the verge of an explosion from within. The professional revolutionary class of anarchists and socialists was active. The increase of education, the growth of the factory system, the movement of many people from place to place, — all of these were awakening new desires and encouraging a common feeling among all ranks of the population.

On all sides were unrest and uncertainty. While the terrorists renewed their outrages upon officials, the educated classes were agitating for political reforms. The discontent among the factory workers broke out in many strikes; and in the country districts there were frequent riots of the peasants against the large landholders and the government officials.

THE CZAR'S PALACE AT ST. PETERSBURG

This was begun by Peter the Great. The formal garden in front shows French influence.

In an atmosphere charged with such dangerous elements, the government stubbornly continued its policy of martial rule, exile, and execution. Then the war with Japan laid bare the corruption and blundering of the ruling class, and encouraged all other classes to attack it at home.

The Revolution of 1905; Bloody Sunday. — On January 22, the workingmen of St. Petersburg gathered with their families for a peaceful procession to the czar's palace, where they hoped to present to their "little father" a petition asking for some reforms. Led by a priest, the workmen were orderly and unarmed. In spite of this fact troops of soldiers repeatedly fired upon the petitioners, killing hundreds and wounding thousands.

After this, conditions went from bad to worse until in October and November, 1905, they culminated in a series of general strikes. Alarmed by the strength of revolutionary sentiment, Czar Nicholas II at length issued a decree granting civil rights to all, and providing for an elective assembly — the *Duma* (dōō′mä) — whose consent should be necessary to all legislation.

The Last Victory of Autocracy. — This promise of popular government divided the forces of the reformers. The moderates were satisfied with the government's program, while the extremists now determined upon armed insurrection against the monarchy, hoping on its ruins to establish a socialistic democracy. But the friends of autocracy had gained their second wind; the army in general remained loyal to the czar; and the uprisings in Moscow and elsewhere were ruthlessly suppressed.

Bitter punishments were meted out to the revolutionists. The troops received orders to "act mercilessly" and not to "spare cartridges." In the disaffected districts peasant homes and even whole villages were destroyed, while thousands of suspects were put to death or exiled to Siberia. "A calm as of a graveyard reigned over the terrorized towns and burned villages." Partly to distract attention from itself, the government incited popular attacks upon the Jews and permitted horrible massacres (*pogroms*) in districts where they were numerous.

The Popular Duma a Farce. — Six months after the czar's promise of a representative assembly, the Duma met in St. Petersburg (May 10, 1906). By this time the autocracy had regained its composure, and the powers of the Duma were curtailed by royal decree even before it convened. The majority of the members favored a limited monarchy of the British type,[1]

but when they sought to criticize imperial officials and to bring them to account for the *pogroms* against the Jews, the czar dissolved the assembly. One hundred and eighty members who signed a protest against the government's action, were seized and imprisoned.

Three more Dumas were elected between 1907 and 1911, but the government had carefully modified the suffrage qualifications, and by military control of elections at length obtained a submissive body. Thus once again victory apparently rested with the policy of "autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationality." "Thank God," declared one of the czar's ministers to the members of the Duma, "thank God, we have no parliament."

1. Why do you suppose the British type was preferred?

Another Revolution Seems at Hand in 1914. — Examination of suspects by military courts, exile to Siberia, frightful attacks upon the Jews, enormous fines levied upon newspaper editors, an elaborate system of police spies, — by these means the government hoped to prevent any new popular movement.

The progress of industry and of agriculture, however, was making people think. Elementary education was preparing a large part of the people to read and to act. Despite arbitrary government, Russia was gradually being changed under the influence of the Industrial Revolution and of popular education. But it still lacked the most marked feature of western countries — an elective representative system and popular control over the management of the government. To obtain these was now the hope of a large number of Russians, and a revolution seemed the next inevitable step. But on August 1, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia. The next day the czar issued a proclamation to all his "loyal subjects" urging them to forget internal dissensions and "rising as a single man to repulse the insolent attack of the enemy"

For the time being an almost unanimous response was made to the czar's appeal.[1] Not until blundering mismanagement again brought disaster to the Russian armies, as it had in 1856 and 1905,[2] did the revolutionary movement finally burst out,

resulting in 1917 in the complete overthrow of the system of the czars and a little later in the death of Nicholas II, the last "autocrat of all the Russias."

1. How do you explain this loyalty to a ruler whose record was so unsatisfactory? 2. What events of 1856 and 1905 are suggested?

Problem and Reference Work

1. Make a comparison between the ending of serfdom in Russia and the ending of slavery in the United States, covering the number and character of the people affected, and the methods of gaining freedom.

2. Was the absence of democracy in Russia and in Germany in 1914 due to similar causes? Think this out.

3. In Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II, read the following: (*a*) The chief agreements reached at the Congress of Berlin, pp. 396 ff.; (*b*) George Kennan's description of the Siberian exile system, pp. 354 ff.; (*c*) Prince Kropotkin's account of Russian serfdom, pp. 345 ff.; (*d*) Comments of Nicholas II on the attitude of the Duma of 1906, pp. 377 ff.

4. In Olgin's *Soul of the Russian Revolution* read Chapters 3 and 4 for a fuller understanding of the modern Russian peasants and their discontent.

5. Use Chapter 5 of the same book for a treatment of the spirit of Russia's educated leaders before 1917.

6. In Fraser's *Real Siberia* read about: (*a*) Siberian peasant life in 1902, Chapter 5; (*b*) Siberian prisoners, Chapter 9, especially pp. 100–103.

7. Read the same author's impressions of Russia in 1915 in his *Russia of Today:* (*a*) Russian characteristics, pp. 1–11; (*b*) A Russian factory town, Chapter 13; (*c*) Peasant life in Russia, Chapter 20.

Reading List

Olgin, M. J., *The Soul of the Russian Revolution* (1917). A sympathetic description of the causes of discontent in modern Russia.

Hazen, C. D., *Fifty Years of Europe* (1919). Good on Russia to 1914 (Chs. 12 and 14).

Kennan, G., *Siberia and the Exile System* (1891). Well written.

Fraser, J. F., *The Real Siberia* (1902); *Russia of Today* (1915). Interesting sketches by an English traveler.

Schapiro, J. S., *Modern and Contemporary European History*, Chs. 21, 22, 23.

CHAPTER XXIII

EUROPE ADVANCES TOWARD DEMOCRACY

Europe Learns to Make Constitutions

From Divine Right of Kings to Written Constitutions. — Before the French Revolution absolute monarchy had been the prevailing type of government in Europe.[1] The nineteenth century, however, with its many revolutions and deep stirring

How Four Kings Each Took his Rough Draft of a Constitution

King of Naples. "Take away that nasty compound."
King of Sardinia. "As Naples is taking it, I may as well."
King of Denmark. "I suppose there is no help for it, so here goes!"
King of Prussia. "I mixed mine myself, and so I know it's all right."
From *Punch*, 1848.

of the people, brought an almost universal transition from absolutism either to limited monarchies or to republics, and the old doctrine of the divine right of kings gave way in most countries.[2] In its place the democratic idea of the rights of the people was penetrating into European political practice.

A constitution may be simply defined as a set of principles according to which a country is governed. If these principles are purposely and systematically grouped together in one document, we have a written or formal constitution; while if a system

EUROPE IN 1789

of government consists of customs, precedents, and separate laws never officially assembled in compact form, we call the constitution unwritten or informal. Our national constitution, for example, is largely — though not entirely — a formal one; England's is altogether an informal one. In choosing between the two types, most modern countries have preferred written constitutions.[3]

The peoples of Europe in the nineteenth century had good reason to distrust their monarchs,[4] and to be jealous of the aristocratic classes from which most of the high officials in state, church, and army had so long been chosen. This led them to look to written constitutions as the bulwark of their rights. Moreover, such a constitution seemed to the people a specially democratic device, "the visible image of their sovereignty."

To satisfy these natural feelings of the people, many formal constitutions were made in the century following the French

EUROPE IN 1920

Revolution. It has been estimated that over three hundred of them appeared in Europe between 1800 and 1880, besides many others in our own states and in Latin America. These constitutions were deeply venerated since they seemed to be trophies of the hard-won battles of democracy. Even as recently as August, 1919, the new German constitution provided that at the end of the period of compulsory education, each pupil should be given a copy of the constitution in order that he might continually read and study the basis of democracy.

1. Name an important exception. 2. Mention important countries in which the divine-right principle prevailed up to the World War. 3. Study this paragraph again very carefully. 4. Give facts to prove this statement.

Styles in Constitution Making. — There are styles in constitution making as well as in matters of dress, art, or music. Thus in southern Europe for some years the short-lived Spanish constitution of 1812 was a favorite model. The American federal system was influential when unions were to be formed

out of several small states as the German Empire, the republic of Switzerland, and the Commonwealth of Australia. On the other hand, most of the countries on the Continent adopted the cabinet system of government as practiced in Great Britain. The famous French declaration of rights of 1789 [1] was also imitated in many countries. Indeed many devices and customs of government were so widely imitated that they came to be used almost as generally as the telegraph, or telephone, the alarm clock, or the gasoline engine.

At the outbreak of the World War the twenty-three independent states of Europe might be grouped into only three classes. There were five avowed *republics* (Switzerland, France, Portugal, San Marino, and Andorra); sixteen were *constitutional monarchies* with varying degrees of democracy or lack of it (Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Luxemburg); and two were despotic monarchies (Russia and Turkey).

From this it appears that in 1914 monarchies of some sort prevailed throughout much more than two thirds of Europe. At the same time in North and South America there were twenty-one republics and no monarchies.[2]

All of the sixteen constitutional monarchies of Europe in 1914, except Great Britain, had written constitutions. This is far from meaning that their governments were really alike. In England, for instance, the king had lost his ancient prerogatives and the real power lay with the cabinet and the House of Commons. In Germany and Austria, on the other hand, the monarch still held under the constitution an almost despotic sway. Thus we find that when we classify a government as a constitutional monarchy we have done very little toward understanding it.

Behind the constitution and the monarch in all of these states stood the power of popular opinion, which ultimately must determine the form of government. Public education, a free press, and the right to form associations for political and economic purposes — all of these helped to mold public sentiment.

A Local Political Meeting in Switzerland

Here the voters have come together to discuss and decide public measures and to elect officers.

"Only monarchs who are revered as seeking the welfare of their subjects are any longer safe upon their thrones. Monarchies exist only by democratic consent," said Woodrow Wilson, writing in 1898.

1. What declaration is meant? 2. Account for this contrast.

Wide Influence of the British Cabinet System

The Continent Copies the British Cabinet System. — In the absolute monarchies of earlier days the king or his officials possessed the three essential powers of government — making the laws, interpreting them, and enforcing them. As soon as the old autocracy began to be undermined in any country the first check upon the crown was an elected legislative assembly to give the people's representatives a share in the laying of taxes and making of laws. But a lawmaking assembly could not control the king's despotic powers in executing the laws which the assembly had made. In Germany and Austria down to 1918 no adequate curb upon these executive powers of the emperors had yet been developed. In most of the limited monarchies, however, the British cabinet system had been copied during the nineteenth century as a device by which the people could rule even the executive department.

Responsibility, the Heart of the Cabinet System. — Under the cabinet system the king is left outside the real machinery of government. He does not make decisions or follow his own judgment but must always follow the advice of his cabinet ministers.[1] But to whom are the ministers responsible?

The cabinet as a whole and the individual ministers are responsible to the popular elective branch of the legislature. This is the really vital thing. If some act or plan of the ministers is displeasing to the legislative assembly, it may record against them a vote of lack of confidence. The cabinet must then resign, unless they choose to make an appeal to the people by ordering the election of a new legislature. This appeal to the voters is often called "going to the country." If in this election the voters do not support the cabinet, they then resign.

When this occurs it is the duty of the king to select new ministers. Does he pick his personal friends and companions as a Louis XIV would have done? Not at all. He must select for cabinet positions only such men as will be acceptable to the majority in the elective house of the legislature. This majority decides who shall be entrusted with the leadership in lawmaking, the enforcement of laws, and all the active running of the government, and may at any time bring about their removal.

1. Then why does Great Britain retain a king in the government? Think out a really sensible answer.

How the Cabinet System Works. — The king appoints as chairman and active leader of a cabinet a man who has been chosen by the majority in the legislature from its own number as its leader, and who is known as *prime minister* or *premier*. The premier picks from the legislature the other ministers and assigns to each one his executive position. This is known as "forming a government." [1]

But the cabinet in European countries is much more than a group of executive officials. It is a select committee chosen to run the government. It introduces in the legislature the annual budget [2] and all other important bills, and, through its leadership in that body, sees that these are passed. The cabinet as a body also decides and carries out the internal and foreign policies of the country.[3]

1. Define "government" in this special sense. 2. Note this word "budget" and be sure of its meaning. 3. Are cabinet members at the same time members of the legislative body? Give reasons.

Advantages of the Cabinet System. — A form of government which has been so widely adopted must have some decided advantages over other systems.

(1) The cabinet system makes it possible to retain a monarchy in name, while allowing the people to control the government. National pride, the strength of time-honored traditions, and personal loyalty to the sovereign were sometimes too strong to allow the establishment of republics. The people in many countries believed in monarchy, were determined to have a

king, and yet equally determined to make him amenable to public opinion. This the cabinet system accomplishes.

(2) The executive officials lead the legislature and yet are kept subordinate to it. Between legislature and executives there can be no lasting conflict, since the majority in the legislature can always compel the adoption of its ideas and the appointment of its own leaders as head executives.[1]

(3) The cabinet system makes the entire government more quickly responsive to public opinion than the American system with its President chosen for four years, its senators for six years, and its representatives for two years. The cabinet may at any time dissolve the elective part of the legislature and appeal to the people; [2] and, on the other hand, the legislature may withdraw its support from the executive whenever it chooses and compel the appointment of a new cabinet.[3] This leads both cabinet and legislature to keep in sympathetic touch with public opinion and to study closely the changing needs of the nation.[4]

1. Does our President always work in harmony with our Congress? Give recent illustrations. 2. Can our President do this? Our governors? 3. Can Congress compel the President to choose a new cabinet? 4. Now try to state the advantages of our system over the cabinet system.

Outstanding European Governments Before 1914

The states of our union have constitutions strikingly alike. So, too, among the republics on the American continents there are marked resemblances in government. But in Europe this has not been the case. Here on one continent before 1914 were to be seen absolutism of the old style, as in Russia, and complete democracy, as in Switzerland. The contrasts between these governments will become evident as we proceed.

Switzerland, a Democratic Republic. — Switzerland under its present constitution (adopted in 1848 and revised in 1874) is a federal republic composed of twenty-five cantons.[1] Following the American plan, each of these cantons is represented equally in the upper house of the federal legislature, and according to population in the lower house.[2] As in the United States, also, the federal government is assigned definitely named powers,

while the powers not granted by the constitution to the union belong to the cantons.

The federal executive is not a president or prime minister, but a council of seven men chosen by the legislature for three years.

House of Parliament, Bern, Switzerland

Every year one member of the executive council is chosen as president, but this gives him no greater powers than the other members except as a presiding officer. So we may think of the Swiss executive as a committee of seven equal "presidents" serving at the same time. Each member of the council is the head of an executive department.

But only a scant idea of the true spirit of Swiss democracy can be gained from this sketch of the framework of government. It is in its actual workings that we see the people's power, for in both cantonal and federal governments the voters are in remarkably close touch with the real running of things. In some cantons, for instance, elections are held and laws are passed in democratic mass meetings of all the voters, held usually out-of-doors, in an open meadow or under the trees; and in all the cantons, by means of the political devices known as *referendum* and *initiative*, the people may take an actual part in lawmaking.

Thus the Swiss citizen keeps up a continuing interest in politics and has a direct hold upon his representatives. Unlike the voters in some countries, whose only contact with government is on election day, the Swiss exercise at all times an effective control over their officials. The result is that the government is remarkably responsive to public opinion. At the same time, the voters are encouraged to be alert on public questions.

1. Do you see why the Swiss chose a federal plan of union? Why did the Americans? 2. Why is such a plan appropriate for the Swiss? For us?

France, a Centralized Republic. — The third French republic was proclaimed in September, 1870, after the collapse of the system of Napoleon III, but its government was not molded into permanent shape until the passage of a set of important constitutional laws in 1875 and 1884. Under these organic laws, which are still the basis of the republic, the French voter has far less direct influence upon government than has the Swiss citizen. Once in four years the members of the Chamber of Deputies are chosen, but after the election Sunday [1] has passed, the Frenchman has no control over the deputies for another four years, unless there is in the meantime a dissolution of the lower house. Thus ordinarily the " sovereign people " of France are directly supreme on only one day in four years. At all other times they act indirectly, except as freely expressed public opinion does influence officials all the time.

The three hundred members of the Senate serve for nine years, one third of the body being chosen by an indirect electoral

system every third year. The president of the republic is elected for seven years by the two legislative bodies sitting together and is eligible indefinitely for reëlection. The constitution may be amended also by a joint session.[2] In none of these activities are the voters called upon to express their personal views.

The French president does not occupy the highly honorable position of the king of England, nor does he wield the broad executive powers of the President of the United States. As a witty observer has remarked, "The English king reigns but does not rule, the American president rules but does not reign, but the president of France neither reigns nor rules." In France the real executive power belongs to the premier and the other cabinet members, who are dependent upon the support of the majority in the legislature. Unfortunately for the smooth working of the cabinet system, this majority is usually made up of a fusion of several small parties, and is consequently short-lived. Under this system a premier continues in power only as long as he can hold together several factions temporarily allied. The result is that French cabinets come and go in quick succession. For instance, in the forty-three years between 1871 and 1914, fifty different cabinets rose and fell in France.[3]

In local government, too, the French system lacks altogether the constant democratic control seen in Switzerland. Over each department is a *prefect*, not elected, but appointed by the secretary of the interior in the national cabinet.[4] He acts as a recruiting officer under the compulsory military training system, as superintendent of schools of the department, and as its chief of police. At the same time he is the agent of the national government in all local matters, such as supervision over city governments within his department.

Contrary to the British and American practice of allowing local governments to levy taxes for local needs, in France all taxes are laid by the national government.

1. What do you think of the European plan of holding elections on Sunday? 2. Compare with the method of amending our constitution. 3. Who is now premier of France? How long has he been in office? 4. What control has our President over governors of states.

Italy, a Limited Monarchy in 1914. — Of the many constitutions nervously offered by the rulers of Europe to their restless subjects during the upheavals of 1848 only one, that of Sardinia-Piedmont, lives on to the present day. With the growth of Italian union this constitution was accepted by popular vote in each of the old states of the peninsula, and under it Italy was still governed in 1914.

Nominally the Italian king had great power. He had an absolute veto on legislation; he held full executive authority, making treaties, declaring war, commanding the army and navy, appointing all officers of the state, and creating senators.[1] But in actual practice the king never vetoed bills passed by the legislature, and practically all his executive powers were taken over by the cabinet ministers. The king always acted upon the advice of a minister in exercising his powers, and the cabinet was responsible to the elective branch of the legislature. Thus the duties of the king were really performed by officials over whom he had little control, and his own position was largely ornamental, like that of the British king or French president.

Two houses, of very different sorts, made up the Italian legislature. The upper house, called the Senate, was composed of nearly four hundred members appointed for life by the king, and selected from officials in church and state, persons famous in science or literature or noted for honorable service to the country, and men of wealth. Like the other powers of the king, this right of naming senators was really the cabinet's. In fact the cabinet often added new members to the Senate in order to pass bills desired by the lower house, as in 1890 when as many as seventy-five new senators were named.

The Chamber of Deputies was the real democratic feature in the Italian constitution and the most powerful body in the state.[2] In legislative matters it could overawe the Senate, while in executive management it controlled the royal powers through the cabinet. The deputies, numbering about five hundred, were elected for five years, but frequent dissolutions cut down the average length of their term to less than three years. Originally

the suffrage in united Italy was very limited, the voters numbering only one in forty of the population, but by acts of 1882 and 1912 manhood suffrage was adopted.

1. Does a British king have such power theoretically? In reality? 2. Why was it?

The German Empire, an Autocratic State. — Under the disguise of a liberal constitution, the German Empire, founded in 1871, was in fact an autocracy. Twenty-five states were grouped in a federal union, in which Prussia, with her three fifths of the population and area of the empire, overshadowed the other twenty-four. Indeed, the German Empire has been likened to a union of a lion, several foxes, and a score of mice.[1] Each state had a fixed number of votes in the federal council (Bundesrath). The people of the entire empire elected directly the members of the lower house (Reichstag); but as the distribution of members was not changed from 1871 to 1918,[2] the growing population in the cities and industrial centers where liberal ideas prevailed, was scantily represented. Moreover, as shown in Chapter XX, the Reichstag really had little power except to discuss and ratify proposals laid before it by the Bundesrath.

The king of Prussia was by virtue of that office also German emperor, with powers as emperor and as king inextricably interwoven. As emperor he personally commanded the army and navy of the empire, and managed foreign affairs; as king of Prussia he directed without much hindrance the government of that kingdom, and virtually controlled the actions of the federal council. As emperor he appointed the one powerful imperial minister, the *chancellor*, who was responsible only to him; while as king of Prussia he ruled almost absolutely through a centralized system of officials and military men.

A complicated intertwining of positive powers and obstructive vetoes — the creation of Bismarck — placed in the hands of this emperor-king more authority[3] than was wielded by any other monarch in western Europe.

1. Who was the lion? Who were the foxes? The mice? 2. Was this accidental? Give reason. 3. Enumerate his powers.

Parliament Buildings, on the Famous Ring Street, Vienna, Austria

Austria-Hungary, the Twin Monarchy. — Probably the most peculiar government in Europe was that of Austria-Hungary from 1867 to 1918. The attempt of Austria to establish absolute rule over Hungary after destroying the Hungarian republic in 1849 was only temporarily successful. In 1867, weakened by defeat in two recent wars,[1] the Austrian emperor was forced to grant complete home rule to Hungary, then led by her great statesman, Francis Deák (dā'äk),[2] and to agree to a form of joint government for the two states known as the *Ausgleich* (ous'glīĸ) or Compromise of 1867. By this agreement the emperor of Austria was to be also king of Hungary, with two different oaths and two distinct coronation ceremonies.

In Austria the emperor ruled according to reform laws passed in 1867, which in theory made Austria a limited monarchy with a responsible cabinet.[3] Still Austria before 1914 had no real democracy, for in practice the cabinet ministers were more dependent upon the emperor than upon the legislature.

The same man who in Austria wielded such broad powers,

RACES IN
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
1911
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
Germans
Magyars
Rumanians
Croats and Serbs
Czechs
Slovaks
Ruthenians
Poles
Slovenes
Italians
GERMANY
BOHEMIA
Prague
Troppau
SILESIA
GALICIA
Lemberg
MORAVIA
Brunn
Carpathian Mts.
Dniester R.
RUSSIA
Stuttgart
Danube R.
Munich
L. of Constance
UPPER AUSTRIA
LOWER AUSTRIA
Vienna
Pressburg
Czernowitz
BUKOVINA
Prut R.
Salzburg
Innsbruck
SALZBURG
TIROL
SWITZERLAND
CARINTHIA
Klagenfurt
STYRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
Kecskemét
Theiss R.
The Alps
TRENTINO
ITALY
CARNIOLA
Agram
Drava R.
Trieste
Venice
ISTRIA
CROATIA SLAVONIA
Sava R.
Belgrade
Danube R.
Bucharest
RUMANIA
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
BOSNIA
Sarajevo
HERZEGOVINA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Sofia
MONTENEGRO
Cetinje
8
12
16
20
24
28
48
44
Longitude East from Greenwich
W. & C. CO.

in Hungary had to be far more responsive to public opinion. Hungary had a bicameral [4] legislature with a cabinet system under which the king's power was exercised by ministers accountable to the lower house. Down to 1918 the dominant race, the Magyars, maintained in Hungary a system of restricted suffrage which practically excluded the Slavs and other minority races [5] from all political power.

By means of an awkward arrangement, common Austrian and Hungarian interests were conducted through joint ministries for foreign affairs, war, and finance, and through annual conferences of delegations from the legislatures of the two states.

It was often proposed to change the dual monarchy into a federal government on the basis of the several races, but this plan was always defeated. The ruling classes, notably in Hungary, feared the loss of their control. Thus it came about that only the forces of disastrous war and revolution could disrupt the dual monarchy and create new states in 1918.[6]

1. What important wars were these? 2. What did Kossuth and Deák each do for Hungarian liberty? 3. To whom was it responsible? 4. Define "bicameral." 5. What are minority races? Have we any? 6. What new ones were created? See map, page 779.

Other European Governments. — The governments here briefly described stand for types of European states. Limited monarchies of the Italian sort were to be found in Greece, Spain, and (until 1910) Portugal. Liberal constitutions, more nearly approaching the British kind, were seen in Belgium, Holland, and Denmark. The Austro-Hungarian twin monarchy had its counterpart, much more democratic, in Norway and Sweden until their complete separation in 1905.[1] One very significant fact is that almost every European country which attained any degree of democracy tried to imitate the British cabinet system.

1. Tell precisely what this sentence means.

The Winning of Individual Rights

Civil Rights are Promised. — Almost every European constitution since 1814 has guaranteed to the people basic personal rights. Freedom from slavery or other bondage is universally

specified or acknowledged. Citizens are usually assured the right to assemble peaceably, to petition the government, and to form associations of various kinds. Freedom of personal religious belief is almost always guaranteed, and freedom of worship quite generally, although taxation for the favored kinds of established churches has not been entirely ended. Freedom of the press is uniformly specified, as well as the sanctity of the home against search; and property rights are everywhere safeguarded.

Not in all cases, however, were the rights so glibly phrased in constitutions actually enjoyed by the people. Down to 1914 aristocratic classes had more than their due share of influence in nearly all European countries. Freedom to hold meetings was hampered in many countries by a system of police licenses and control. Freedom of speech and of the press, especially in Germany and Austria, was stunted by the principle of "lese majesty," by which the ruler could punish people for real or fancied insults to himself. Religious liberty, almost everywhere accepted as a great principle, was in reality much dwarfed by the special privileges of official churches and by public sentiment. The open school door meant too frequently not the free choice of an occupation, but entrance to a rigid system designed to keep each child in the social class of his parents.

Equality of opportunity may never be completely won; but up to 1914 it was more nearly approached in America than in Europe. The best proof of this is seen in the fact that between 1820 and 1914 thirty millions of emigrants came to America as the land of promise.

Rare Elections and Few Voters. — Under the absolute monarchs of the age of Metternich, as well as before the French Revolution, popular elections were almost unknown except here and there in the choice of local officials. Even in the American colonies before 1776, there were such religious and property qualifications that, it is estimated, not more than one person in twenty had the right to vote. In England at the same time not more than one in fifty was qualified as an elector. The

theory of English and American statesmen of that age was that the suffrage should be limited to men having an interest in the community measured by the ownership of land or the payment of taxes.[1]

1. Do owning property and paying taxes give a person a deeper interest in the government? Give reasons.

American Men Gain the Ballot. — While Europe for a few decades longer continued an extremely narrow suffrage, the states of the American union were gradually coming to more democratic standards. By 1850 white manhood suffrage was very general throughout the United States.[1] Property and religious qualifications had in most states been abolished, and there remained for white men only such simple requirements as a period of residence or the payment of a poll tax which could be met by nearly every able-bodied free man.

The United States thus set a democratic example to the whole world. Never before had a like liberal suffrage been granted to such a large body of voters. And yet, with this great extension of the franchise, there was no destruction of property rights or of settled institutions such as had been feared in earlier days.

1. Why did America become democratic sooner than other countries?

Suffrage Narrowly Limited on the Continent. — When Continental countries first adopted constitutions the system of voting gave only a scanty share in the government to the masses of the people. Quite generally the voting age was higher than in Great Britain and America. In Prussia it was twenty-four years, in Italy and Norway twenty-five, and in Denmark thirty. Property qualifications of voters were very high in Italy, Holland, Spain, Norway, and Belgium. The same result — keeping power from the masses — was secured in Prussia, Austria, and Rumania by complicated systems of class representation.

Under such regulations poor and ignorant men were allowed to vote, it is true, but their ballots had less weight than those of the rich and educated.[1] In Prussia for instance, as late as 1913, 300,000 wealthy taxpayers had as much influence in deciding elections as 6,500,000 poorer voters; or, in other words, the rich

man's vote counted for twenty times as much as the poor man's. Even worse was the condition as late as 1890 in Austria, where rich landowners had the equivalent of 184 votes as against a peasant's one, while a member of a chamber of commerce could boast of 429. No wonder that in some parts of Prussia and Austria over ninety per cent of the poorer voters did not bother to go to the polls!

1. Why should an important man's vote not count for more than other people's votes?

Manhood Suffrage Gains in Europe. — As we reach the end of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth, however, a marked broadening of political rights begins to appear. This was due largely to the persistent urging of the industrial classes, who were now better educated, better organized, and were aiming to improve their lot through the ballot.

In Great Britain the extension of the suffrage came gradually by successive acts of parliament. The Reform Act of 1832 added about 200,000 voters to the lists; that of 1867 enfranchised one million; the act of 1884 created two million new voters; while the law of 1918 enfranchised practically all British men heretofore excluded from voting as well as several millions of British women.

In other countries a broadening of the suffrage came more suddenly. The voting lists of Italy were in 1912 increased from 3,000,000 to 8,000,000 by a single law. In Austria the cumbersome and unjust class system was brushed aside in 1907 when universal, equal manhood suffrage was established. In Belgium by the act of 1893 the number of voters was increased tenfold.

Even by 1914 equal manhood suffrage had not come everywhere. Prussia, Saxony, and Rumania still retained the aristocratic class system of voting. Hungary by a complicated arrangement of qualifications, not unlike those in our southern states directed against the negro,[1] succeeded in keeping from the polls nearly all the Slavic race. And quite generally the age of voting was still as high as 24, 25, or even 30 years.

1. By what means is negro suffrage limited in our South?

The Beginnings of the Liberation of Women. — The nineteenth century, which saw the extension of suffrage to men and the development of educational systems for children, brought also a great change in woman's position in society, politics, and industry. Until the second half of the nineteenth century woman had been excluded from most occupations outside of the home and the factory. Her education was limited to the simple beginnings of learning, and to music, fancy work, domestic duties, or farm work, and institutions of higher learning everywhere were closed to her. Marriage was the sole aim of her existence, and after marriage her property was entirely at the disposal of her husband, and she could not herself make a contract or engage in any business or profession.[1]

First in the United States, later in England, and still later on the Continent, the legal disabilities of woman were gradually removed until she became nearly if not fully the equal of man in ordinary civil rights, such as the control of property. In the same order — United States, England, the Continent — educational opportunities were thrown open to girls and women.

With advancing education women became interested in many philanthropic movements, such as the antislavery cause, the temperance movement, the welfare of laboring people, and the condition of prisons. In a few cases they even demanded admission to the higher professions of law, medicine, and the ministry. But in these ambitions they met only contempt, ridicule, and insult.

1. What was the purpose in all these limitations?

Women Demand the Ballot. — The first woman's rights convention of which we have any record was held at Seneca Falls, N.Y., in July, 1848. At the head of its published list of woman's grievances was placed " the denial of the elective franchise." A national convention was held at Springfield, Mass., in 1850, which, being described in English periodicals, led to the beginning of the English woman suffrage movement. For some sixty years after that time woman's cause was espoused by larger and larger numbers of women as well as men in all progressive countries.

By slow stages woman was admitted to the professions and to semipublic positions, and meanwhile grew more and more deeply interested in social reform.

As time went on people became convinced that only through the suffrage could woman secure full equality with man; and

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MEMORIAL TO THE AMERICAN PIONEERS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE
Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony.

that through politics she would help bring about the reforms so desirable in society. But woman's advance to the polls was not rapid. By 1910 only five states of the American union had made men and women politically equal. At that time women had the suffrage in Australia, New Zealand, Finland, and Norway. Although six decades of increasing agitation had passed since that pioneer meeting at Seneca Falls little apparent progress had been made by the suffrage cause. Yet as a matter of fact the cause stood on the threshold of a new day. Within a decade came a most marvelous change.

The World War Extends Democracy. — The far-reaching results of the World War are discussed later; but it will be well to note how rapidly democratic rights for all men and women were secured after that great catastrophe. In the first place, the right to vote has been extended since the war to nearly all men, whether or not they own property, have an education, or belong to a certain class. No longer in the central European states can the wealthy landholder enjoy a hundredfold greater political power than his workman or his poor neighbor.

In many countries women have received equal political rights with men. American women gained these rights in 1920 under the nineteenth amendment. Great Britain in 1918 enfranchised women over 30 years of age, and, ten years later, gave the vote to all women over 21 on the same terms as men (July 3, 1928). Other parts of the British Empire where women may vote are Australia, New Zealand, Canada, East Africa, the Irish Free State, Rhodesia (rō-dē′zhĭ-*ȧ*), and Jamaica. Under the new constitutions of the Continental countries no distinction on account of sex is permitted in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Rumania, and Luxemburg. In the new countries formed after the war, woman suffrage was granted in Poland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Palestine, and Danzig.[1] And women were enfranchised also in Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, and Holland.[2]

The age for voting has been almost universally reduced. The new constitutions on the Continent usually specify that the voter shall be twenty years of age, although the 21 years of English and American practice has been adopted in several countries, and in Russia voters must "have completed their eighteenth year."

1. Look up the location of all the countries here named. 2. Why, do you suppose, was woman suffrage not granted in France or Italy?

Conclusion

For better or for worse, the modern world has committed itself to the principle of democracy in government. But the spirit

of democracy is far broader than mere self-government — broad enough for the whole of life. In the fields of industry, of social life, of religion, and of education, it cannot be said that the process of democratization has advanced as far or as uniformly as in the political realm. To what extent the principle of equality in rights and opportunities will succeed in transforming these other aspects of life the future must show.

Problem and Reference Work

1. State the advantages of a formal constitution. Of an informal one.
2. State five guarantees of the bill of rights in the American national constitution (Amendments I–X and XIV).
3. Find five guarantees of the bill of rights of your own state.
4. Explain just how the process of lawmaking under the cabinet system is different from the American plan.
5. Show that the French president is to a large degree an artificial king.
6. If the American government were as centralized as the French, what differences do you think would appear in your state? Your city?
7. Explain as fully as possible why the United States advanced toward democracy more rapidly than did most other countries.
8. The success of modern democracy depends upon . . . (Complete the sentence in various ways.)
9. In L. Abbott's *Spirit of Democracy* read about ancient origins of democracy, Chapter 1.
10. In J. M. Vincent's *Government in Switzerland* read: (*a*) A description of direct government by a mass meeting of citizens, pp. 54–65; (*b*) The initiative and referendum in Switzerland, Chapter 5.

Reading List

Abbott, L., *The Spirit of Democracy.* An earnest effort to apply democratic principles to different phases of life, such as education and industry.

Moran, T. F., *The English Government.* A clear analysis suitable for mature high school students.

Ogg, F. A., *The Governments of Europe.* A standard work for older students.

Poincaré, R., *How France is Governed* (1913). A readable description by a distinguished Frenchman.

Vincent, J. M., *Government in Switzerland* (1900). Clear and thorough.

One of the First Gasoline Motor-Driven Vehicles
Tested by its inventor, Charles Duryea, in Springfield, Mass., 1893.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WONDERFUL CENTURY

An Age of Intellectual Freedom

Parallel Steps toward Freedom. — Side by side with the advance toward political liberty described in the preceding chapter came an equally striking progress toward intellectual freedom [1] and general culture. In everyday life the use of new scientific devices and principles brought to the great mass of the people a degree of comfort undreamed of even by kings and magicians of old. Likewise the spread of education opened up to millions those secrets of knowledge and those pleasures of art and literature hitherto enjoyed by the cultured few.

Naturally this newest learning surpassed the so-called "new learning" of the Renaissance in giving men food for thought, encouraging them to form their own opinions, and leading them to act independently upon their own conclusions and convictions.

This independence in thought and action showed itself in literature and science, in the fine arts, in religion, and in industry.

1. What does "intellectual freedom" mean?

The Romantic Movement. — As in other times, the new liberal spirit of the nineteenth century was first voiced by poets, novelists, and artists, notably in what is called the Romantic Movement, in the early decades of the century. This movement may be defined as the reign of individuality and emotion in all forms of expression. The romanticists, in their love for novel ways in art, were as revolutionary and as radical as were the political reformers in their love for new schemes of government.

The romanticists showed a great love for nature. In literature this is seen in such poems as Burns's "To a Mouse" and "To a Daisy," in Bryant's "To a Wild Fowl," and in much of the work of Wordsworth and the other "Lake poets" of England. Again it appears in paintings where the romantic artists portray real landscapes and simple scenes from country life.

A marked characteristic of romanticism in all countries was a patriotic interest in the national past, and an admiration for the legendary or historical heroes of early days. All of us are familiar with the heroic figures of Scott's *Waverley Novels*, and of Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales;* and we know how intense was the patriotism shown in Macaulay's *History of England* and in Bancroft's *History of the United States*.

It is important to realize that this love of the national past was widespread throughout Europe, that it was found in Ireland and Wales, in Rumania, Poland, and Serbia, as well as in Germany, France, and Italy. Wherever this appeared, the study of early literatures and the stories of heroes added greatly to the spirit of race loyalty and thus increased the tide of nationalism which was rising during the century in many countries.[1]

1. In what countries have we already traced modern nationalism?

Romanticism Changes to Realism. — As the nineteenth century advanced, poets, novelists, and artists began to turn away from the romantic past and to discover that sharp drama of everyday life which is seen especially among the poor. Dickens,

in his novels, portrayed the crying evils of board schools, of debtors' prisons, of the city slums, and of slow-moving courts. Some writers, especially a group of French authors, sought to show " real life " by emphasizing the horrid, the sordid, and the immoral elements of society.[1] Others, taking the life of peasants as their subject, aroused the sympathy of the reader by depicting sad conditions of German rural life, or, like Tolstoy, described poor people living on Russian estates and in Russian villages under the autocratic rule of the czar's officers.

1. Are the sordid and ugly things of life any more "real" than the fine and ennobling things?

The Age of Science

A Century of Wonderful Progress. — The noted English scientist Alfred Russel Wallace has said that a true measure of the scientific progress of the nineteenth century can be made only by comparing it with the entire period of human history from the Stone Age down to 1800. If one makes such a comparison one will find in the " wonderful century " greater progress in science than in all the preceding ages.

But it was not only in the advance of scientific knowledge that the century was remarkable. Still more noteworthy was the wide diffusion of this knowledge among millions of people. No longer was it locked up in ancient languages or in private laboratories, but it became a part of the common life of all civilized peoples. It was applied to such everyday matters as the transportation of passengers and freight, the lighting of streets and homes, the care of the sick, and the thousand and one conveniences of modern life.

The Spread of the Scientific Spirit. — With the growth of scientific knowledge there came a widening acceptance of the scientific spirit, by which is meant an attitude of mind that questions and demands proofs, that investigates and experiments, and that forms conclusions only upon the basis of the evidence accumulated.[1] This new spirit was seen in the decline of the belief in ghosts, witches, and other supernatural

appearances. It led to the critical study of national myths and legends, and to the modern scientific writing of history, which was begun about 1830 by the German Leopold von Ranke (vŏn räng'kē). This new historical method aims to give an unbiased record of the past, based on thorough study of all available sources of information. The scientific spirit also created modern journalism with its painstaking search for the truth in daily events.[2] It compelled a drastic reshaping of education by bringing into schools and colleges more of the sciences, of history, and of subjects fitting one directly for earning a living. Even in the political field, the modern scientific spirit has led many citizens to study public questions independently and more and more to vote irrespective of party.[3]

1. Read again and ponder this important sentence. 2. How does "yellow" journalism differ from the kind here named? 3. Why is it unscientific and irrational to vote *always* with one's party?

Progress in Astronomy, Physics, and Chemistry. — Using the discoveries of earlier masters such as Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton, later astronomers built up increased knowledge of the sun and planets, and with better and better telescopes spied many stars not visible to the naked eye. Shortly after 1850 the spectroscope added enormously to our knowledge of the universe. This wonderful instrument, by analyzing the light which comes from the sun and stars, shows what chemical elements there are in each, and that most of them are identical with elements found on the earth. In 1868 an observer noticed traces of a new element in the sun, which appropriately he named helium. Forty years later this non-inflammable element was found in certain minerals and natural gases, and since 1923 it has been used to inflate the gas bags of United States dirigibles, such as the *Shenandoah* and the *Los Angeles*.

The spectroscope also enabled scientists to estimate the movement of stars toward or away from the earth. They also learned from observations made with it, and by other means, that the old notion of "fixed stars" is wrong. Instead, the entire stellar universe was discovered to be in constant motion, and the solar

system of which the earth forms a part was proved to be gliding through space, like other star systems, at an enormous speed. Distances to remote stars are measured, not by miles, but by "light years," a light year being the distance over which light can travel in a year while moving at a speed of some 186,000 miles a second!

While astronomers studied forces and spaces which could be expressed only in millions, billions, and still higher figures, other

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LICK OBSERVATORY ON MOUNT HAMILTON, CALIFORNIA

This observatory is equipped with some of the best instruments in the world.

scientists were trying to discover what matter is, what it is really made of, and why it acts as it does. Material things were found to be composed of varied combinations of a few simple substances such as oxygen, carbon, hydrogen, called elements, numbering over ninety. Each bit of an element was believed to be made of infinitesimal and indivisible particles called atoms, which in immense numbers, either by themselves or combining in definite proportions with atoms of other elements, make up the ordinary substances known to the senses.

This *atomic theory of matter* was generally believed by scientists. By it were explained many of the phenomena of chemistry such as decomposition, the burning of fuel, or the action of acids.

Yet since the last decade of the century, further studies with helium, radium, and other newly discovered substances have indicated that elements are not so unchangeable as previously thought; even within the inconceivably small atoms are parts and forces known as electrons, not suspected before. Such discoveries cause us to marvel at the wonderful universe of material things and forces, and lead modern scientists and other thinkers in increasing numbers to feel that what they call "forces" and "laws" among atoms as well as among stars are really the workings of the Infinite Will.

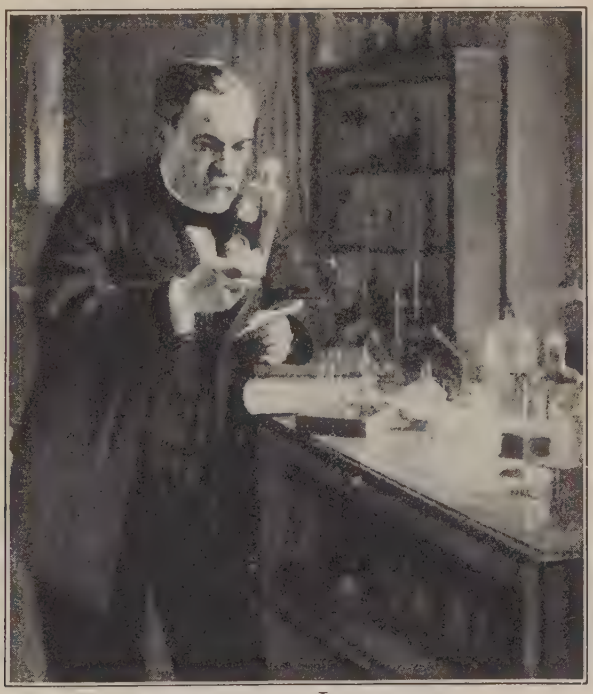
Geology Explains the Age of the Earth. — For centuries observers had noticed fossil shells, plants, and animals imbedded in rocks, and even the ancients had noted that sea shells are often found far inland from the ocean. These are only simple illustrations of facts for which men long sought explanation.

During the nineteenth century scientists generally came to accept a fundamental principle or theory of geology set forth about 1830 by the noted English geologist Sir Charles Lyell. This theory is that the earth's surface has been brought to its present condition by a very gradual process of change over an enormous sweep of time, perhaps as much as a hundred million years. Thus, the science of geology joined with astronomy, physics, and chemistry, to impress thoughtful people with the marvelous nature of the ever-changing universe.

Biology Becomes the Ally of Health. — During the nineteenth century great strides were made in biological and medical sciences. Three of the most valuable contributions to this progress were the use of the microscope for studying plant and animal structure, the germ theory of disease, and the use of anæsthetics in surgery. By the use of the microscope, scientists were able to study the tiny cells of which all living tissue consists, and came to know much about those extremely minute creatures, known as bacteria, which exist almost everywhere in infinite numbers and affect favorably or harmfully the life of plants, animals, and man.

Through the study of these bacteria and of correspondingly

minute single-celled animals, called protozo'a, the great French scientist Louis Pasteur [1] (pàs-tûr'), from 1860 to 1880, worked out definitely the *germ theory of disease*, which is now generally accepted by scientific men. This theory is that a great many



PASTEUR IN HIS LABORATORY
From a painting.

diseases are caused by the rapid growth in human bodies of certain harmful bacteria and protozoa, which also transmit disease from one person to another. This germ theory is of immense importance to-day. It is the basis of many modern methods of preventing and curing disease, as well as of scientific sanitation.

Pasteur's discoveries were soon applied to the antiseptic treatment of wounds — first by an English surgeon, Joseph Lister.

An American dentist, Wm. T. G. Morton, had already (1844–1847) made some use of ether as an anæsthetic in surgery. Now, by combining the discoveries of Morton, Pasteur, and Lister, surgeons began to use anæsthetics to free patients from pain during operations, while antiseptic methods of killing germs led to the speedy healing of the wounds — both being marvelous advances over the perilous methods of earlier surgery.[2]

Still more recent applications of the germ theory have led to the rooting out of yellow fever in tropical countries by war on germ-carrying mosquitoes,[3] and to inoculations making people immune to such diseases as diphtheria and typhoid fever.[4]

1. One of the most important men in all history. Give reasons. 2. Why was earlier surgery so often fatal? 3. How do these mosquitoes transmit yellow fever? 4. What do you know about these immunizing processes?

The Theory of Evolution. — The belief that the universe was created by a gradual process of evolution had been held by certain ancient Greek philosophers; it was accepted by some of the scholars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; but it remained for the English scientist Charles Darwin, in his *Origin of Species* (1859), to suggest a possible method of the evolution of higher forms of life from lower, and to work out the idea clearly and forcefully.

Thus Darwin's name became closely linked with the doctrine that present-day plants, animals, and even men came upon the earth as a result of long-continued steps of development from lower kinds of plant or animal life. This supposed process is known as *organic evolution*.

Later research and observation have led to certain changes in the theories propounded by Darwin. But the general theory of evolution or gradual change as the *method* by which the universe was created has been accepted by most scientists as the only rational explanation of the multitude of facts revealed by modern research.

Did the New Scientific Theories Conflict with Religion? — Darwin's ideas as well as those of Lyell were given wide publicity by Thomas Huxley, Alfred Russel Wallace, Herbert Spencer.

and other thinkers, but they aroused likewise the opposition of many religious leaders of all denominations, who believed that the new theories of the evolution of the world and of the race were contrary to the teachings of the Bible. These religious leaders felt that the evolutionary view would make man and the universe merely a product of material forces in which mind, spirit, and the Deity would have no place. Other religious thinkers accepted the new doctrine of evolution, and insisted that creation under the evolution theory was a far more marvelous process, and required even greater original power on the part of the Creator than the older doctrine of sudden creation. Indeed it was soon admitted by nearly all scientists and philosophers, however materialistic, that every theory of the universe requires a First Cause or God to bring it into existence and to set in motion and guide the process of development.

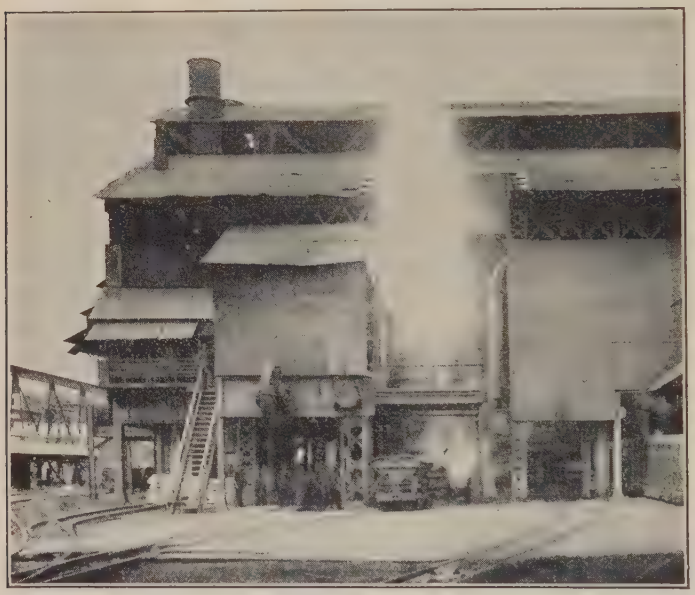
Wide Influence of Evolutionary Ideas. — Even the opponents of physical evolution came to think of human society as having been in a state of flux and as having progressed slowly through the ages from lower to higher grades of civilization. In the Middle Ages this idea of change was denied, and on all sides the effort was made to fix standards which should be settled for all time. How different is the modern concept! To-day all forward-looking people endeavor through legislation, through church and school, and through manifold united efforts constantly to improve existing conditions in order that the welfare of all may be advanced.

Indeed the thought and the action of the modern world is permeated through and through with the notion of progress. Idealists aim to raise the race to higher and higher levels of social and spiritual well-being.

Great Advances in Applied Science

It was not merely in experimental science and in the realms of speculative thought that alert minds were at work. Equally active were ingenious men in perfecting concrete applications of scientific principles to the daily life and labor of man.

The Bessemer Process Creates an Age of Steel. — Not long ago a noted American scientist, when asked to name the most epoch-making discovery of the past century, singled out the Bessemer process of making steel, perfected in 1859 by the great English engineer, Sir Henry Bessemer. When we consider how many necessities of our modern age are made possible through the cheap manufacture of immense quantities of steel,



A Bessemer Converter

we see a reason for giving high rank to Bessemer among the world's inventors.[1]

1. Make a list of important things for which steel is used rather than other forms of iron.

Automobiles and Airplanes Appear. — Ranking almost with Watt's steam engine in importance in modern life is the internal-combustion engine, by which gasoline and other volatile liquids properly mixed with air are exploded by an electric spark inside the cylinders of engines.[1] This device was invented in 1885 by

a German named Daimler (dīm'lẽr). The great advantage of this type of engine is that considerable power is produced by a compact and light machine using fuel which can be carried in

MR. HANCOCK'S LONDON AND PADDINGTON STEAM MOTOR CAR "ENTERPRISE"

Built at Stratford, England, in 1833. From an engraving by C. Hunt.

small tanks.[2] Inventive men were quick to see this advantage and to apply it in revolutionary ways. After many trials, Levassor in France, Haynes and Duryea (dûr-yā') in America, and others perfected about 1890 a practical horseless carriage (picture, page 553), which in the form of our gas-driven motor car has well-nigh banished the horse from the streets and highways.

The internal-combustion engine has also been widely applied in other ways, notably in driving such practical machines as tractors, threshers, milking machines, wood saws, and pumps.

With the new light-weight engine, flying machines became a possibility. Although many men were experimenting at the same time, the chief credit for giving man the wings of a bird belongs to the brothers Orville and Wilbur Wright, who in December, 1903, at Kittyhawk, North Carolina, first succeeded in balancing and controlling a heavier-than-air machine in flight. That was the first successful airplane. The World War gave a great impetus to the development of airplanes, and since the war

experiments and improvements have continued. Most striking was the non-stop flight from New York to Paris (3640 miles)

THE WRIGHT BROTHERS' FLYING MACHINE

The first airplane that made a successful flight, — in 1903. Notice that skids, instead of wheels, were attached for making a landing.

made in $33\frac{1}{3}$ hours (May 20–21, 1927) by the American aviator, Captain (later Colonel) Charles A. Lindbergh, flying alone in a machine of his own design.

1. Just how is this modern engine different from the steam engine? 2. Name four common uses of gasoline engines for which steam engines would be unsuited.

Mowers and Reapers. — Another significant invention of the century was the reaper [1] which is now used on all large farms where grain is raised. From the days when Ruth of the Bible story gleaned after the reapers in the field of Boaz to the boyhood of Daniel Webster on a New England farm, little progress had been made in the methods of harvesting. Until well beyond 1800, the sickle, the scythe, and the grain cradle were the laboriously wielded tools. With a modern reaper drawn by horses or a tractor the work of cutting is amazingly faster as well as much less laborious. In the development of this necessity of modern farming an American, Cyrus McCormick, took the lead. It was in 1831, among the hills of western Virginia, that he first operated successfully a reaper for oats and wheat (picture, page 291).

1. Explain how the cutting is done by this machine.

The Age of Oil and Electricity. — For power, for lubrication of all sorts of machinery, for heat, for varied industrial and household needs, the products of petroleum are so generally used that we are wont to speak of this as the age of oil.[1] It is a

Wide World Photos

COLONEL CHARLES A. LINDBERGH AND HIS AIRPLANE

Photograph taken in New York shortly before his flight to Paris, in May, 1927.

growth of recent decades, beginning from the time when E. L. Drake struck oil at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859.

How many buildings throughout the world, as well as streets, motor cars, ships, and railway trains are now lighted by electricity! Yet before the triumphs of nineteenth-century inventors (several besides Edison) all this was unknown.

Further uses of electricity, for heat, for power to run machines small and great, for traction to pull trolley cars and subway and suburban trains, for a thousand and one conveniences[2] — all have come since 1870 (pages 587–590). So also has the use of X-rays, discovered by Röntgen (rûnt′gĕn) in 1895, and of radium, discovered by Mr. and Mrs. Curie (kü-rē′) in 1898 — discoveries whose value in the battle for health is constantly increasing.

1. List important uses of oil products for power, for lubrication, for heat, for home needs. 2. With how many of these uses are you familiar?

The Spread of Popular Education

The Rights of the Child. — As the nineteenth century advanced, more and more attention was given to the education of children and to their protection from that severe drudgery which stunts physical and moral growth. In the more progressive countries it came to be the accepted belief that every child should receive at least an elementary education, and such training as would make him a self-supporting member of society.

The new education included girls as well as boys. In some cases, as in many of our states, schools became coeducational with equal opportunities in the choice of subjects;[1] but in most European countries separate schools for girls were established, duplicating sometimes the courses of study in the boys' schools.[2]

The progression from elementary schools to high schools and to colleges and universities was made easier, and the western states of the United States provide gratuitous education from the grades up to the highest university work. The only restriction placed by such a system is that at each educational stage the student must show ability to profit by the instruction which he receives. Nowhere in Europe was such a democratic theory of education adopted; but there were visible to a greater or less degree a breaking down of old class and caste lines, an opening up of higher education to women, and the establishment of higher technical courses for commercial and scientific pursuits.

Another marked feature of modern education was a lessening of the power of church schools, except in a few countries such as Belgium. Even in England, where there were many denominational schools, their courses of study and teaching staff were under close government supervision.[3] Everywhere more and more money from the public treasury was used for education and in return came closer government control over church schools receiving public aid.

1. In your community do boys and girls receive the same kind of education? 2. Do you think the regular school subjects for girls should differ from those for boys? Give reasons. 3. Does your state supervise denominational schools?

An Uneven Pace in Education. — Public elementary schools are found not alone in America and western Europe. They were carried with the American flag into Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines;[1] they were set up by the British in Nigeria and the Sudan; and they had a remarkable development in awakened

Galloway

School Playground in Kyoto, Japan

Japan. Of all these none is more noteworthy than the educational system of the Philippines built up in the islands after they came under American control. In little more than a decade after the islands had been pacified, English was far more extensively used there than Spanish had ever been. Within another decade almost a million Filipino children were studying in public schools patterned after those of our states.

Although marked progress in education has been made, European peoples are by no means equally educated. Previous to the World War, the proportion of illiterates varied from 68 per cent of the population in Portugal to virtually zero in Prussia,

International

A School in Southern India

Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland. Illiteracy was rife in Spain, Russia, and the Balkan states; while in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland the inability to read was rare. The census of 1910 showed only six illiterate persons among each hundred adults in the United States. Although the time seemed rapidly approaching in 1914 when every person in the more progressive countries would have at least an elementary education, the reaching of this goal was delayed, perhaps indefinitely, in many European countries by the disastrous results of the World War.[2]

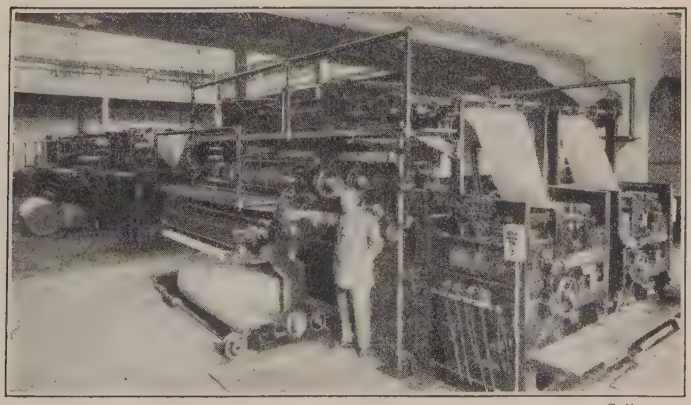
1. Is Cuba now under our flag? Porto Rico? The Philippines? 2. How did the war increase the difficulty of education?

The Newspaper Makes a Large Place for Itself. — Closely related to public education is the newspaper, which, during the past century, moved into a position of power. Of course, since the earliest times people had been interested in gossip. That is why travelers and strangers were always welcome — they brought news. In the seventeenth century professional "newsmongers" delivered their wares by word of mouth to groups of gaping listeners; and small printed sheets of news began to be

circulated. Before 1800 newspapers had appeared in most of the countries of western Europe. Nearly everywhere, however, they were closely watched and their contents severely censored by church or government authorities, or both. Only in Great Britain and the British colonies was there an approach to the free expression of opinion.

It was the French Revolution which for a time introduced complete freedom of the press. But this liberty was short-lived. With the restoration of former conditions after 1815 came a rigid control of newspapers in all the Continental countries, and, in some degree, even in Great Britain.

As the century progressed, however, the press, gradually freed from political control, entered a vast new field of influence. The advance of education greatly increased the number of readers. Inventions such as the cylinder press, the use of electrotypes, and cheap paper from wood pulp reduced the cost of publishing newspapers. The telegraph, the telephone, and submarine cables at the same time aided in the gathering of news. The newspaper also became a means for pushing reform plans by presenting to great bodies of people arguments for or against proposed changes. As part of the growing liberalism



Galloway

A Modern American Printing Press in Madrid, Spain

of the century, governments were compelled to loosen their grip upon the press; and now rulers came to respect and even to fear the power of the newspaper — "the fourth estate."

Important Steps in Social Betterment

Contrasts in Nineteenth-Century Life. — While the progress of the century in the realm of science had been marvelous, unfortunately there was a dark side. Writing in 1898, Alfred Russel Wallace was forced to say, "there have been equally striking failures, some intellectual, but for the most part moral and social," and again, "there can be no doubt of the magnitude of the evils that have grown up or persisted, in the midst of all our triumphs over natural forces, and our unprecedented growth in wealth and luxury."

It was indeed true that the past century was marked by most violent contrasts between the rich and the poor, between factory owner and worker, between aristocratic palaces and city slums. Yet during that time great improvements were made in the condition of the less fortunate classes of society, as we shall now note.

The End of Slavery and Serfdom. — How many human beings were held in bondage when the nineteenth century opened cannot be learned, but the number must have been up in the tens of millions. Not only did serfdom still exist in several of the European countries, but, what was still worse, the kidnaping of Negroes in Africa was carried on under most shocking conditions.

Serfdom in Europe, as we have already seen, received a severe blow from the French Revolution and from Napoleon's conquests. The revolution of 1848, despite its failure in so many reform endeavors, brought personal freedom to the serfs in nearly all parts of Austria and Hungary. In 1861, by a single ukase of the czar, over 20,000,000 Russian serfs were emancipated. By 1870 almost all the people of Europe were free from old-time systems of bondage.

Much more inhumane than European serfdom were the enforced slavery of Africans, and the horrors of the international

slave trade. This "iniquitous traffic in souls" was attacked first by reformers. At the earliest date permitted by our Constitution — January 1, 1808 — our Congress forbade the importation of slaves. In the same year, owing largely to the influence of Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce,[1] the slave trade to or from ports of the British Empire was prohibited by the British parliament. The Congress of Vienna [2] in 1815 expressed its sentiment that the African slave trade ought to be destroyed.

In the meantime earnest reformers led by such Englishmen as Wilberforce and Macaulay, and by Americans like Garrison, Phillips, and Whittier, had been preparing public sentiment for the complete overthrow of the slave system. In fact by 1805, before the time of some of these leaders, all the northern states in the American union had provided for either immediate or gradual emancipation of their slaves. Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina also abolished slavery early in the century. On August 1, 1834, a parliamentary act became effective which definitely abolished slavery in all British colonies. About the middle of the century France and Holland took similar action in their colonies. The American Civil War overthrew "the peculiar institution" in our southern states. Shortly afterwards, Spain freed the slaves in Cuba. Finally in 1888 slavery disappeared from the Americas when Brazil at last came into line.

With the European partition of Africa the shipment of black slaves to Turkish and Asiatic countries was almost wholly stopped after about 1880; and the establishment of British, French, and German control over the interior of that continent broke up the slave trade at its source of supply. By 1914, with the exception of a few Mohammedan countries and among obscure uncivilized tribes, slavery had been swept from the face of the earth.

1. Remember these two reformers. 2. Was the Congress of Vienna a group of reformers?

Modern Philanthropy Broadens. — An increasing sympathy for suffering creatures, whether man or beast, mellowed life in the past century. In many countries humane societies were

founded to protect animals from needless cruelty. More important than this, self-sacrificing men and women — distinguished among whom was Elizabeth Fry in England, and Dorothea Dix in America — devoted their lives to improving the horrible prisons of early days.[1] Others worked to secure kindly and intelligent treatment of the insane as well as better care for orphans, deaf mutes, and the blind and crippled.

In most countries cruel penalties for crime gave place to more humane punishment. The death penalty, if not altogether abandoned, was retained for only a very few heinous offenses. Imprisonment for debt was quite universally abolished, although before this period perfectly honest and well-meaning people were frequently imprisoned for failure to pay.[2] Young offenders were sent to reform schools designed to free them from corrupting influences, while many prisons for adults were conducted on the principle of making good citizens out of criminals rather than simply punishing them. Never before in the world's history had there been such widespread evidence of charity and philanthropy as during the past century.[3]

1. If a prison is for punishment, should it not be horrible? 2. What objection is there to this practice? 3. Account for this fact.

Striking Instances of Missionary Activity. — Another illustration of this spirit is seen in earnest attempts to give the benefits of Christian civilization to the backward peoples of the earth. While grasping statesmen were extending sway over barbarous and semicivilized races, while business men were exploiting the resources of undeveloped lands, and even slave traders were kidnaping slaves, — in the midst of these selfish activities, bands of missionaries were bringing a new, unselfish gospel to the heathen.

Among the achievements of the century, the work of American and English missionaries in the islands of the Pacific is noteworthy. They carried the teachings of Christian civilization to the natives. In Hawaii the missionaries brought almost the entire population to accept Christianity, and also became the advisers of the kings and virtual rulers of the country. On other

islands' success was likewise marked. Indeed, throughout the Pacific, cannibalism, slavery, and intertribal warfare have almost disappeared as a result of the missionary labors.

By far the greatest efforts of the missionary societies — Catholic and Protestant — have been among the vast populations of Asia. In French Indo-China Catholic missions had marked success; in India, Japan, and China almost all denomi-

UJIJI, AN IMPORTANT VILLAGE ON LAKE TANGANYIKA
Here the Scotch missionary, David Livingstone, lived for many years.

nations were active. Yet in 1920 there were only 20,000,000 Protestant and Catholic Christians, and 17,000,000 Greek Christians in all of Asia, out of a total population of 875,000,000.

Africa, the Dark Continent, has also been the scene of much heroic, self-sacrificing missionary endeavor. From the European outposts on the coasts the missionaries penetrated to the interior of the continent, and there, in the midst of jungle and

forest, threatened by disease, and attacked by hostile natives, they carried on their christianizing and civilizing work.

By 1920 the Christian population of the world reached one sixth of the total, while no other religion numbered more than one tenth. More than this, the higher elements of progressive civilization were to be found mainly in Christian countries.

Modern Missionary Work Broadens. — Doubtless many of the early missionaries were fanatical and intolerant toward heathen religions and even toward Christians of other denominations. In more recent years a spirit of coöperation has appeared in missionary enterprises, leading to the decline of competition between denominations and to a more careful use of missionary resources.

Still more marked was the change in the character of missionary work. The early missionaries had sought to preach Christianity and incidentally to teach the heathen the practical arts of civilization; and in spots, as in Hawaii, they were signally successful. But amid the vast populations of Asia it was not the teacher or the preacher who was most cordially received.

In India and China millions of people were suffering from diseases which could be cured by modern medical knowledge. To many of these the medical missionary of recent times has brought most welcome relief, carrying out the Christian injunction of helpfulness to the unfortunate. By showing that his religion stood for health and happiness in this world as well as for salvation in the next, he won deep and lasting gratitude. A natural outgrowth of this desire to heal the sick is the remarkable international health work of the Rockefeller Foundation, which now reaches almost every country of the world and has brought relief to untold numbers of sufferers.[1]

To-day women missionaries probably outnumber the men in the field. While much of their work is like that of the men in religion and education and in medicine and nursing, there is one phase of missionary work which is peculiarly their own — the improvement of the condition of women and children.

1. Find more about the Rockefeller Foundation.

Betterment in the Life of Working People. — While missionary workers were uplifting human life in distant heathen lands, many people in the home countries realized that their rulers were blind to the hardships brought upon the working classes by the Industrial Revolution. Since the old-time independent mechanic had become a factory day laborer, he and his family were living an unhealthy life in the crowded slums. If sickness came he was unlikely to have means of paying the rent or the doctor's bills. In old age he might face eviction and the poorhouse. In dull times lack of work meant hardship and perhaps starvation for his family. Even when he was at work, dangerous machinery might cripple him; poisonous materials or gases and lack of ventilation often brought on insidious diseases or premature old age. Here were wretched conditions which appealed more strongly to many people than the ignorance and suffering of the distant heathen Chinaman or Hottentot.

During the century some of the worst evils of modern economic life were gradually remedied. Especially between 1880 and 1914 there was a marked improvement in the condition of the laboring people in all progressive countries. This change was brought about by two forces, sometimes working apart, occasionally in coöperation. On the one hand were the philanthropic reformers; on the other were the laborers themselves, working through their labor unions.

The reformers used their influence mainly to secure laws protecting industrial workers from accident, disease, or excessive hours of toil. The labor unions, while interested in these reforms, were especially anxious to reduce the daily working hours and to increase wages by collective bargaining with their employers.[1]

1. Explain what "collective bargaining" is.

Protection Gained by Factory Laws. — After Great Britain had taken the lead in the first half of the nineteenth century, every progressive country has since adopted a series of laws for the regulation of factories and mines in the interest of the workers.[1]

Child labor has been prohibited in many countries;[2] while the more progressive ones now require young people who work to attend continuation schools[3] for several years after the age of fourteen. *Woman labor* has been restricted to a reasonable number of hours a week, and is absolutely forbidden in certain unfit employments. *Factory and mine acts* require that rapidly-moving machinery shall be guarded; that good ventilation and sanitation be provided; and that the workers shall be protected against harmful substances, such as dust, gases, and chemicals. *Railway acts* call for the use of safety devices not only to guard passengers, but also to protect workmen from injury. *Labor legislation* makes the workman's wages a first claim against the employer's property and directs how and when wages shall be paid.

To enforce these laws a great body of inspectors is necessary, through whom is maintained by progressive governments a guardianship of every kind of labor.

1. Is there any reason why this began in Great Britain? 2. Do we have national control over child labor in America? 3. Are there such continuation schools in your community?

Unions of Laborers are Made Lawful. — In the early years of the age of machinery, any attempt of laborers to unite in order to get higher wages or to improve their working conditions was looked upon as illegal if not actually revolutionary.[1] In England, for instance, laws centuries old forbade workers to combine or strike in order to force employers to give better wages. On the Continent, even the French Revolution did not bring to laborers the right to unite for such purposes.

In the United States, indeed, freedom to organize was won early in the nineteenth century, but labor unions were far less important than in Europe. This was because American society was free from sharp class divisions; because there was an abundance of cheap land here; and because the wages and standards of living in America were higher than in Europe.[2]

Great Britain was the first European country to allow workers to combine freely. In 1871, during one of Gladstone's administrations, the unions were given definite legal standing and free-

dom, including the right to accumulate funds. Thereafter trade-unionism increased rapidly in Great Britain, until by 1914 the total membership was estimated at almost four million.

On the Continent, labor organizations, except for the simple collection and payment of benefit funds, were legalized much later than in Great Britain. Regular standing was not granted to unions in France until 1884, in Germany not until 1890, and at even later dates in other countries. Thereafter the growth of unions was very rapid.

1. Why was this so? 2. What made these higher in America?

Labor Unions Enter Politics. — In the United States labor parties in politics have been unimportant, while both of the great national parties have from time to time carried through labor laws in Congress or in the state legislatures. In England, however, after 1910, and on the Continent even earlier, trade-unions entered actively into politics to get the reforms they demanded.[1] In most cases they have acted with the socialist parties, not because the laborers everywhere favored real socialism, but rather because the older parties were generally sympathetic toward aristocrats and employers. Only through independent labor or socialistic parties did it seem possible to improve the condition of the working people.

1. Why have not American labor groups done this more often?

Social Insurance Plans. — Though the earlier kinds of labor laws led to a decided improvement of working conditions in factories, they left untouched the most harassing uncertainties caused by accident, disease, unemployment, or old age. Some or all of these anxieties of the laborer's life have more recently been relieved by plans of insurance under government auspices.

Germany was the leader in creating a thoroughgoing system of social insurance (page 455). Great Britain, after 1906, under the guidance of Asquith and Lloyd George, followed in the path marked out by Germany, and even outdistanced her predecessor by adequate insurance against unemployment as well as against accident, sickness, and old age. Almost all of the other progressive nations of Europe had, before 1914,

adopted some or all of these four kinds of social insurance. In the list were to be found France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries.

The Close of the Wonderful Century. — The wonderful nineteenth century began, as far as great movements were concerned, with the overthrow of Napoleon. As a period treated historically it closed with the outbreak of the World War. Those hundred years intervening between the two great wars were a time of truly marvelous advance in art, science, education, government, and social welfare. Yet in the background of the brilliant picture of man's great accomplishments, loomed the figure of War, threatening to destroy all that was best in civilization. The greatest scientists, the ablest statesmen, and the most eloquent orators had joined to create powerful fighting machines and had fostered intense national feelings and international hatreds. Would the approaching conflict destroy the work of the "wonderful century," or would a war-chastened world advance to greater material, intellectual, and social achievements? Even now, years after the close of the World War, the outcome is not yet clear to us.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Read these selections in Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II: (*a*) A description (1869) of the unreformed legal position of women — pp. 475 ff.; (*b*) The work done in China by medical missionaries, pp. 415 ff.

2. Find the thrilling story of the discovery of the cause of yellow fever. Use Wheat and Fitzpatrick, *Advanced Biology*, pp. 487 ff., or T. J. Moon, *Biology for Beginners*, pp. 229 ff., or W. A. Du Puy, *Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles*, pp. 213–217, or F. J. Haskin, *The Panama Canal*, pp. 105–108.

3. Tell the story of how Bessemer revolutionized the steel industry. Use F. A. Talbot's *All about Inventions and Discoveries*, Chapter 2.

4. In the same book read a good chapter on the age of oil, Chapter 13.

5. Report to the class the story of Edison and the electric light. Use Talbot, Chapter 10, or H. Thompson's *Age of Inventions*, pp. 203–212.

6. In L. Abbott's *Spirit of Democracy* read Chapter 7 on democracy and the lack of it in modern industry.

7. Using Chapter 9 in the same book, learn what is meant by "industrial democracy."

Laying a Telegraphic Cable in the English Channel
From a drawing of 1850.

CHAPTER XXV

THE WORLD GROWS SMALLER

Distance Unconquered a Century Ago

Modern Assaults on Distance. — In the light of modern inventions how small the world now seems! The morning paper brings to us from every continent the news and pictures of what happened only yesterday. On our breakfast tables appear fruits, milk, meat, and butter which have been brought in refrigerator cars or cold-storage ships from widely separated regions, while cereals, sugar, and coffee come hundreds or even thousands of miles from farm or plantation.

By radio we hear immediately speeches, lectures, or concerts delivered in distant cities. A business man buys or sells goods over the telephone or by telegraph in far-off cities. He may even arrange, within a few minutes, for paying a bill to some one in China or South Africa, confident that the money will be in the hands of his correspondent before the day closes.

And in all of these operations of the modern world we find a regularity and a certainty wholly unknown a few decades ago. A delay of one hour on the 400-mile railroad trip from Edinburgh to London, or on the 900-mile journey from New York to Chicago, now makes one complain. Transatlantic liners, as the *Olympic* or the *Leviathan*,[1] maintain their schedules to the day despite the storms and high seas of the north Atlantic.

1. Find out, if you can, why these two ships are especially noted.

How People Traveled in 1800. — We need not go back to the time of Moses, Alexander, or even Cæsar to appreciate how marked and how rapid the changes have been. In fact the great-grandparents of most of the readers of this book lived in an age

THE WHITE HART INN, SOUTHWARK, ENGLAND

Made famous by Dickens in "Pickwick Papers." This inn, one of the oldest in the country, was an important center of coaching activities.

when there were few or none of these modern inventions which have annihilated time and distance.

On a few well-traveled roads in England, France, and the United States stagecoaches were drawn by regular relays of horses — the best-known means of conveyance. When forced to take a journey, the unwilling traveler was awake early, since

the coach would probably be off by three o'clock in the morning. After riding all day and beyond nightfall he would seek rest, if fortunate, on the poor bed of a wayside inn, but might be compelled to sleep on the floor or to sit up all night. At three the next morning he would be again on his way.

Even with such strenuous efforts, travelers could cover the ground but slowly. We are told of a small family who made an unusual record in 1793 by covering the two hundred miles from London to York in twenty-four hours of continuous riding. In 1783 another family spent twenty-four days in reaching London from Switzerland — a journey now made in less than twenty-four hours.

In America the difficulties of travel were still greater, stage-coaches making only twenty-five or thirty miles a day over the poor roads. The horses were changed occasionally, but the passengers, as Fisher Ames said, were kept in harness from three in the morning until ten at night. Even the ninety-mile trip from New York to Philadelphia, now made regularly in two hours, required two or three days, or even longer if the Hudson or the Delaware happened to be rough or full of ice.

Uncertainties of Water Travel. — Even more uncertain and hazardous was travel by water. In the winter time the narrow East River between Manhattan and Brooklyn, now spanned by four bridges and tunneled with subways, was often impassable for days on account of floating ice. When the Hudson was free from ice, sailing ships plied between New York and Albany, but frequently spent two weeks in tacking against contrary winds to cover a voyage of only a hundred and fifty miles.

In Europe water travel was much the same. The English Channel, which for centuries had protected [1] England from invasion, was a dreaded obstacle to travel abroad. Under favorable conditions of wind and tide the crossing could be made in a few hours, but frequently voyagers were compelled to wait for days before leaving port. One group of travelers in 1783 lingered a week at Boulogne while their ship was detained in the harbor by heavy storms. Yet with a change of wind they finally made

the crossing in three hours. Rarely in that day was the trip across the Channel made so quickly.

Longer voyages were still more uncertain. Jefferson, returning home from France in 1789, was greatly pleased that in the month of November he was only twenty-six days on the trip. And well might he congratulate himself, for the transatlantic voyage often took six or eight weeks, or even longer. A voyage to the Far East was measured in months, a round trip in years. The slow, kettle-bottomed East Indiaman which sailed to India and China by way of the Cape spent, on the average, twenty-two months on the voyage from London to Canton and return.

1. Name one notable case illustrating such protection.

Adventures of a Letter. — The United States and most European countries had postal systems by 1800, but the sending of mail was at best slow and uncertain. Over some routes, post-riders traveled on horseback, and by using relays of horses made fair speed. Special couriers who went armed were often used by governments for important dispatches, while individuals frequently depended upon chance travelers or friendly ship captains to carry their letters.

Important commercial papers, such as bills of exchange, were made in two or three copies and sent by different vessels in the hope that one of them might get through in safety. In Europe, and in America as well, letters were regularly opened by officials or politicians, and read before being sent on their way. In fact, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe habitually corresponded in cipher out of dread of Federalist postmasters.

Postal rates on land routes were everywhere graded according to the distance, and the charges were usually collected from the person receiving the letter. In England the fee for a letter of one sheet varied from eight cents to thirty-six cents according to the distance, while in the United States the postage on a similar letter ranged from six cents to twenty-five.

The Moving of Freight in 1800. — All goods of little value but of large bulk were used near the place of production unless water transportation brought access to a distant market, since

Gilbert Wright

PREPARING FOR A HEAVY STAGE

A departure from an English inn in the winter time.

(Facing p. 582)

the cost of transport by wagons or pack horses was prohibitive. An American writer of 1807 claimed that it cost as much to carry a ton of freight thirty miles on land as it did to bring it across the three thousand miles of the Atlantic from Europe. No wonder that freight transportation was limited largely to ocean routes and to such inland waterways as rivers and canals.

Thus, whether we look at the transportation of passengers, or of information, or of freight, we find in 1800 only primitive methods in use. In fact, the ancient Romans in the days of St. Paul probably had as rapid and comfortable transit facilities as our ancestors had in the age of Napoleon.

The Modern World Triumphs Over Distance

Iron Steamships Displace Wooden Sailing Vessels. — The early history of the steam locomotive and of the steamboat has already been told. In 1838 the *Sirius* and the *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic entirely by engine-power, the first steamships to accomplish this feat. Soon afterwards iron ships came into use, and between 1860 and 1900 revolutionized ocean commerce. By 1910, 89% of the world's merchant marine was made up of steamships, and 93% of it consisted of iron or steel vessels.

By the use of iron and steel steam vessels many economies were gained. With the depletion of forests they were cheaper to build than wooden ships. They could sail on more direct routes, ignoring somewhat ocean currents and prevailing winds.[1] They could carry more freight for a given weight of vessel; they required fewer sailors; and, above all, their voyages were made with much greater certainty and regularity than was possible with sailing craft.

1. Why could they?

Two Great Canals. — In a most provoking manner nature has joined by narrow isthmuses the continents of Asia and Africa and the two Americas. It seemed as if she had left these land bridges in order to dare man to overcome the obstacles.

About the middle of the nineteenth century a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps', suggested a plan for a Suez canal, believing

that it would encourage international good will and friendship.[1] Under his leadership a company was organized, largely with French and Turkish capital, concessions were gained from the Egyptian government,[2] and work was begun in 1859. Although the engineering problems at Suez were not difficult, ten years were spent in building the canal. Finally in November, 1869, the new waterway was formally opened in triumph, with the French Empress Eugénie [3] participating.

About 1880, encouraged by the success at Suez, De Lesseps organized a company to build a canal across the Panama isthmus. But here he did not succeed. Problems of engineering [4] and of finance were far more difficult than at Suez, yellow fever and malaria had not yet been conquered by modern science; [5] and the situation was complicated by the American feeling that an isthmian canal should be controlled by the United States. At length the French company sold its equipment and rights to the United States. In 1914 the canal was finally completed by American army engineers headed by Colonel Goethals (gō′thălz), using the most modern scientific methods and backed by generous appropriations of money from Congress.

Important changes in international trade followed the completion of the Suez Canal. The length of the voyage to the East Indies was reduced by nearly half, and a decided demand arose for iron steamships since sailing vessels had difficulty in navigating the Red Sea and in passing through the canal.

The immediate effects of the opening of the Panama Canal were not so marked, owing to the unsettled condition of world trade during the World War, but in the following years of peace the value of the Panama route has become very evident. Points on the west coast of South and North America are reached from New York or from London by voyages only half as long as those by the Magellan route. So rapidly did the use of the Panama Canal increase after the war that the tonnage of vessels passing through it soon exceeded that of the Suez route.

Other modern ship canals also have been built. Among the most noted of these are the Kiel Canal between the Baltic and

Galloway

On the Suez Canal

North Seas and the "Soo" Canals between Lake Superior and Lake Huron.

By means of these canals — isthmian and local — cheap steamship rates are available for the transportation of heavy, bulky goods which in earlier times could not be carried far from the point of production.

1. What reason for thinking so? Has it done so? 2. Did England control Egypt then? 3. Who was the emperor? 4. What were some of these problems? 5. How has modern science conquered these tropical fevers?

Rowland Hill's Modern Postal Service. — Early postal service was costly and uncertain. In 1840, however, a great step in advance was made by the blind English postal official, Sir Rowland Hill, who secured the adoption of a uniform rate of one penny [1] for letters weighing not more than half an ounce and also provided for the prepayment of postage by means of stamps.[2] Under this system, the amount of mail per person in Great Britain grew to be nineteen times as great in 1900 as in 1839.

Other nations quickly followed England's lead in adopting the postal reforms of Rowland Hill. Thus the post office became an effective means for promoting national sentiment, for the world-wide spread of ideas, and for developing business relationships everywhere. During the entire year 1790 only one

Galloway

Interior View of a Railway Mail Car

person in fifteen in the United States received a letter through the post office, but by 1925 the letters and packages mailed averaged about 200 for each person.

The international use of the mail was much facilitated after 1874 by the new International Postal Union, whose uniform rates and regulations have since been accepted by nearly all civilized nations. By these friendly arrangements the exchange of ideas and of goods between nations has been greatly increased.

1. How much in our money? 2. Why should the sender pay?

The Telegraph and Telephone Defy Time and Distance. — Similar to the benefits of improved postal facilities has been the influence of the telegraph and telephone. In the case of these two inventions, as with many others, ingenious Americans gave the earliest practical application to scientific theories and experiments long known to Europeans.

Alexander Graham Bell Sending the First Message by Long-Distance Telephone

The achievements of Samuel F. B. Morse (1844) and of Alexander Graham Bell (1876) should be known to every intelligent person. Their early difficulties, both scientific and financial, were faced with a determination which at last won success. But slight indeed were the rewards of these inventors when compared with the convenience which their discoveries have brought to millions of people.[1]

In 1925 there were 6,300,000 miles of telegraph wires in the world, about one fourth being in the United States. Yet Americans do not use the telegraph as much as some other peoples do. In the number of telegrams sent per person Australia is first, followed by Norway, France, Canada, and the United States.

Telephones, however, are nowhere else so numerous, nor is the service elsewhere so excellent, as in the United States. Out of 24,500,000 telephones in the world in 1926, over sixty per cent were in the United States, or one to every seven persons. In San Francisco and Minneapolis there was one telephone to every four persons, while in Paris the proportion was one to sixteen persons, and in London, one to twenty.

1. If possible, explain the scientific principles underlying the telegraph and the telephone. Use a physics book.

Ocean Cables Unite Continents. — As soon as Morse's telegraph proved its worth on land, ambitious men sought by the same means to bridge the ocean spaces. An American, Cyrus W. Field, was the principal promoter of the first Atlantic cable, but the funds for his several attempts came largely from England. After ten years of discouraging failures, the first successful Atlantic cable began to carry messages in 1866.[1] This was followed by many others linking Europe with India, China, Australia, South Africa, the West Indies, and the American nations.

Early recognizing the value of the cable system in binding together the parts of her "far-flung" empire, Great Britain aided cable construction by subsidies and, later, by government ownership and operation. To-day, the British government and British citizens own nearly half of the three hundred thousand miles of submarine cables in the world, while American companies control about one fourth of the total.

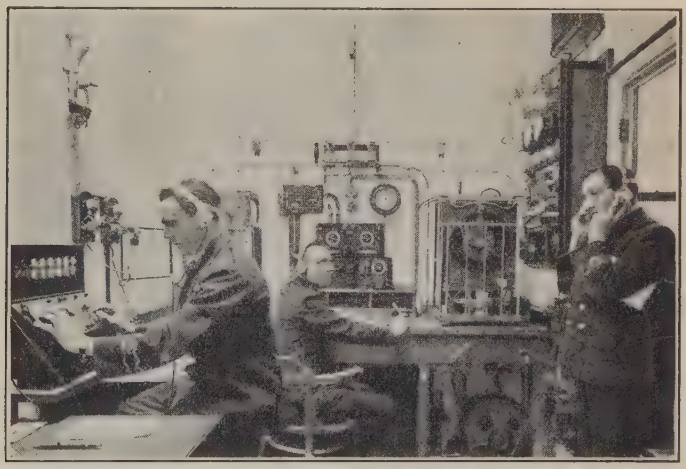
Most important of the services of the cable are its aid to commerce, and the speedy transmission of world news to the newspapers everywhere. In this way the people of all countries have become interested in the doings and problems of each other. During the World War the submarine cable was a vital part of the strategy against Germany, enabling the Allies to operate in concert and making possible the maintenance and management of the huge American army in France.

1. What is the principle upon which the cable works?

Other Inventions Bring the World Together. — Other inventions of recent years which have greatly helped in bringing

peoples together can receive only brief mention here. The automobile car and truck, developed in the opening years of the twentieth century, have made a distinct place for themselves in the carrying of passengers and freight,[1] and have opened up to travel and commerce many mountainous and desert regions which could never hope to obtain railroad facilities.

For some years after the telegraph and telephone came into common use both were dependent upon wires stretched on ugly



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RADIO ROOM OF THE LINER "MAJESTIC"

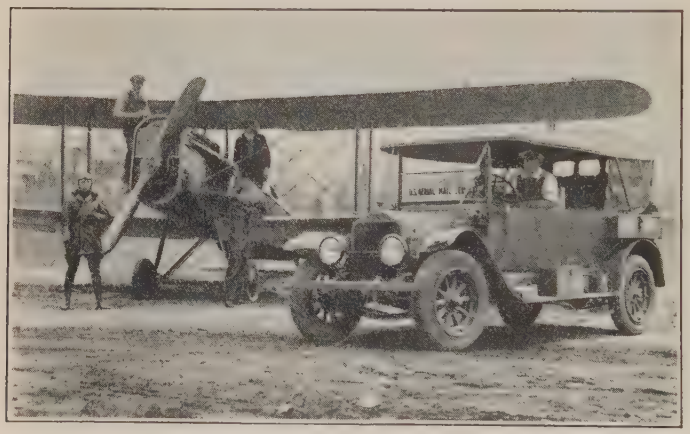
At the left is a receiving set. At the right one of the operators is receiving a telephone message. The transmitting instruments are on the farther side of the room.

poles across the countryside or along city streets. In 1896 the Italian Marconi astonished the world with his wireless telegraph by which messages are flashed through the air thousands of miles. About twenty years later the even more wonderful wireless telephone, developed by De Forest, led to the radio of our day. Both have well proved their value. On the high seas the Marconi system has become a merciful boon to the mariner, warning him of approaching storms, showing him the exact location of his vessel, and bringing needed aid in time of distress.[2]

Radio reception devices throughout the world number more than 20,000,000 sets, half of them in the United States. By means of government and private broadcasting stations, the news of the day, musical and dramatic entertainments, and public addresses now enliven existence in isolated homes and communities.

By means of airplanes, regular postal routes have been established across the American continent, by which special letters are hastened to their destination. In Europe soon after the World War, and more recently in the United States, airplanes have come into use for regular passenger service.

1. Enumerate ways in which the automobile has helped the world to grow smaller. 2. Think of some dramatic case of relief hurried to a ship at sea by means of an S. O. S. call.



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AIR MAIL PLANE AND SPEED MOTOR CAR
On the Cleveland-Chicago air mail landing field in Cleveland.

THE WORLD BECOMES ONE MARKET PLACE

Cultivating World Markets. — Modern creations such as the ocean liner, the cable, the wireless, huge banks, and giant corporations have transformed the entire world into one vast market place. To-day variations in the price of staple products throughout the entire globe are less than they were within a

ROUTES OF REGULAR AIRPLANE TRANSPORTATION IN EUROPE, 1927
The more important routes are represented by the heavier lines.

single country or province a century ago. For illustration, the price of cotton in New Orleans is fixed largely by the supply and demand in Liverpool and Manchester, while the price of wheat in Chicago affects the price in every country.

In shipping goods to the best markets many ingenious methods are now used. Refrigerator ships carry fresh meats to England from the United States, Argentina, and Australia.[1] The diet of European and American people has been greatly improved by the introduction of an abundance of oranges, grapefruits, lemons, and other fruits from tropical and semitropical lands.[2] Coal from England replenishes coaling stations for ships in distant parts of the world. Petroleum, carried in special tankers, is shipped wherever needed and, for instance, is the principal import into India to-day. Anything which people really need, if it can be produced in abundance, is likely nowadays to reach a world market.

Yet world markets often have to be cultivated. People do not care to buy new kinds of machines or other novel goods until their worth is demonstrated. In the case of an American sewing machine or even a "flivver" it may be necessary to educate backward peoples to the new values; or, in the case of the American petroleum in China, to teach millions of people how to use the kerosene lamp and stove. In such cases the exporter plans a sales campaign with as much care as a general arranges the movements of his army.

1. Discuss the importance of refrigeration among modern inventions. 2. How do citrus fruits *improve* one's diet?

Economists Fail to Destroy Protective Tariffs. — One obstacle to international trade which could not always be overcome was found in the duties placed by the various countries upon imported goods. Tariffs within the European countries were abolished during the French Revolution or early in the nineteenth century, as we have already seen. Thereafter, under the leadership of modern economists, followers of Adam Smith,[1] many people hoped that all such restraints upon international trade would also be swept aside. About 1850 their hopes were high when England entered fully upon a free trade policy, when the United States had the lowest tariff rates in its history, and when France and the German states seemed ready to adopt trade freedom.

After 1879, however, we find a decided return to high protective tariffs in nearly all countries except Great Britain. Under the influence of the rising spirit of nationalism and of modern machine methods, other countries were anxious to build up new industries as England had done. To compete with English products, manufacturers needed protection in the home markets. Thus from 1879 [2] onwards, while international commerce was growing by leaps and bounds, protective tariffs barred the way to the freedom of exchange which many thinkers desired.[3]

1. What was the central theory of the economists? What is its French name? 2. Who was the famous statesman who led the way in 1879? 3. What protective tariff countries of to-day can you name?

England's Long Supremacy in World Commerce. — Much money was invested in the shipping business by the people of the European countries — England first of all. During the age of wooden sailing vessels just before our Civil War, American shipbuilders and owners were keen rivals of the British for maritime supremacy. After the havoc to American shipping wrought by the Civil War, and with the coming of iron and steel steamships, however, England again forged far ahead. For over a generation thereafter no rival arose to question her leadership in merchant ships.[1] A reading of the shipping columns of any English newspaper of 1900 would surprise an American reader, for he would notice that no important seaport in the entire world was then without its freight and passenger service under the British flag. But between 1900 and the World War subsidized German merchant fleets were capturing a large share of the most lucrative traffic. People of France, Norway, Japan, and the United States also invested largely in steamship companies; so that by 1914 rather less than half of the world's steam tonnage sailed under the British flag.[2]

1. Do you know why American shipping fell behind again? 2. In the morning paper find names of the most important steamship lines — British, American, and German.

World Markets the Prize of Modern Business. — In 1800 the value of all international commerce, as roughly estimated, was about $1,400,000,000, or $2.31 for each person then living. By 1913 the total of foreign trade had increased to $40,000,000,000, or about $24.47 per person. This meant that the average share of each man, woman, and child in the world's commerce had increased tenfold in a little over a century.

By 1914 the business life of England, France, and Germany had become very largely dependent upon foreign trade. France imported one third of the coal she used. Germany imported nearly all of her wool. Great Britain drew three fourths of her wheat from distant lands. Besides, all three countries were almost entirely at the mercy of outside sources for their cotton, rubber, copper, tin, and petroleum.[1] To direct and to finance

this great volume of foreign trade many agencies were created. Great banking institutions were organized to provide the needed capital. Preëminent among these was the Bank of England, which helped make London throughout the nineteenth century the banking center of the world. Other countries, such as France and Germany, copied the English banking model. There were also private banking houses, such as the Rothschilds, the Morgans, and the Barings, with extensive international business.

Corporations with enormous capital engaged in the contest for world markets. German monopolies, known as *kartels*, maintained high prices at home, but sold their products at low figures abroad. Much the same plan was followed by great American corporations whose home market was protected by a high tariff.

The search for new supplies of raw materials went on with increasing vigor. Enterprising corporations, backed by banks at home and sometimes by the governments themselves, sought to get control of the undeveloped areas of the world's surface. Resources of coal, iron, copper, petroleum, and tropical products such as rubber and cotton, were searched out, and concessions for exploiting them were obtained from meek native governments.[2] Out of the eager contest to gain control of such raw materials arose much of the animosity between the industrial countries before 1914, which made the World War possible.

1. Are these necessities or luxuries? Name necessities which *we* must import. 2. Why are native governments of backward peoples often meek?

International Coöperation of Specialists. — Even though the age of steam, electricity, steel, and oil created these serious international rivalries, it promoted unity in many scientific and social enterprises, because it was clear that similar problems faced all modern peoples, and that these problems could be solved only by the coöperation of specialists from different countries.

By 1914 more than two hundred such international organizations had been formed. The purposes of these associations ranged from establishing uniformity in mail and telegram rates to standardization of threads on screws. By far the larger number of international meetings were of a scientific character, aiming

to exchange the results of experiments and to promote research in other ways. Others were frankly revolutionary, as those of the communists and socialists, some of whom were striving to overthrow the capitalistic system of industry in all countries. Still others, like the Red Cross, sought to alleviate suffering, or to study methods of preventing disease.

Seeing how the specialists in similar lines in all nations could thus work together, many thoughtful and idealistic [1] people hoped that the widening influence of these international organizations would prevent war and lead to an era of universal peace. Unfortunately, economic and colonial rivalries, and the nationalist ambitions of the various peoples, were stronger than their common interests and activities. Therefore, in spite of a great advance in international coöperation, the World War came. Whether its grim horrors and its frightful destruction of material wealth, of human lives, and of precious fruits of civilization will ultimately lead to a more sympathetic international understanding and more general efforts for the common good of the race, is not yet clear.

1. Define "idealistic." Would you feel complimented by being called an idealistic person?

Problem and Reference Work

1. Read about the failure of De Lesseps and the French company at Panama. Use A. Bullard's *Panama*, Chapter 26, or F. J. Haskin's *Panama Canal*, Chapter 17.

2. Tell the story of the building of the Suez Canal. Consult Haskin, pp. 335 ff.

3. Do the same for the Kiel Canal. Use the same book, pp. 340 ff.

4. Tell the story of Morse and the telegraph. Use R. S. Holland's *Historic Inventions*, Chapter 10; or H. Thompson's *Age of Invention*, Chapter 6.

5. Make a report on Bell's invention of the telephone. Use Chapter 13 of Holland's book or Chapter 7 in Talbot's *All about Inventions and Discoveries*.

6. In Chapter 15 of Holland's book read about Marconi and the wireless. Or use Chapter 1 in Talbot.

7. Learn about the Wright Brothers and the airplane. Use Chapter 16 of Holland; or pp. 251 ff. of Talbot; or Chapter 10 of Thompson.

8. Read about the beginnings of electric traction. Talbot, Chapter 5.

9. In the same book read Chapter 6 on the Westinghouse airbrake; and Chapter 9 on the steam turbine.

10. On early motor cars, use Chapter 14 of the same book.

Reading List

HASKIN, F. J., *The Panama Canal* (1914). A clear recital.

HOLLAND, R. S., *Historic Inventions* (1911). In the main biographical. Interesting and nontechnical.

THOMPSON, H., *The Age of Invention.* An excellent little book.

TALBOT, F. A., *All about Inventions and Discoveries* (1916).

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FAR-FLUNG BRITISH EMPIRE

The Modern Race for Colonies

Lapse and Renewal of Colonization. — One of the most striking and significant movements in world history since 1875 has been the active expansion of the white man's civilization and leadership over the more backward peoples of the earth. Chapter VII of this volume has described the keen rivalry of such nations as Spain, France, Holland, and England in their earlier colonial expansion prior to 1800.[1] During most of the nineteenth century, however, there was a lull in this rivalry. In fact, from about 1830 to 1880, even such active powers as Great Britain and France were averse to further expansion. Some annexations, to be sure, were made during this period, such as the acquisition of New Zealand and Natal [2] by Great Britain [3] and the conquest of Algeria by France; but these were felt to be rather out of harmony with sound national policies.

After 1875, however, came a sweeping change — a renewed interest in colonization which carried the sway and leadership of European civilization over practically all the remaining regions of the earth. Imperialism is what we call this eagerness of the more civilized peoples to claim, develop, and govern backward regions of Africa, Asia, and the islands of the sea.

1. Recall just where each had built up its earlier colonial empire. 2. Locate New Zealand and Natal. 3. When were the kingdoms of England and Scotland united to form the kingdom of Great Britain? (In this book, as in most books, however, the word "England" is sometimes used as the name of the entire British kingdom.)

Modern Business Produces Modern Imperialism. — Various reasons and motives have combined to create this modern imperialism. Foremost among these causes were the revolutionizing economic changes described in preceding chapters. The

modern age of machinery called for vastly increased supplies of raw materials, such as cotton, iron, rubber, and grains; and created a demand for extended markets in which to dispose of the increased volume of goods produced by modern industry. Then, too, there was the great financial development of recent years, resulting in the establishment of great banks, insurance companies, and other sorts of corporations, representing millions of dollars, for which profitable investments were sought. All this meant that numerous leaders of business in the industrial nations [1] were becoming interested in the less developed lands.

1. What nations would you class as industrial nations?

The Spirit of Nationalism Promotes Colonization. — Wherever Britons, Germans, or other men have gone on business among half civilized or uncivilized peoples they have naturally expected from their home governments some degree of protection for themselves and for their business interests. Out of this protection have come, in some cases, wars with natives, protectorates over native peoples, or even outright annexations.

As one nation gained bits of territory for itself or business opportunities for its citizens, others were stimulated to do likewise. For this the modern spirit of nationalism was an ample motive. Increased wealth, markets, and colonies meant added national power and prestige; and each ambitious nation felt unsafe unless expanding as fast as its rivals. In this we see another motive for the wild scramble of European powers for colonies.

Then, too, the rapid increase of population in most of the industrialized countries has been a cause of colonization. For instance, between 1885 and 1895, the population of Germany was increasing over half a million a year, and that of Great Britain and of Italy over 300,000 a year each. Along with this speedy advance in population went an alarming [1] emigration from these countries.[2] This stimulated the desire for more colonies in which European emigrants might settle without being wholly lost to the homeland.

1. Alarming to whom? Why? 2. How did rapid growth of population foster emigration?

Some Motives were Altruistic. — The motives for European expansion treated so far may all be classed as imperialistic motives — reasons growing out of the desire of powerful individuals or groups to gain some profit or advantage for themselves or their country. Other motives, however, besides selfish imperialism have had much influence in the expansion of modern European and American civilization. Missionary zeal — the desire to Christianize benighted peoples and to bring to them the benefits of the best things in western civilization — has been a powerful incentive. In fact, missionaries have in many regions preceded the business men, and have been the pioneers in arousing interest in the goods as well as in the ideas of Christendom.[1]

Another non-imperialistic motive of the white race in the expansion of its civilization has been the feeling that the less progressive peoples are really benefited by a foreign rule which brings them into contact with a culture higher than their own. The progress of mankind is advanced, it is argued, by civilizing backward races, even if forcibly. Thus, Frenchmen are honestly proud of the benefits of French control over Tunisia; Britons, of the uplift they have brought to Egypt; Americans, of the advance of the Filipinos under their rule. Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden" [2] has given classic expression to the thought that civilizing "barbarians" is a lofty duty.[3]

1. Name countries in which this has been evident. 2. Read this poem thoughtfully. 3. Do "barbarians" generally like the process? Give reasons.

The Colonizing Nations. — The nations most interested and most active in this modern imperialism [1] have been Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States, Japan, Belgium, and Italy. Germany had to surrender all her colonies as a result of the World War. Each of the other nations mentioned has an important and extensive colonial empire to-day. So also has Holland — an empire inherited from the seventeenth century. Some of these colonial empires will be described in this and the following chapters.

1. Now make your own definition of imperialism.

England's Varied Empire

Always in the Daylight. — It is often said that the sun never sets upon the British Empire. A glance at the map will show how strikingly this suggests the " far-flung " extent of the greatest modern empire.[1] The British Empire is a power — respected, loved, or hated according to one's experience with it. In any case, the World War has emphasized the fact that it is an outstanding power in our world.

The chief parts of this empire are Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India, Egypt, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Nigeria (nī-jē′rĭ-*ȧ*), Rhodesia, Southwest Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika (tăn-găn-yē′kä), Uganda (o͞o-gän′dä), Iraq (ē-räk′), and Palestine, besides numerous bits of land here and there and many an island in the seas. Some of the countries here included, such as Iraq and Palestine, are under a new type of guardianship, known as a mandate, authorized by the League of Nations, while Egypt has been declared independent, but to be safeguarded under a special form of British protectorate. All together, about one fourth of the earth's surface and about one in four of its entire population belong to the British Empire.

The British Empire is far from being a closely-knit unit, but is instead a miscellaneous collection of varied peoples, living under strikingly different local conditions and under dissimilar relations to the home country.

Outside of Great Britain itself, a fully self-governing country within the British Empire is called a *dominion*. By an agreement reached at the Imperial Conference of 1926, all the dominions are officially equal with Great Britain as partners in a commonwealth of nations. (See quotations on pages 630–631.) The British dominions, in which white men predominate, are Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Newfoundland (nū′fu̇nd-lănd). To the largest and most influential of these we shall give our chief attention.

1. **What other far-flung empires in history can you name?**

Canada, the Queen Dominion

Tory Immigration Divides Canada. — Great Britain secured Canada as a result of two wars with France in the eighteenth century. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) she received Nova

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The Old English Cathedral at Quebec, Canada

Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region, and she obtained the remainder of Canada by the treaty of Paris in 1763. In the American Revolution Canada remained loyal to Great Britain, even though the revolting Americans sought Canadian sympathy and attempted (1775) to conquer the country.

With the triumph of the Americans in the Revolution, thou-

sands of American Tories or Loyalists, no longer at home in the new republic, migrated to the Canadian provinces. It is estimated that 30,000 of these United Empire Loyalists settled in Nova Scotia and 10,000 in Ontario on the peninsula north of Lake Erie. In each region they became the very backbone of the province, as their descendants are to this day.

Liberal land grants were made by the British authorities to welcome Loyalist immigration. Yet it was not until sixty-five years after the Revolution that real self-government was granted to Canada. From 1791, British Upper Canada (Ontario) and French Lower Canada (Quebec) were governed separately on the plan of British royal provinces, as Virginia and New York were ruled before the Revolution. In both provinces there was discord between the more democratic and the more aristocratic classes, and also between the people and the British officials, leading in 1837 to open rebellion.

Home Rule and the Cabinet System Come to Canada. — A liberal British statesman, Lord Durham, was sent from England to investigate conditions. In an epoch-making report [1] (1839) he advised that Upper and Lower Canada be joined and that to remove their discontent the British cabinet system of self-government be granted to them. *Responsible government* [2] is the English name for this type of democracy. Durham's report helped revolutionize colonial government throughout the world. It frankly argued that colonies are best controlled by being allowed to govern themselves. How very different from eighteenth-century ideas! [3] Within a generation the English-speaking colonies of the British Empire were all governing themselves, whereas none enjoyed home rule when the Durham report was made.[4]

In the case of Canada Durham's advice was not fully adopted at once. Finally, however, in 1847 a Liberal cabinet in power in London sent Lord Durham's son-in-law, Lord Elgin, to Canada as governor-general with instructions to set up self-government there. The real power was placed in the hands of the Canadian cabinet and legislative assembly, the British governor-general

becoming largely a figurehead. About the same time cabinet government was established in the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

During the next twenty years principles were worked out which gave Canada an increasing degree of home rule. Great Britain abandoned the remnant of her old navigation laws by which colonial commerce was restricted, and finally accepted the principle that Canada might levy her own tariff even against British goods. A second principle adopted was that no imperial forces should be stationed in the colony.[5] Canada was also granted complete control over the disposal of her own vast tracts of public land. Later these principles were also applied to the other British dominions, indicating how far liberal sentiments have shaped British colonial policies since Durham's time.

1. Observe carefully to see why Durham's report is called epoch-making. 2. Make a careful definition of "responsible government." 3. What was the eighteenth-century principle of colonial government? 4. Think of other influences which helped produce the change. 5. Compare with the British policy in the American colonies (1763–1775).

Canada Becomes a Federal Nation. — But as time went on, the Canadians were not wholly satisfied with their government. The French Canadians and the English Canadians united in one province did not develop good teamwork. Besides, the maritime provinces were entirely separate from Canada proper and each was weak of itself. Gradually the sentiment for a federal union of all the provinces grew, fostered by such great leaders as Sir John A. Macdonald, a sturdy Scotch-Canadian, and others. At a meeting in Quebec in 1864 preliminary plans for a union were worked out. Then in 1866 a few leading Canadians went over to London for a conference at which a definite constitution was perfected. When passed by the British parliament in the form of a regular bill, the British North America Act of 1867 became, and still is, the constitution of the Dominion of Canada.

This constitution set up a federal union, — the Dominion of Canada, — with its capital at Ottawa, since adorned with beautiful public buildings. The original provinces were Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. To these were added

later the various other provinces one finds on the modern map of Canada. Newfoundland, however, declined to join, and to this day remains a separate dominion.

A *federal state*[1] may be defined as a union of provinces or "states" in which the union and the separate parts have each their distinct powers without intruding upon the fields of one another.[2] This federal principle was first worked out successfully on a large scale by the United States. Like the United States, Canada is a federal nation, but with this vital difference: In the United States the national government has only the powers allotted to it by the constitution, and others which grow naturally out of these definitely assigned powers; while all powers not so assigned fall automatically to the states. In Canada this rule is reversed, allotting to the provinces their specific limited powers and giving to the dominion government all others.

1. Name other federal nations. 2. A definition worth memorizing.

The Canadian Kind of Democracy. — While Canada imitated the United States by forming a federal union, her government in other respects is a close copy of the British.

The governor-general is a copy of the British king — an ornamental, respected, dignified head of the nation, who in matters of government always follows the advice of his real superior, the prime minister.[1] The governor-general is appointed by the government in London as official head of the dominion.

The Canadian parliament consists of two houses, the Senate and the Commons. The senators are appointed for life by the governor-general, upon advice;[2] while the members of the Commons are elected by the Canadian voters on a very liberal suffrage basis. As in Great Britain, the upper house is a stately, advisory body,[3] while real legislative power belongs to the Commons.

The Canadian cabinet is modeled closely after the parent cabinet in London. This means that the prime minister is really president of the nation; that he is the leader of the majority in the House of Commons; that he and his cabinet are the real executives as well as the responsible leaders in legisla-

Galloway

CANADIAN PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA, CANADA

tion; and that executive and legislature are firmly knit together by the membership of prime minister and cabinet in parliament, and by their responsibility to it.[4]

Each province, within itself, follows British principles. There is an ornamental lieutenant-governor appointed by the dominion government;[5] a parliament (generally of one house); and a cabinet system working on true British principles.

The federal system in Canada stands out as one of the promising democracies of the age, merging in her government vital principles learned from the two greatest democracies of all time — England and the United States.[6]

1. Get clearly in mind this principle showing the present power of an English monarch. 2. By whom is he advised? 3. What law of the early twentieth century placed the House of Lords in this position? 4. Ponder well this paragraph if you are not sure how the cabinet system works. 5. By whom is he really chosen, then? 6. What fundamental principle or principles did Canada borrow from England? From the United States?

BRITISH DOMINIONS
IN 1926
Scale of Miles on the Equator
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000
British Possessions
"Mand." means Mandate
"Prot." means Protectorate
W-G CO.
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
BANKS LAND
PRINCE ALBERT LAND
BAFFIN ISLAND
Davis Strait
Bering Str.
ASIA
ALASKA
Mackenzie R.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
SHETLAND
DOMINION OF CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
C. Farewell
GREAT BRITAIN
IRISH FREE STATE
ALEUTIAN IS.
Winnipeg
Montreal
Ottawa
NEWFOUNDLAND
Seattle
Chicago
New York
San Francisco
UNITED STATES
Washington
AZORES
Gibraltar
ATLANTIC
BERMUDA
MADEIRA IS.
CANARY IS.
MIDWAY I. (U.S.)
HAWAIIAN IS.
Honolulu
Gulf of Mexico
BAHAMA IS.
TROPIC OF CANCER
CAPE VERDE IS.
GAMBIA
Mexico
SR. DOMD.
JAMAICA
BRITISH WEST INDIES
TRINIDAD
BR. GUIANA
SIERRA LEONE
PACIFIC OCEAN
CENTRAL AMERICA
Panama
Panama Canal
VEN.
COL.
OCEAN
GOLD CO
PALMYRA I.
WASHINGTON I.
FANNING I.
CHRISTMAS I.
BAKER I.
PHOENIX IS.
JARVIS I.
MALDEN I.
STARBUCK I.
VICTORIA I.
PENRHYN I.
MARQUESAS IS.
UNION IS.
SAMOA
MAN IKI
VOSTOK I.
SUWARROW I.
SOCIETY IS.
TUTUILA
FIJI IS.
COOK IS.
RARATONGA I.
SAVAGE I.
PALMERSTON I.
FRIENDLY IS.
PITCAIRN I.
DUCIE I.
KERMADEC IS.
CHATHAM IS.
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
PERU
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SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
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INNER MONGOLIA
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
Tokyo
Peking
Weihaiwei
Shanghai
TIBET
CHINA
Canton
Hongkong
PERSIA
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
TURKEY
Delhi
INDIA
Calcutta
Cairo
EGYPT
ARABIA
Arabian Sea
Bombay
Madras
Manila
PHILIPPINE IS.
MARIANAS IS.
GUAM (U.S.)
WAKE I. (U.S.)
Japanese Mandate
CAROLINE IS.
MIDWAY (U.S.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
Singapore
BORNEO
Tr. Mand.
NEW GUINEA
BISMARCK ARCH.
NAURU I.
GILBERT IS.
ELLICE IS.
SOLOMON IS.
SANTA CRUZ IS.
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS.
SOKOTRA
LACCADIVE IS.
CEYLON
MALDIVE IS.
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ABYS.
UGANDA
CONGO
Zanzibar
SEYCHELLES
AMIRANTE IS.
CHAGOS ARCH.
COSMOLEDO IS.
FARQUHAR IS.
COCOS I.
CHRISTMAS I.
INDIAN OCEAN
MADAGASCAR
RODRIGUEZ
MAURITIUS
ANGOLA
RHODESIA
S.W. AFRICA
NATAL
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
C. Agulhas
AUSTRALIA
NORFOLK I.
LORD HOWE I.
Sydney
Canberra
Melbourne
KERMADEC IS.
NEW ZEALAND
TASMANIA
CROZET IS.
BOUNTY I.
ANTIPODES
AUCKLAND I.
CAMPBELL I.
MACQUARIE I.
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
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Longitude East from Greenwich
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The Canadians a Vigorous, Pioneer People. — The population of Canada is (1927) about 9,000,000.[1] Of these a very large proportion are of British stock, since immigration throughout the years has been chiefly from the British Isles and the United States. Restrictions on immigration are rigid and discriminating, designed to admit only the vigorous and the energetic. The result is a remarkably sturdy and homogeneous Canadian type. In the midst, however, is the old French province of Quebec,

© *Galloway*

Reapers Harvesting Wheat in Saskatchewan, Canada

still thoroughly French in language, religion, and sentiments, regarding France as mother and England as mother-in-law, as an English writer aptly puts it. Especially the rural sections of Quebec are like an island of seventeenth-century French civilization in the midst of the alert, progressive Canadians.

Like the United States of the nineteenth century, Canada has expanded across the western wilderness and plains, with the more settled parts always bordered by a strenuous, adventurous frontier. Also like the United States of a few decades earlier, she has constantly allured settlers to the frontier by very liberal grants of farm lands or homesteads. As a result Canada,

especially to the westward, still exhibits in high degree the pioneer spirit. This means marked democracy of life, coupled with great hopefulness and enthusiasm.

1. Compare with the population of the United States, the city of New York, and your own state.

Canadian Patriotism is Strong. — The Canadians, along with an intense enthusiasm for their own land, have a warm loyalty to the British Empire. Clear illustrations of this loyalty were the generous backing and the liberal contingents of fighting men furnished, wholly voluntarily, in the empire's need during the Boer War and the World War. The center of this imperial loyalty is Toronto, with its large admixture of American Tory blood — " the most ultra-British city on earth."

Canadians feel keenly — and no Englishman would object — that they are not a colony but a nation. One British writer has neatly phrased it, " Jake Canuck is the grown-up son of John Bull & Sons." The same author, J. F. Fraser, adds: " Canada has a glimmer of her destiny. It is not to be a mere colony of Britain; it is not to be swallowed up by the United States; it is not to be a small republic unto herself. It is to be a real integral part of the British Empire, with a proportionate voice in the control of that empire, and with the ambition that one day she will be the predominant partner in the nations of the empire. That is a vision which touches the Canadian imagination."

Canada as Neighbor of the United States. — We have already noted the significant exodus of something like 40,000 American Tories to Canada in Revolutionary times. Naturally they retained for generations a bias against things American. In our War of 1812 the military leaders had high hopes of conquering Canada. How completely they failed in the fighting along the frontier peninsula north of Lake Erie is well known.

Despite the " late unpleasantness," as early as 1817 Great Britain and the United States signed a special treaty — still in force — limiting to toy-like size the naval strength of both nations on the border lakes. A splendid result has been that all these years, while European nations have been arming against

each other, the two English-speaking peoples in America have dwelt in peace side by side, unarmed and unafraid.[1]

Trade relations between Canada and the United States have generally been active but not unhampered. For a while (1854–1866) there was commercial *reciprocity* between the two neighbors. This meant that each gave special concessions to the other in some of its tariff rates. Since 1866, however, both countries have had protective tariff barriers without reciprocity.[2]

Whether with or without reciprocity in trade, the best sentiment in both Canada and the United States favors cordial friendship between the two sister republics, both rejoicing in a common Anglo-Saxon heritage of liberty and hopefulness, and each working out in its own way the problems of democracy.

1. Why do not European nations try the same plan? 2. Explain exactly what is meant by "protective tariff barriers without reciprocity."

The White Man's Commonwealth of Australia

A Penal Settlement Becomes a Free Colony. — The vast island-continent of Australia, about equal to the United States in area, was late in coming within the range of civilization. Although long known to navigators, it was not seriously claimed by any of the nations until about the time of the American Revolution, when the famous Captain Cook made careful explorations along the eastern coast and definitely claimed the land for Great Britain. Thus, while the British were losing one valuable colonial region they were gaining another.

Some years passed, however, before any settlements were made on the new continent. Finally in 1788 a penal colony was founded on the shore of the present state of New South Wales. This meant that persons convicted of greater or lesser crimes were exiled to Australia, just as they had been sent to America before the Revolution.[1] "Transportation" was the usual name for this kind of punishment. For over fifty years transportation to Australia was continued, and convicts or children of convicts made up most of the population. Finally, owing to the vigorous protests of the increasing free population, no more convicts were

sent to New South Wales after 1840, although they were still sent to Western Australia for some years longer.

In those early years the population of Australia was scanty, confined largely to the southeastern coast and supported almost wholly by sheep grazing. But in 1851 rich gold deposits were

By Cowling from Ewing Galloway

A Sheep Ranch in New South Wales

found. This led during the next few years to a spirited gold rush [2] which brought the country its first large voluntary immigration, chiefly from the British Isles.

1. What do you know about immigrants of this sort to colonial America?
2. Recall three other famous "gold rushes" elsewhere.

Liberty and Union Attained. — With an increasing population, mostly British, it was natural that Australian civilization and government should be British from the first. As soon as the population seemed sufficient, representative assemblies were established. By 1870 five self-governing colonies were in existence — New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, and South Australia, followed somewhat later by Western Australia. All six provinces were entirely separate. No union yet existed.

But separateness wrought certain evils. As in America before 1789, or in Canada before 1867, neighboring provinces quarreled and became painfully conscious of their own individual weaknesses. Sentiment in favor of a federal union began to grow.[1] This was fostered by the appearance of Germans during that period as colonizers on some of the islands in the Pacific.[2] However, as in our own quarrelsome states after the Revolution, a long heroic struggle (1889–1899) was necessary to convert the Australian people to the ideal of federation. The outstanding champion of union (until his death in 1896) was Sir Henry Parkes, the nation-builder of Australia.

Finally, after many efforts, the Australians worked out a federal constitution by a convention of elected delegates from all the states. During 1898 and 1899 by popular vote each state ratified the plan. Then, with only slight changes, the constitution was enacted as a law by the British parliament at London.[3] In 1900 the new federal dominion was duly launched under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia.

1. Why, do you suppose, did the Australians not favor a union more compact than a federal one? 2. How did German expansion in the Pacific concern Australians? 3. Compare with the method of making the Canadian constitution of 1867; with the American constitution.

How Australians Govern Themselves. — The Australians, in shaping their constitution, patterned after three models — the British, the American, and the Canadian. Like Canada and the United States, the commonwealth is a federal union, but resembling more nearly ours than the Canadian. It consists of states, not provinces; and embodies the principle that powers not delegated to the union by the constitution automatically belong to the states. Cabinet systems like the British form the very heart of the government in the commonwealth and in every Australian state.

As in Canada, the chief parts of the Australian system are governor-general, parliament, cabinet, and state governments. The governor-general is a reduced copy of the British crown.[1] Parliament consists of an elective Senate and an elective House, the latter being more important because of the responsibility

of the cabinet to it. The cabinet is of that British type with which the student is already familiar.

Like Canada, Australia is a full-fledged dominion of the British Empire, with complete autonomy.[2] Only in matters which touch the outside world does the imperial government guide, and then very gently.

1. Show fully the meaning here of "a reduced copy of the British crown."
2. If not familiar with this word, master it now.

Australia, the Land and the People. — Geographically Australia is a peculiar continent. Around the vast arid and semi-arid interior runs a mountainous ridge. Between this ridge and the coast, as well as for some distance along the interior of the ridge, is a well-watered, fertile fringe, of varying width, but never more than 250 miles, which sustains most of the population.

Gold and Copper Mines at Mt. Morgan, Australia

One Australian writer makes this vivid by likening his country to an overturned saucer. The climate of the southern regions is bracing, the sun bright, inviting to an outdoor life, of which Australians are very fond.

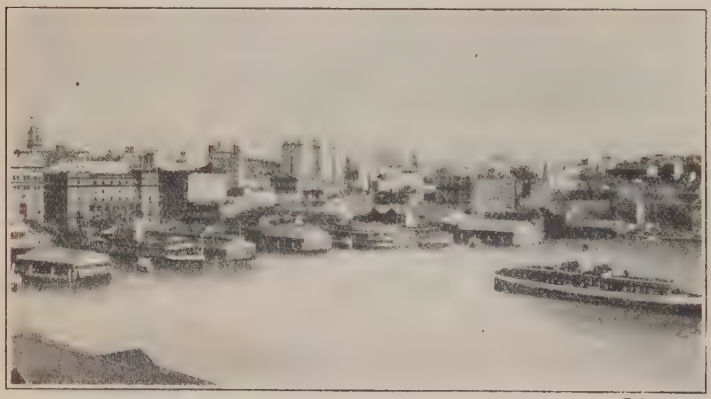
Until the discovery of gold in 1851 the raising of sheep and cattle was Australia's one industry. Since then extensive grain farming, mining, and manufactures have been developed. With

the coming of modern scientific refrigeration, there has been a marked growth in the exportation of iced meats and dairy products to England and other countries. Manufactures since 1907 have been purposely fostered by a protective tariff system. Yet down to the present time Australia, with its "mobs of sheep," is preëminently "the land of the golden fleece."

There are about five and one half million Australians, most of them of British descent. White immigrants are heartily welcomed in Australia, but the color line is rigidly drawn; for it is a matter of "passionate conviction" with a majority of the Australians, says a native writer, "that they owe it as a duty to civilization to preserve their land for the white race." [1]

1. Compare with American restrictions on Oriental immigration.

Social Democracy in Australia. — Australia is known as the "Paradise of the working man." The Australians have adopted advanced social reforms and experiments which are illustrative of their conception of effective democracy. Without the compulsion of law, the eight-hour day has come into general use.



THE HARBOR AT SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES *Galloway*

Some of the states have wage boards empowered to fix minimum wages in industry. New South Wales is noted for its method of averting strikes and settling labor disputes through special courts for industrial arbitration.[1] Almost all the railroads are

owned either by the nation or by the separate states, and the telegraph lines are part of the national postal system.[2] There is a federal system of pension allowances for the aged and infirm

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GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN CANBERRA, THE NEW CAPITAL OF AUSTRALIA (1927)

poor, and also for mothers. These items show how far the Australians are willing to go in their zeal to have a contented and prosperous laboring population.

1. Define "industrial arbitration." 2. Why do they have this arrangement, do you suppose?

Australian Traits. — The Australians, with plenty of room, a homogeneous people, an abounding democracy, an alluring climate, and a frontier setting to their life, are noted for their hearty, frank manner and their spirit of comradeship. Open-air recreations are abundant. Slum sections and crowded tenements are rare. As the cities grow — and the growth is now rapid — suburbs of small dwellings are built up, with convenient and inexpensive service for commuters. Open hospitality is the rule, especially in the farm regions — the "Bush," as Australians call it. Sir Gilbert Parker tells of riding alone through a section of Australian farm land. Arriving late at night at a farm house, he put his horse into the pasture, entered the house through the unlocked door, and slept on the sofa. Upon waking next morning, he found his breakfast ready and the family apologizing to the utter stranger[1] for the hardness of the sofa.

It is easy to picture Australian life in rosy hues. But there is a reverse side. With all their democracy and opposition to the rule of wealth, the Australians have permitted vast estates to grow up in the grazing country, many of them on leased public lands. As long ago as 1909, it was reported that almost half the privately-owned farm land was held by 720 persons in estates averaging 31,000 acres apiece. Interstate jealousies are still rife, as seen in the long controversy over locating the national capital.[2]

By and large, however, the Australians are a splendid people who justly may be proud of their forward-looking civilization.

1. Why are country people everywhere more likely to be friendly to strangers than city people are? 2. Where is the new capital?

New Zealand, Land of Promise

Similarity to Australia. — New Zealand and Australia are in many respects strikingly alike:

(1) Both lie in the south Pacific in the temperate zone.

(2) Both were scientifically explored and studied first by Captain Cook (1768–1779).

(3) Both were finally annexed to the British Empire when no other power cared to claim them, — New Zealand in 1840.

(4) The people of both are almost entirely of British descent.

(5) Complete self-government is enjoyed by both.

(6) "A white man's land" is the national slogan in both.

(7) In both the "golden fleece" leads in industry.

(8) Both foster education by free, public, secular schools under a régime of equality for all religions.

(9) In both republics the interests of the workingman are most carefully safeguarded.

(10) Both were pioneers in adopting woman suffrage.

New Zealand, an Alluring Land. — Regarding New Zealand a few things may be noted separately:

It consists of two main islands — North and South — and a few smaller ones. The climate is invigorating, with its bright sunshine, cool nights, liberal rainfall, and constant stirring of the air — a most fitting home for an aspiring, idealistic people.

New Zealand is not a federal union of states, but a *unitary nation*, all powers of government being inherently national.[1] In its relation to the empire through its constitution, through its imperial governor, and through imperial supervision of foreign relations, New Zealand closely resembles Australia and Canada.

Galloway

THE PRINCIPAL BUSINESS STREET IN AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Internally its government at Wellington by general assembly, prime minister, and cabinet is practically like the national government of either Canada or Australia.

In social reforms New Zealand has gone far, closely regulating hours of labor and working conditions in industry; preventing child labor; fixing minimum wages; requiring early closing hours, holidays, and weekly half holidays in offices, stores, and shops; providing pensions for the aged and for widows, and compensation for accidents in industry; granting public aid to the poor in homebuilding; supplying electricity to the public at low rates; and requiring arbitration in labor disputes to avoid strikes or lockouts. The government owns and operates the railroad, telegraph, and telephone systems.

New Zealanders are as confident as are Australians that theirs is a land where the golden age is dawning.

1. Now explain clearly the difference between a federal state and a unitary one. Give illustrations of each.

South Africa's Union of Unmelted Races

A Sketch of Beginnings. — The British dominion known as the Union of South Africa differs widely from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in its history, its people, its traditions, its spirit, and its problems.

How Da Gama reopened the rich commerce with the Far East in 1498 by voyaging around the Cape of Good Hope has been told in an earlier chapter. How much the Portuguese gained by the renewed trade until thrust aside in the seventeenth century by the Dutch and English has also been shown. As an aid in the long voyages around the Cape, the Dutch East India Company established a post at Cape Colony in 1652. Captured by the British during the wars of the French Revolution (1795), Cape Colony became permanently British by the peace settlement of 1815.

Dutch Cape Colony, like Dutch New Netherland before 1664, had been ruled arbitrarily with slight regard for the welfare of the colonists. Under British rule the same régime was continued for half a century. The colony was backward and stagnant. About half the people were black slaves, and there were many free blacks as well. Of the whites, a major part were Dutch farmers known as "Boers."

Living so far away from other civilized people and so little in touch with the ideas and events of the age, these Boers became set in their seventeenth century Dutch ways and in their uncompromising spirit.[1] Here lay abundant possibility of trouble when, during the nineteenth century, a British urban population at Cape Town grew up alongside the Boers and the negroes — all under the arbitrary rule of a British governor.

1. Compare with French Canadians.

Boers Discontented under British Rule. — With time the friction increased. In 1828 the British irritated the Dutch

element greatly by granting to the free blacks in the colony equal civil rights with the whites.[1] Then in 1833 slavery was abolished in the British colonies, including the Cape.[2] Compensation equal to about half the value of the slaves was made to the owners,[3] but the money was payable only in London. Many Boers in disgust sold their claims to speculators for a trifle. Then followed in 1834–1835 serious Kaffir raids against the eastern parts of the colony, and the punishment meted out to the invading barbarians was too mild to suit the Boers.

1. Why was this irritating to the whites? 2. Who enacted this reform? 3. Were slaveholders in our South paid for their slaves?

The Great Trek of the Boers. — These causes led to the "Great Trek" (1836-1840), in which some 10,000 Boers migrated from the eastern part of the British colony northward across the Orange River into the wilderness of the present Natal and Orange Free State. These emigrants endured extreme hardships on the trek and risked perils from savages and wild beasts. On that trek went a small boy of ten — Paul Kruger (krü'gẽr) — destined later to world-wide fame.[1]

In the wilderness these hardy Boers established their homes far apart, where they and their descendants lived the strenuous life of frontiersmen without slavery.[2] Uncompromising men of old-fashioned ways living in such surroundings developed an untamed hardihood of character rarely equaled.[3]

Over the Trekkers, the government of the Cape attempted to extend British rule — an effort which led in 1848 to fighting, after which many of the defeated Boers trekked still farther into the wilderness across the Vaal River. In 1852 England consented to the independence of the Transvaal (trăns-väl') Boers, and two years later to that of the Orange River group.

1. Watch for him again in this chapter. 2. Why, do you suppose, did they not reëstablish slavery after escaping from the Cape? 3. Why does frontier life develop hardihood of character?

The Boer Colonies Have a Stormy Career. — In 1871 the discovery of rich diamond fields in the Kimberley region brought a rush of settlers as well as a dispute between the Orange

Free State and Great Britain over the hazy title to the land. In the arbitration which followed the title went to Great Britain. After an unsuccessful effort to induce all four of the white colonies in South Africa to form a federal union,[1] Disraeli's government in 1877 annexed Transvaal to the British Empire.[2] War followed, during which the Boers decisively defeated a British force in the battle of Maju'ba Hill (1881). Gladstone, then ruling England, decided not to push the war further but to grant the Boers their independence once more. The terms of independence, however, contained a very mild British protectorate over the Transvaal (1884).

1. Name the four. 2. What was the spirit of Disraeli's foreign policy?

British South Africa Gains Self-Government. — Meanwhile, to the east of the Orange Free State, the British colony of Natal had grown up, settled partly by Boers of the Great Trek, partly by English and other Europeans. Both Cape Colony and Natal progressed slowly on the way to democracy, owing largely to the presence of so many blacks in both colonies, as well as to lack of harmony between the whites of Dutch and of British stock. In 1854, however, a limited representative parliament was established in Cape Colony, out of which thoroughgoing responsible government developed in 1872. Natal gained similar self-government in 1893.

The Gold Rush of 1884–1885. — Gladstone's generous grant of qualified independence to the Transvaal failed to bring harmony and peace to that distracted republic. Gold was now the chief cause of trouble, for in 1884–1885 very rich gold veins were opened up in the Rand region of the Transvaal, of which Johannesburg (yō-hän'ĕs-bŭrg) is now the leading town. A great immigration of gold seekers, British and others, took place. But these foreigners, or " Uitlanders " (oit'lån-dērz), were not welcomed by the conservative Boers.

Causes of the Boer War. — The Uitlanders became numerous and prosperous. Although they owned much property, paid more than half the taxes, and gave military service against the neighboring barbarians, they were not allowed to become voters

in the Transvaal Republic except after seven years of residence,[1] and restrictions were placed upon their business activities.

Wide World Photos

STREET IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

Although many of the Boers favored more generous treatment of the Uitlanders, the government of the Transvaal during all the years of friction was in the hands of the more narrow and uncompromising Boers, led by the president, Paul Kruger, who feared that the foreigners were scheming to seize the republic.

The Jameson raid of 1895 made reconciliation impossible. Dr. Jameson was then in charge of the vast region of Rhodesia, which was being developed by the South Africa Company, of which Cecil Rhodes, then prime minister of Cape Colony, was a leading owner. On the suggestion of Rhodes, Jameson assembled some six hundred of the company's police near the border of the Transvaal, and in December, 1895, made his famous raid into the republic in the hope of securing by a show of force better treatment for the Uitlanders. But, captured within four days, Jameson and his raiders merely added to the bitterness of the situation.

Underwood & Underwood

CECIL RHODES MONUMENT, IN THE MATOPPO HILLS OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Kruger's government now tightened its control over the Uitlanders, while the British government made various offers of compromise. All in vain. Kruger and his determined Boers were unbending. The Orange Free State also decided to act with the Transvaal. Finally in 1899 the Boers started war upon the British by invading Natal and Cape Colony.

1. What was the object of this restriction?

Boer Trenches before Mafeking near the Transvaal Border

The Boer War and its Results. — Led by such able men as Botha and Smuts, the Boers fought with amazing heroism and tenacity, abundantly making good President Kruger's threat to startle civilization. Not until Great Britain had sent a force outnumbering the Boers by nine to one, and led by her most noted generals, Lords Roberts and Kitchener, did victory come. Upon the surrender of the remainder of the gallant Dutch fighters, very liberal terms of peace were granted (1902).

Both of the Boer republics were now annexed to the empire, and a general amnesty was proclaimed; the Boers were granted the right to use their own language in schools and courts; the British furnished some $45,000,000 for the work of relief and restoration; and promised to grant self-government in the near future. The work of restoration and reconciliation was carried out promptly and faithfully. In 1906 the Transvaal was made a self-governing colony, and the Orange Free State the year following. When we recall the bitterness preceding the war and

the extreme measures used before the Boers were subdued, it is the more remarkable that the British conquerors so quickly entrusted the government of the colonies to the vanquished.

Building the Union of South Africa. — Thus in 1907 there were four separate self-governing provinces in South Africa; Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. Union of these provinces became increasingly desirable as friction arose among them. The Liberal party in England used its influence strongly for union, feeling that this was one way to atone for the annexation of the Boer republics, an action of which the Liberals had not approved. In 1908–1909 a convention of leaders from the four provinces, including Dr. Jameson and Generals Botha and Smuts, worked out a constitution for the new union. This constitution was adopted by a separate referendum in all four provinces, ratified by the British parliament, and put into effect in 1910.[1] The first prime minister was General Botha, leader of the Boers in the recent war against Great Britain.[2]

The Union of South Africa is not a federal union, but a centralized dominion of four provinces. Not federal Canada but unitary New Zealand was the model followed. In its relation to the empire and in its cabinet system of self-government it is like the other dominions.

1. Compare this process with the method of making the constitutions of Australia and Canada. 2. Does this paragraph seem like fiction or real history? Why?

South Africa's Problem. — Notable indeed was the achievement of British and Boers in uniting within eight years the friends and foes of the recent Boer war. Nevertheless, the self-governing Union of South Africa has faced grave problems.

Boer and British blood and interests have not yet been merged. There was a serious rebellion of displeased Boers at the opening of the World War. After that war also a considerable nationalist movement still survived, aiming at complete separation from the empire.

Of the seven million people in the dominion, fully three fourths are colored. Right here lies a great problem which will tax the

highest statesmanship. The color line is sharply drawn, enforcing separation of races in hotels, schools, theaters, transit lines, and the like. Only in the Cape province may blacks qualify as voters on the same terms as the whites.

With this big problem of native blacks, the South Africans are unwilling to admit colored races from other countries. This feeling led early in the century to the exclusion and partial deportation of Chinese laborers, and until an adjustment was reached in 1927, barred the gate against even the natives of British India.[1]

A recent writer says: "The Union is the most remarkable achievement of British statesmanship in the history of the Empire." [2] It is to be hoped that the Union will earn equal praise by the solution of its own pressing internal problems.

1. What other countries exclude Oriental immigrants? 2. What facts seem to warrant this strong statement?

The Empire of India

The self-governing dominions described above show British imperialism in its most attractive aspect. It was of these dominions that Lloyd George was thinking in 1921 when he urged Ireland to accept and prize a place in that "commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire." But the empire includes much besides dominions. To these other parts we now turn.

Historical Sketch of the Indian Empire. — India is by far the most populous division of the British Empire. Its area, about two thirds as large as that of the United States, and its population of about 320,000,000, of themselves make India imperial in importance.

How leadership in India was won for the British East India Company by Clive and other leaders during the Seven Years' War has already been told (Chapter VII). In the main, the conquered Indians submitted to the alien sway. But in 1857, just a century after the great victory of Clive at Plassey, a violent rebellion broke out among the native troops. This was the famous Se'poy Mutiny, characterized by inhuman atrocities on the part

of the rebels. The very existence of British rule in India was endangered, and only after a year of hard fighting was the rebellion crushed. Then frightful vengeance marked the restoration of British rule. As a result of the mutiny, the East India Company lost its sovereign rights, India became a direct possession of the crown (1858), and nineteen years later the title of Empress of India was assumed by Queen Victoria.

British Rule in India Not Yet Democratic. — India under British rule has included two kinds of regions intermingled in confusion on the map — first, the annexed British territory, and

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THE COUNCIL HOUSE AT DELHI, INDIA

English and native troops are drawn up to celebrate the official opening, 1921.

second, the native states. As revised in 1919, the government of the annexed British territory is under the direct supervision of the Secretary of State for India, a member of the British cabinet. The direct ruler in India is the *viceroy*, appointed by the home government. Since 1921 there has been an Indian legislature of two houses — a Council of State, and an Assembly. Of the 144 members of the Assembly, 103 are elected. Under the law of 1919 there is also provision for a degree of local self-government through elective councils in over half the British provinces.

The protected native states, about seven hundred in number, and of various sizes, with a combined population of about 72,000,000, are still under their own rulers. In general, the native rulers retain no power over the foreign relations of their

states, and in domestic matters must follow the advice of the agents of the viceroy.

Thus, through various sorts of assemblies and councils in the annexed parts of the country, and through native rulers in the protected states, the Indians have a measure, though not a controlling degree, of self-government. However, the Indian leaders feel that they are already capable of complete self-government, and are not satisfied with a remote hope. Especially since 1906 a nationalist movement developed and was given added impetus by the World War. (Chapter XXXIII.)

Progress and Problems in India. — India is a land of ancient civilization, of deep-seated traditions, and of unmeasured possibilities for good and ill. Among its multitudes of people 147 different languages are spoken, 33 of which are more prevalent in India than is the English tongue. The chief religions are eight in number. About two thirds of the people are Hindus, some 67,000,000 Mohammedans, about 11,000,000 Buddhists, and about 4,000,000 Christians. In spite of educational progress over 90 per cent of the people cannot read or write. Although India has an extensive commerce, the land is one of great poverty and liable to famines.

The British have done much in the way of reforms and improvements, building many roads, canals, and railroads; maintaining postal and telegraph service; irrigating millions of acres of dry land; enforcing order, security, and impartial justice; and fostering foreign trade. Much more, however, remains to be done before fair-minded Englishmen can be satisfied with the way they have borne the " white man's burden " in India.

The British in Egypt

The Suez Canal Draws England into Egypt. — The completion of the Suez Canal in 1869 by a stock company under the guidance of the French engineer De Lesseps gave new importance to Egypt. This waterway, by shortening the route to the Orient, had great commercial value, especially for England.[1] The largest block of the shares of the canal company was held

by the khedive, (kĕ-dēv′) the hereditary ruler of Egypt. In 1875 the khedive, being hard pressed financially, offered his shares for sale. The British government, then under the premiership of the imperialist Disraeli, eagerly bought the shares of stock, and made the canal a British lane of commerce, though since 1888 it has been open equally to the ships of all nations.

Egyptian Woman and Children
Her heavy veil is held in place by a bamboo nosepiece.

Shortly after the purchase of the canal stock the influence of England in Egypt was extended. In 1877 the khedive, still floundering in debt, accepted the dual control by Great Britain and France over his income and expenditure for the protection of the European holders of Egyptian bonds.[2] Foreign control, however, was so irritating to many Egyptians that five years later a formidable uprising occurred, directed by the anti-foreign leader, Arabi Pasha (ä-rä′bĕ pä-shä′), with his slogan, "Egypt for the Egyptians." When the French Republic declined to help, Great Britain acted alone, suppressed the rebellion, and in 1883 established the peculiar form of protectorate over Egypt which continued until 1914. Theoretically Egypt was still to be ruled by the khedive; but a British military force remained in Egypt, and by the side of the khedive at Cairo was stationed a British adviser, whose advice the khedive was forced to accept.

1. Why was it more important to England than to others? 2. Why did the bad management of the khedive affect Egyptian bonds?

British Rule Brings Reforms, but does Not Satisfy. — Under British guidance notable progress was made in Egypt. This was due largely to the tact and statesmanship of Lord Cromer, the adviser of the khedive from 1883 until 1907. The dilapidated finances of the country were set right; the condition of the peasants was vastly improved through reform of the unjust taxing system and the abolition of forced labor; law and order were firmly enforced; and irrigation works were built, of which the most noted was the great dam more than a mile long across the Nile at Assuan. The Sudan region, lying south of Egypt proper, was finally rescued in 1898 from the "desolating tyranny" of fanatical Mohammedan leaders in that region and placed under a governor named by Egypt with the approval of the British authorities.

In Egypt, despite this progress, much remained to be done. In 1917, out of a population of 12,750,000, some 98% of the women and 86% of the men were still classed as illiterate. Under such conditions, self-government would seem to be impossible. Yet as early as 1883 an advisory legislative assembly was

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ASSUAN DAM ON THE NILE IN SOUTHERN EGYPT

created. By a law of 1913 the assembly was given the power of veto over new taxation and advisory powers in other matters.

Early in the World War Great Britain announced the complete severance of Egypt from Turkey. Egypt was now to be a regular, undisguised part of the empire. But, as in so many other lands, the war stirred up increased aspirations for full independence, and the Egyptians were uneasy under British control. This unrest led to the new status of Egypt as a semi-independent nation (1922), which will be discussed later.

Other Parts of the Empire. — In addition to the possessions already described, the British Empire includes many and varied other lands. The Irish Free State, recently beginning its career as a dominion, will be treated in another chapter. Then there are colonies, protectorates, and mandated states of various sorts — Ceylon, Hongkong, Iraq, and Palestine in Asia; Nigeria, Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya in Africa; Jamaica, British Guiana, Newfoundland, and Trinidad on this side of the Atlantic; the rugged rock of Gibraltar; and many more.

Concluding View

Such is the British Empire — a strange collection of widely-contrasted groups of humanity. It includes some of the most progressive and self-confident branches of the white race, as well as most backward and benighted colored tribes. Within its bounds are found the quiet contentment of dominions like Canada, rejoicing in advanced self-government, and the seething discontent of foreign-ruled India. All sorts and conditions of race, religion, and society are compassed by it, as well as extremes of economic welfare, from that of financial magnates of the world to a scale of living scarcely recognizable as human. In every sense such an empire as this surely deserves the name "far-flung."

The British Empire in 1926

The following paragraphs are taken from the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Ninth Imperial Conference which met in London in October, 1926.

The Committee are of the opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a constitution for the British Empire. Its widely scattered parts have very different characteristics, very different histories, and are at very different stages of evolution; while, considered as a whole, it defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organization which now exists or has ever yet been tried.

There is, however, one most important element in it which, from a strictly constitutional point of view, has now, as regards all vital matters, reached its full development — we refer to the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions. Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. . . .

The rapid evolution of the Overseas Dominions during the last fifty years has involved many complicated adjustments of old political machinery to changing conditions. The tendency towards equality of status was both right and inevitable. Geographical and other conditions made this impossible of attainment by the way of federation. The only alternative was by the way of autonomy; and along this road it has been steadily sought. Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever.

But no account, however accurate, of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth. The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free coöperation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects. . . . And though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its coöperation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperiled.

Problem and Reference Work

1. As a classic poetic expression of the best in imperialism read Kipling's "White Man's Burden."

2. As a hymn of the British Empire read Kipling's "Recessional."

3. For another analysis of the motives of imperialism use Chapter 1 in R. Muir's *Expansion of Europe.*

4. In the same book, Chapter 4, find a brief sketch of Canadian history (1763–1812), and British India to 1815.

5. On the "Anglo-Saxon Empires" read Chapter 31 of Fueter's *World History.*

6. From the same book, Chapter 6, or from Chapters 2 and 7 of J. F. Fraser's *Canada as It Is*, get a clear impression of the French part of Canada.

7. Prepare a report on Canada's attitude toward immigrants. Use Fraser, Chapter 1.

8. Talk to the class five minutes on just how Canada gets the kind of immigrants she wants. Use the *Outlook* for Dec. 5, 1923, and Dec. 12, 1923.

9. Talk on "White Australia" and how it is kept so. Use B. R. Wise's *Commonwealth of Australia*, Part III, Chapter 3.

10. In Chapters 2 and 3 of Buley's *Australian Life*, read about the sheep and cattle ranches of Australia.

11. For a sketch of advanced social legislation in New Zealand use A. P. Douglas's *Dominion of New Zealand*, Chapter 13.

12. Describe British reforms in Egypt: H. A. Gibbons's *New Map of Africa*, pp. 396–398.

13. For a sympathetic summary of British achievements in India use Collier, *West in the East*, p. 173.

14. Tell the story of Paul Kruger. Do the same for Cecil Rhodes.

15. Make a list of the four most favorable and the four least favorable comments you can make on the British Empire.

Reading List

Muir, R., *The Expansion of Europe*. A fair-minded interpretation.

Bradley, A. G., *Canada*. A clear, brief historical sketch.

Fraser, J. F., *Canada as It Is*. A breezy journalistic sketch.

Laut, A. C., *The Canadian Commonwealth*. Chatty and readable, but assumes a fair degree of historical knowledge.

Wise, B. R., *The Commonwealth of Australia* (1900). An interesting interpretation by an Australian.

Buley, E. C., *Australian Life in Town and Country* (1905). Still of value.

Fraser, J. F., *Australia, the Making of a Nation* (1910). Impressions sketched in a fascinating style.

Collier, P., *The West in the East*. Impressions of an American traveler.

Gibbons, H. A., *The New Map of Africa* (1916). A well-written series of impressions, based on historical data.

Douglas, A. P., *The Dominion of New Zealand* (1909). An illuminating sketch.

Hémon, L., *Maria Chapdelaine* (fiction). Study of the French in Quebec.

Scully, W. S., *The History of South Africa*. Poorly arranged, but full of information.

CHAPTER XXVII

ASIA LEARNS FROM THE WEST

Introduction. — About 900,000,000 people live in Asia and on the adjacent islands. This is over half the entire population of the globe. It is certainly remarkable that at the present time there is in all Asia only one first-class independent nation. That one, too, is largely off the mainland, and owes its virility to recent contact with western civilization. Of the few really independent Asiatic nations besides Japan, only Siam and Turkey may be classed as exempt from European control, and the first of these very doubtfully so. The outside powers holding sway in Asiatic lands are Great Britain, Russia, France, the Netherlands (Holland), the United States, and, in negligible degree, Portugal. The chief Asiatic power is, of course, Japan. When we recall that American civilization is of European origin, and that modern Japan reflects much of American and European culture, the importance of European influence in Asia is evident.

The Russian Bear Creeps across Asia

Expansion of Russia across Asia. – Russia early became an Asiatic power, and for many decades gave promise of becoming the leading one. Beginning before 1600, Russia reached out across Siberia and through central Asia beyond the Caspian Sea toward China. By 1650 the Pacific coast of Siberia was reached. During the nineteenth century the vast region now known as Central Asia came under her sway. In 1860 China ceded to Russia a large strip of coast land extending southward from the mouth of the Amur (ä-mo͝or′) River to Kore′a, and the city of Vladivostok was at once founded near the southern point of this new Siberian coast line.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Russia, then ruled by the imperialistic

Nicholas II, aspired to extend her territory southward through Manchuria, and to get a grip upon Korea — lands which were nominally parts of the Chinese Empire. The main purpose in these moves was to secure a port free from the ice which made Vladivostok useless in winter. Port Arthur in southern Manchuria was chosen as the right spot for such an outlet. As a vital step in the Russian advance in the Far East, the famous Trans-Siberian railroad was built across the broad reaches of Siberia and northern Manchuria to Vladivostok and opened in 1902. Then, by special arrangement with China, Russia built a line extending this transcontinental road to Port Arthur.

Japan and England Stop the Bear. — All these steps pointed to the growth of Russian centers of commerce and influence on the Pacific at the door of China and very near Japan. But such plans were frustrated by Japan as shown later in this chapter.

From Central Asia, also, Russia aimed to penetrate southward through Persia to the Persian Gulf and through Afghanistan or through Tibet to the border of India. In both attempts she ran counter to England and after several years of dangerous rivalry, an agreement was reached in 1907. This was the famous understanding through which the *Triple Entente* (äN-täNt′) of Great Britain, France, and Russia was cemented by removing the causes of discord between Russia and England. Regarding Persia, it was agreed in 1907 that the northern part should be Russia's special sphere of influence and the southern part Britain's, with a neutral strip between. In Afghanistan and Tibet, Russia and Great Britain were to make no annexations, although British special interests were recognized in both. By these agreements Russia abandoned her design of penetrating to India and limited her expansion to Siberia and central Asia.

The British Lion in Asia

England Touches Asia at Many Points. — British influence in Asia has been great for over a century and a half, and has increased with time. Since 1763 there has been a British India, expanding with the years to the bounds of the vast Indian

Empire of to-day. It was the British who opened China to foreign commerce and influence by the first Chinese War (Opium War) in 1840-1842. The main waterway between Europe and Asia came under British control when Disraeli purchased the

Publishers Photo Service

SPINNING WOOL AND WEAVING CASHMERE SHAWLS
Srinagar, Northern India.

Suez Canal stock in 1875. With Japan Great Britain had a treaty of alliance from 1902 until 1923. At present, Great Britain is one of the three powers most interested under the Washington treaties of 1922 in preserving peace in the Far East.

England's Enormous Stake in India. — The preceding chapter has described the British Indian Empire. Commercially, India is of vast importance to England, since it furnishes to British industry huge quantities of useful products; and the Indians buy from England cotton goods, machinery, hardware, and

other manufactures in abundance. Before the World War, and again in 1921, Indian exports to Great Britain totaled over $200,000,000 in value yearly, while in 1921 India bought British products worth over half a billion dollars. British investments in India, too, are large — investments in factories, railroads, and the like. Thus England's economic stake in the country is immense,[1] and yet there are (1927) fewer than 150,000 British people in all India.

1. What is "economic stake"?

The Fringe of India and Beyond. — As the map shows, India proper has extended until it includes Burma on the east, the great Punjab (pŭn-jäb′) region at the north, and Baluchistan′ on the west. On the fringe of India we see the independent states of Bhutan (bo͞o-tän′) and Nepal (nĕ-pôl′) in the Himalayas, Tibet beyond the mountains, and at the northwest Afghanistan and Persia. It is not incorrect to think of all five as under British guidance about as Cuba is under ours. India is further safeguarded against possible foreign aggression by British control over all the approaches by sea. The Suez Canal, Aden (ä′dĕn), Ceylon, the Malay peninsula, Singapore, northern Borneo, and islands strewn throughout the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea assure this control.

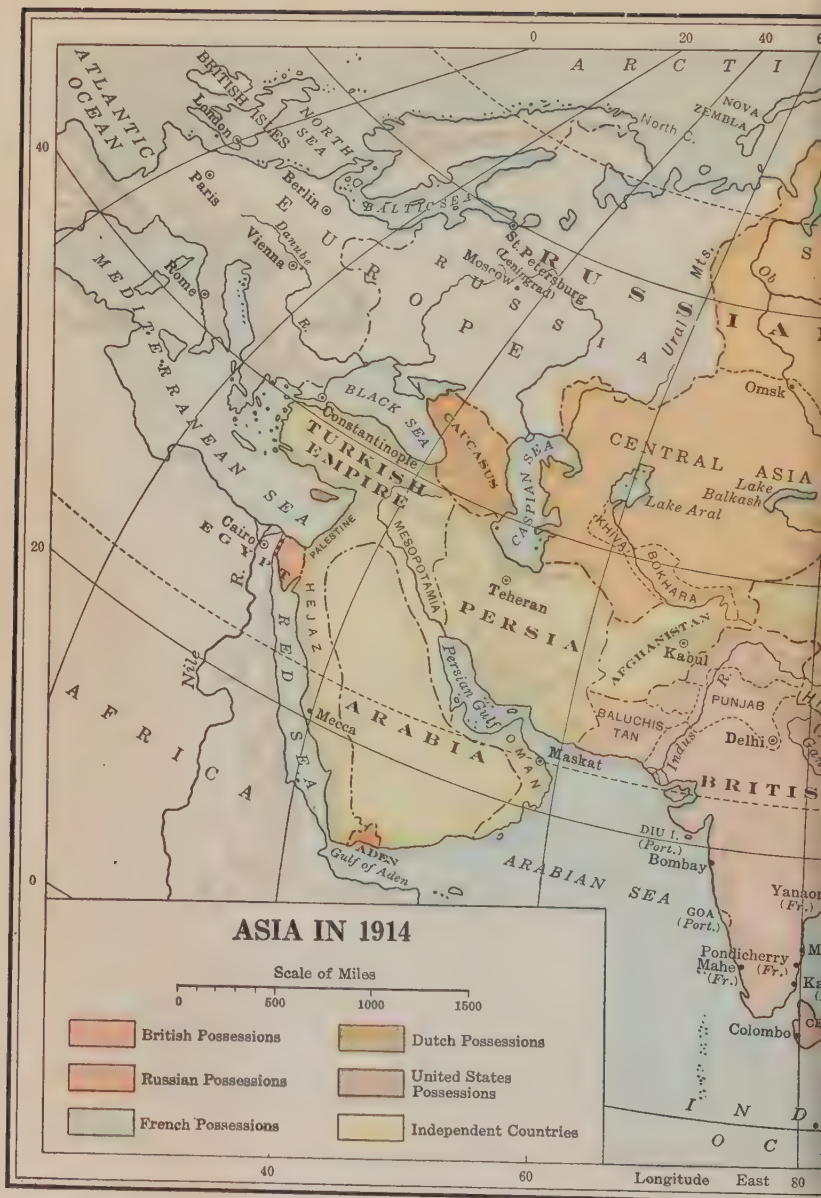
In western Asia, Mesopotamia and Palestine were wrested from the Turks in the course of the World War, and became protectorates of Great Britain under mandates of the League of Nations.[1] Mesopotamia, now called the kingdom of Iraq, began the process of learning the cabinet system of government, while Palestine was placed under the rule of an English Jew as high commissioner with the announced purpose of building up "a national home for the Jewish people." How this could be worked out was a problem, since out of a population of about 762,000 in Palestine in 1926 only 157,000 were Jews and 74,000 Christians, while all the rest were Moslems.[2] Yet under Zionist influence an average of 12,000 Jews have settled in Palestine each year since 1920.

1. What are "mandates of the League of Nations"? 2. Define "Moslems."

Keystone View Co.

THE HINDU TEMPLE AT MADURA, SOUTHERN INDIA

The towers are covered with carved images of deities.


ASIA IN 1914
Scale of Miles
0
500
1000
1500
British Possessions
Russian Possessions
French Possessions
Dutch Possessions
United States Possessions
Independent Countries
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
London
NORTH SEA
Paris
Berlin
Vienna
Danube R.
Rome
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BALTIC SEA
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
St. Petersburg (Leningrad)
Moscow
Ural Mts.
NOVA ZEMBLA
North C.
Ob
Omsk
CENTRAL ASIA
Lake Balkash
Lake Aral
Khiva
Bokhara
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
Caucasus
CASPIAN SEA
Cairo
EGYPT
PALESTINE
MESOPOTAMIA
Teheran
PERSIA
Nile R.
HEJAZ
RED SEA
Mecca
ARABIA
Persian Gulf
OMAN
Maskat
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
PUNJAB
BALUCHISTAN
Indus R.
Delhi
AFRICA
ADEN
Gulf of Aden
ARABIAN SEA
DIU I. (Port.)
Bombay
GOA (Port.)
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Mahe (Fr.)
Colombo
INDIAN OCEAN
0
20
40
60
80
Longitude East

120
140
160
180
40
20
0
100
120
140
C E A N
B E R I A
CIRCLE
Lena R.
EMPIRE
Lake Baikal
Irkutsk
Amur
MANCHURIA
Harbin
Urga
MONGOLIA
Mukden
Peking
Tientsin
Port Arthur
Hwang R.
LIAOTUNG PEN. (Jap.)
Weihaiwei (Br.)
Kiaochow (Ger.)
Nanking
Shanghai
CHINA
Hankow
Yangtze R.
FUKIEN
Foochow
Canton
Hongkong (Br.)
Macao (Port.)
Kwangchow (Fr.)
TONKIN
Hanoi
HAINAN
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Manila
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (U.S.)
MINDANAO
YAP I.
GUAM (U.S.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN IS.
KAMCHATKA
C. Lopatka
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SAKHALIN I.
YEZO
Vladivostok
SEA OF JAPAN
KOREA (Jap.)
Seoul
Kyoto
HONSHU
Tokyo
Yokohama
Osaka
Nagasaki
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
FORMOSA (Jap.)
Mandalay
Rangoon
Bangkok
SIAM
LAOS
ANNAM
Mekong R.
CAMBODIA
COCHIN CHINA
C. Cambodia
MALAY PENINSULA
Singapore
SUMATRA
Batavia
JAVA
BORNEO
CELEBES
DUTCH EAST INDIES
TIMOR
NEW GUINEA
German
British
AUSTRALIA
W-G CO.

France Takes her Share of Asia

French Indo-China Lacks French Democracy. — Earlier chapters have dealt with the colonial empire of France and have shown how that proud empire was wrecked. Again we have seen how modern France, under Louis Napoleon and the present republic, has once more built up a far-extended colonial domain, chiefly in Africa and Asia. In Asia the chief French land is Indo-China. Napoleon III in the sixties conquered for France her present col-

By Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

The Main Street and the Opera House in Hanoi, the Capital of French Indo-China

ony of Cochin China at the tip of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and also began a protectorate over the adjoining kingdom of Cambodia. The present French republic also carved out protectorates over Annam and Tonkin at the cost of a war with China, which claimed suzerainty over the peninsula. More recently France enlarged her protectorates at the expense of Siam.

Judged by democratic standards, French rule in Indo-China is

not yet very successful. Cochin China is represented by one member in the chamber of deputies at Paris. The other parts of Indo-China are protectorates, nominally ruled by native princes, but subject to the "advice" [1] of French resident agents and guarded by French military forces. As a rule, the French officials guiding the 20,000,000 people have been none too capable or idealistic. Slight progress has been made in educating the natives, and none in the arts of self-government.

1. Recall other cases of rulers subject to "advice," and watch for more.

Island Colonies near Asia

Little Holland's Great Colonial Empire in the East. — Not far from the mainland of Asia on the southeast and east are three important groups of islands — the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, and the island part of the Empire of Japan.

The Dutch East Indies were acquired in the seventeenth century, during the early, vigorous period of Dutch national life. The Dutch East India Company, which owned the islands, was a governing concern as well as a trading corporation. In 1798, however, the company ceased to exist, and its lands in the Far East became national domains of the Netherlands.

The Dutch East Indies of to-day cover an area more than twice as large as Texas, with a population of about 50,000,000,[1] of whom very few are Europeans. The island of Java contains about seventy per cent of the entire population. The remaining islands are only partly conquered even yet.

Obviously, the task of civilizing this great island empire is a colossal one for little Holland. Yet considerable progress may be seen. In 1917 an advisory legislative assembly was created for Java, out of which self-government may grow. Most of the land of Java is government property. In 1914 forced labor of the natives was abolished on these government estates. Religious freedom is permitted, most of the natives being Mohammedans. Schools have been established in many communities for children of natives as well as for white children.

1. Compare with the population of the Netherlands itself.

American Work of Reform in the Philippines. — Admiral Dewey's victory over the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay in May, 1898, opened the way for American rule over the Philippines. At the close of the Spanish-American War Spain ceded the entire Philippine group to us.[1] However, a serious revolt of the natives had to be overcome before our authority was recognized.

HEMP HUNG UP TO DRY

Manila hemp is one of the important products of the Philippines.

Under American rule marked progress has been made in these islands. Law and order have been established and enforced. The scourges of tropical fevers and cholera have been largely conquered by modern science and sanitation.[2] Modern farming

and industry have been promoted, and freedom of trade with the United States finally granted. Best of all, a thoroughgoing, free public school system was established soon after American control began.[3] In 1922 there were over 1,000,000 pupils in the 7650 public schools of the islands, and almost 14,000 native teachers.[4] The University of the Philippines is also supported by the government. No other power has ever done so much for the education of a colony.

1. Who was responsible for this case of imperialism? 2. Explain how this was accomplished. 3. Why did we do this? Was this school system likely to promote permanence of American control? 4. How many pupils and how many teachers in the public schools of your state or city?

The Filipinos Learn Democracy. — The government of the United States has been guided in the Philippines by the consistent aim of training the Filipinos for self-government. At first a few leading natives were chosen to assist our governor as members of his council. In 1907 a limited legislative assembly was created. These beginnings were rapidly extended until in 1916 the Philippine government came to consist of an American governor-general, his council or cabinet of Filipinos, and a legislature of senate and house of representatives, both branches chosen by the natives.

America is committed by the Philippine Government Act of 1916 to giving the Philippines independence when their experience in self-government warrants it. Naturally, the native leaders are more confident of their own ability to govern themselves than American observers and rulers are. When and how independence will come is yet for the future to disclose.[1] In any case, Americans are justly proud of the fact that our rule over the islands has been in the main unselfish and constructive.

1. What is the present status of this problem?

Japan Flings Wide her Doors

Japan on the Map. — Within only half a century Japan rose from a position of no importance in the world to a place in the front rank among the nations. A transformation so dramatic can be found nowhere else in all history.

Japan is mainly an island empire. Of the six hundred islands peopled by the Japanese only six are of considerable size. On the Asiatic mainland Korea has been a part of the empire since 1910, while southern Manchuria is practically so. The total area, not including Manchuria, is about equal to that of our New England and Middle Atlantic states combined. The one island of Honshu (or Hondo) contains over half of the total insular area.[1] In 1920 the population of the entire empire, without Manchuria, was about 77,000,000.[2]

The location and character of Japan have had a very marked influence upon its history. This is clearly pointed out by Latourette,* whose observations may be summarized thus:

(1) Insular position has kept the land free from invasions, except invasions of ideas, and even these for centuries.

(2) The surrounding seas have lured the Japanese to active commerce whenever the government has not prevented.

(3) The surface of Japan is rugged and mountainous. This made feudal disunion easy until recent years.

(4) So much of the land is mountainous that less than one fifth of the area is suitable for cultivation. This caused difficulty in supporting the population, and a consequent pressure to overflow into other lands.

(5) Nearness to the Asiatic continent has made Japan deeply interested in the mainland, especially because much-needed raw materials, farm lands, and markets lay in that direction.

1. What does this sentence mean? 2. Compare with our population.

Japan of the Old Feudal Days. — The early history of Japan is very obscure, abounding in legends. Many Japanese still believe that their line of emperors is descended from the gods, and that the line has been unbroken since 660 B.C. Japan's earliest civilization came from China by way of Korea. Among the important things thus introduced were Buddhism and Confucianism, and a system of writing with elaborate characters.

From the beginning the Japanese state was strongly military, and to this day military men have largely dominated it.

* Latourette, K. S., *The Development of Japan.*

But the Japanese from ancient times have also been a race of farmers. A feudal system of society and government, very much like that of medieval Europe, grew up in Japan in the same age as in Europe. This feudal age continued until 1867.

Japanese Armor of Feudal Times

The feudal nobles, known as the samurai (sä′mo͝o-rī), owed loyalty and military allegiance to their respective daimios (dī′myōz), as the greater feudal lords were called. This feudal hierarchy, with its fervent devotion of samurai to their daimios, undermined the power of the emperor, until the leading daimio, under the name of shogun (shō′gōōn), usurped control of the government. From then until 1867 the shogunate continued side by side with the imperial system, the shoguns being most of the time the real rulers, while the emperor, in the seclusion of the ancient capital at Kyoto (kyō′tō), was piously venerated as the offspring of the gods. The full title of the shogun, meaning " great barbarian-subduing general," speaks eloquently of the character of the office and of the age.

Japan Opens her Door: and Slams it. — After the Portuguese discovered the water route around Africa to the Far East (1498), Portuguese, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Dutchmen visited Japan and were warmly welcomed by the Japanese, with whom they opened active commerce.

Quickly on the heels of visitors and traders came Jesuit missionaries, the pioneer being the famous Francis Xavier (zăv'ĭ-ēr), (1549). Other Catholic orders soon followed. The response of the receptive Japanese to the Christian message was hearty. The number of Japanese converts to Catholicism is said to have reached half a million. However, the warm reception of the Japanese to western commerce and western religion was destined to be short-lived.

Shortly before 1600 the shogun ordered Christianity suppressed and killed many Christians. In 1614 all foreign priests were ordered to leave the country, Christian churches were wrecked, and converts were commanded to renounce the new faith. The missionaries and native Christians refused to recant, and finally in 1638[1] rose in revolt only to be exterminated. Buddhism was then declared to be the religion of all Japanese. Thus perished the Japanese Christianity of that age.

Parallel with the destruction of Christianity went the expulsion of foreign commerce and other foreign influences. European traders were thrust out. Every effort was made to seal the island empire against all foreign pollution. Thus Japan lay for two centuries and more in her sleep of isolation.

1. Think where this date belongs in American, English, and French history.

America Reopens Japan's Door. — America has the credit of having reopened Japan. Following the opening of China to commerce in the forties, many American vessels on their way to China found it impossible to get supplies or water in the inhospitable ports of Japan. American whale hunters, seeking refuge from storms on the Japanese coast, were in several instances maltreated. Feeling that something must be done about these injuries, President Fillmore sent Commodore Matthew Perry,

brother of the Perry of Lake Erie fame, with a naval force to secure some sort of agreement with the Japanese authorities (1853). Perry bore a letter from the President together with gifts for the emperor — a telegraph instrument, a telescope, a dwarf railroad locomotive, clocks, sewing machines, and the like.

COMMODORE PERRY MEETING THE IMPERIAL COMMISSIONERS AT YOKOHAMA

From a contemporary engraving.

After presenting his demands to the shogun, Perry announced that he would be back the next year for a reply. Returning in 1854 with a larger squadron, he concluded a treaty assuring shipwrecked sailors of humane treatment. Two Japanese ports were opened to passing American ships for the purchase of supplies and for limited additional commerce. Other nations quickly asked and received equal rights. Soon afterward further agreements, secured largely through the tact and kindliness of our consul, Townsend Harris, opened other "treaty ports" and permitted foreigners to live in these ports under the protection of their own consuls.

This partial unsealing of Japan by the shogun aroused sharp disagreements among the ruling classes as to what course to

pursue toward the foreigners. A rapidly growing sentiment urged the emperor to assert himself as ruler and to accept foreign influences freely. Finally the ruling shogun resigned, and the emperor, by decree in 1867,[1] abolished the shogunate altogether. Thenceforth the emperor himself ruled.

1. What is meant by the Japanese Revolution of 1867?

Japan Flings Wide her Door. — Thenceforth Japan was a different sort of country. The same year (1867) a new emperor, the great Mutsuhito (mo͝ot-so͝o-he′to), came to the throne. Only a boy of fifteen at the time, he was advised and guided by a group of liberal-minded young nobles. Upon maturity he proved to be progressive himself; and until his death, in 1912, presided with real statesmanship over the remarkable modernization of Japan.

The chief steps in the transformation of the former hermit nation may be summarized thus:

(1) In 1869 the great feudal lords surrendered their fiefs to the emperor. This was in part a display of the newly-born Japanese patriotism and partly an acknowledgment that feudal power was already waning. By imperial decree in 1871 feudalism was abolished outright. But in the next decade a new form of Japanese nobility was established, so that leading Japanese to-day bear titles — baron, viscount, count, marquis, or prince.

(2) In place of the old feudal armies a new national army was established, based on compulsory military training. After the successes of Bismarck with his remodeled Prussian army (1866–1871), Japan copied closely the German system of militarism. In 1877 the new national army demonstrated its strength by suppressing a vigorous revolt led by a group of ex-nobles.

(3) A new national system of courts was set up, with appointive judges serving for life. Along with this went a fully modernized and codified system of laws.

(4) A national system of schools was created throughout the land, coupled with compulsory education through the elementary grades (1872). Many foreign teachers were employed; foreign languages, notably English, were studied.

The Industrial Revolution Comes to Japan. — Partly under government auspices and partly through private initiative, an economic revolution was wrought in the country, bringing in the modern age of machinery and big business.

Japan's first railroad connected Tokyo with its seaport, Yokohama (yō′kō-hä′mȧ), eighteen miles distant, in 1872. Fifty

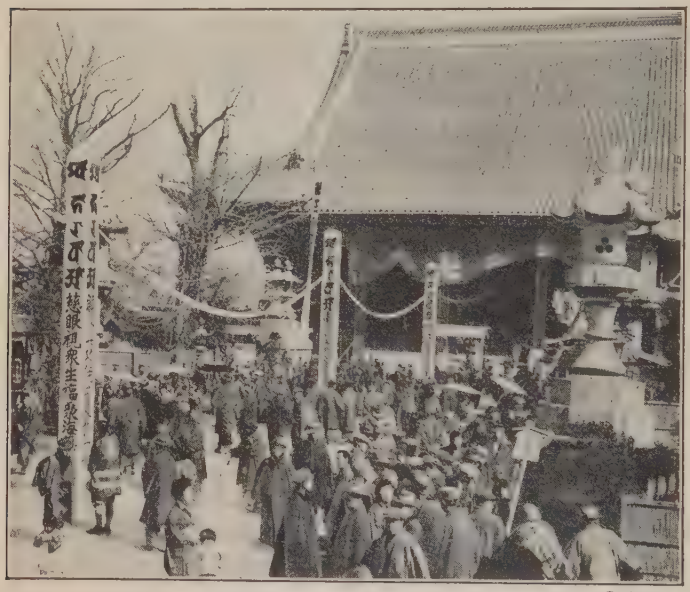
THE HARBOR AT YOKOHAMA *Wide World Photos*
From a recent photograph.

years later the railroad mileage of Japan totaled 6000, of which three fourths was owned by the government. The first steamboats used in Japan were bought abroad; but later, due to liberal government subsidies, many were built in Japanese shipyards. By 1923 over seventy per cent of the many steamers operating in the ports of the empire were Japanese. Japanese manufactures soon felt the stimulus of the new age, especially after the Chinese War (1894–1895). Many factories with modern machinery were built, putting out especially cotton, silk, and woolen goods, paper, and other products. Tokyo, with its population of over two million, and Osaka (ō′zä-kä), with its million and a quarter, became bustling centers of manufacturing.

Electricity has helped in transforming Japan. Government-owned telegraph and telephone lines are part of the postal

service. In recent years electricity has been coming into more general use in Japanese homes for light, heating, and household conveniences, just as with us. Business organization has likewise been modernized. Giant corporations conduct business in manufacture, shipping, banking, and the like, with branches all over the world.

Japan Becomes Modern in Government. — The Japanese Revolution of 1867 made the emperor master in place of the shogun. As western ideas began to mold the nation, a strong



Galloway

A Street in Tokyo, the Capital of Japan

The building in the background is the Asakusa Temple.

liberal sentiment grew up, demanding the introduction of western democracy along with other western methods. This, however, was not so easily won. After much agitation, in 1881 the emperor promised to grant a constitution for the nation within a few years. One of Japan's leading statesmen, Ito (ē'tō) by name,

was sent abroad to study constitutional government in the West. On this mission Ito was captivated by the German system, then in its glory under Bismarck; and upon his return worked out

Galloway

THE PALACE OF THE CROWN PRINCE, TOKYO
The building is patterned after the architecture of Versailles.

a constitution for Japan patterned rather closely after the imperial German constitution, except that Japan is highly centralized, or unitary, while the German Empire was federal. This constitution was put into force in 1889.

The Chino-Japanese War Introduces Japan to the Powers (1894–1895). — Even after Japan had faced about and modernized herself, the western world considered her of slight consequence. For instance, until 1899 her courts were not allowed by the powers to try foreign residents, and until 1911 Japan was prevented from shaping fully her own tariff. This has all been changed, however, chiefly through four wars involving the relation of Japan to China.

On the Asiatic continent over against Japan lies Korea. This

densely populated agricultural land, with its dilapidated, corrupt government, had for years paid tribute both to China and to Japan. Toward the outside world it had been closed until 1876, when it was opened by Japan in Perry-like fashion. Japan encouraged the reformers in Korea, while China helped the reactionaries. War between China and Japan resulted in 1894.

In the war Japan first showed those qualities of courage, loyalty, and coöperation for which she is now justly famous. The defeat of China was decisive. In the treaty of Shimonoseki (shē′mō-nō-sā′kē), which closed the war, China acknowledged the independence of Korea, ceded to Japan the island of Formo′sa and the Liaotung (lĕ-ou-tŏŏng′) peninsula in southern Manchuria, and agreed to pay a large indemnity.

At this point, however, Germany, Russia, and France joined in intervening. Together they compelled Japan to restore the Liaotung peninsula, her chief prize, in return for an increased indemnity. This action made the Japanese very suspicious of European nations.

Russia and Japan Become Unfriendly Rivals. — Russia gathered the chief benefit of the intervention, because the setback to Japan greatly aided Russia's ambitions in Manchuria. We have already seen how Russia founded Vladivostok and began the Trans-Siberian railroad. Following the intervention on behalf of China, Russia further aided her by guaranteeing a loan to pay the indemnity to Japan, and in return was allowed to run a line of railroad across northern Manchuria to Vladivostok. Then, in 1898, China was forced to yield to Russia a 25-year lease on Port Arthur, along with the right to run a branch of her railroad down from Harbin to Port Arthur. Thus Russia gained the very prize which Japan had been compelled to relinquish in 1895.

Japan was much alarmed by the menace of the "Russian bear" creeping down the margin of the continent opposite to her. If in control of Manchuria, Russia would threaten the economic expansion of the Japanese in that inviting province as well as in Korea; and the Japanese felt that they must be able to do business and develop resources freely in these regions or

be stunted as a nation. After unavailing protests and efforts at compromise with Russia, Japan resorted to war.

Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) Brings Prestige to Japan. Again the Japanese won warm admiration by their courage, their remarkable patriotism, and their striking application of modern science in the care of their men on the field and in hospitals. The Russians fought courageously, though hampered by the distance from home and by wholesale graft and incompetence among the officials. The most significant events were the siege and capture of Port Arthur by the Japanese under General Nogi (nō′gē), the victory of the Japanese in the great battle of Mukden, and Admiral Togo's overwhelming victory in the Sea of Japan over the Russian fleet, which came all the way from the Baltic Sea only to meet destruction.

In 1905 defeated Russia and exhausted Japan accepted the intervention of President Roosevelt and made peace at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Russia yielded to Japan the southern half of the island of Sakhalin (sȧ-ĸȧ-lēn′) and surrendered her lease, railroad, and all special privileges at Port Arthur and the neighboring parts of Manchuria. Japan's very special interest in Korea was also recognized by Russia.

Japan, by her victories over China and over Russia, won general admiration and respect as a military and naval power. The added territory, moreover, gave Japan a valuable foothold on the mainland at Port Arthur, a recognized interest in Korea and Manchuria, and the right to be consulted among the powers in all vital matters concerning the Far East.

Japan Appears Overambitious. — On the other hand, Japan now began to give the impression of being too imperialistic and overeager to expand. After trying a protectorate in Korea, Japan in 1910 annexed that land outright, renaming it Chosen′. She actively competed with England, Russia, France, and Germany for spheres of influence in China, blocking out as her special fields the southern half of Manchuria, eastern Mongolia, and Fukien (fo͞o′kĭ-ĕn′), opposite Formosa. During the World War Japan acted selfishly and arbitrarily toward China in her

famous twenty-one demands of 1915, which appeared like an effort to make China a vassal state. Japan seemed to be suffering from the effects of sudden success,[1] and was causing anxiety to her sympathizers among liberal-minded people everywhere.

Owing partly to her sudden leap into the world's limelight, Japan has an ambition to be the teacher and leader of Asia. Economically this means that she must be an energetic, commercial nation, because, like England, she has only a small area and limited resources of her own. To support the rapidly increasing population, largely by means of industry and commerce, Japan requires preëminently coal and iron, the bases of modern industry. Since she is scantily supplied with these indispensables in the steel industry, she naturally looks to China to supply her needs. All this must be remembered in judging the insistence of Japan that she must have her full share of economic opportunities in China — for China has unmeasured and unexploited resources of iron, coal, and oil, as well as millions of prospective buyers of goods. To Japan, expansion and self-preservation seem synonymous.

1. Name other cases of sudden national success which had a similar effect.

Japan of To-day: a Blend of the Old and the New. — Naturally, modern Japan, so recently and suddenly sprung from the old, is somewhat a blend of both. For instance, those rights of personal freedom which with us are axiomatic, though assured by the Japanese constitution, are liable to special regulation at times. Thus, a censorship over the press prevents the free expression of radical sentiments.

Moral conditions, especially in the industrial cities, are menacing, as in other lands. The great upheavals of recent times, with the introduction of new social and economic conditions, have loosened moral ties. In education, Japan is justly proud of the progress she has made since 1867. The public schools are all national, with compulsory attendance, well enforced. In 1919 it was reported that almost ninety-nine per cent of Japanese children of school age were attending school. Illiteracy

has almost disappeared. The universities and technical schools of Japan rank high. Tokyo, with its Imperial University of over 5,000 students, has become the great educational center of the Far East.[1]

In government, Japan is largely aristocratic and autocratic, although the forces of democracy are gaining ground. The reform bill of 1925 extended the suffrage to nearly all men over twenty-five years of age, and added 11,000,000 new voters to the lists.

1. Account for the eagerness of the Japanese for education.

A Famous Pagoda in Osaka, Japan
The chief religions of Japan are Buddhism and Shinto.

Japan's Contacts with the United States. — With America the modern Japanese have had cordial relations in the main, partly through gratitude toward the nation which brought Japan out of the old isolation. Perry, Harris, and Roosevelt are Americans whom the Japanese especially delight to honor.[1] Many young Japanese, educated in America, have carried back American ideas and a friendly spirit. In both imports and exports American commerce with Japan leads the list. Travel, Christian missions, and business residence have added to friendly understandings.

However, several irritants have prevented complete friendliness. The people of our Pacific coast objected so strongly to the immigration of Japanese workingmen that in 1907 President Roosevelt made a "gentleman's agreement" with Japan by which Japan prevented her laborers from coming to our shores

in large numbers.[2] When we denied to Asiatics the privilege of naturalization and when California restricted their ownership of farm land, the Japanese indignantly felt that we were treating them as an inferior race. Our control of the Philippines seemed to many Japanese a menace to the expansion of their country. America heartily disapproved of Japan's increasing control in China, especially during the World War and since.

All these causes fostered misunderstanding and suspicion between the two peoples from about 1905. Finally, after the World War, we found ourselves madly racing with Japan in the building of superdreadnoughts as if expecting a clash.

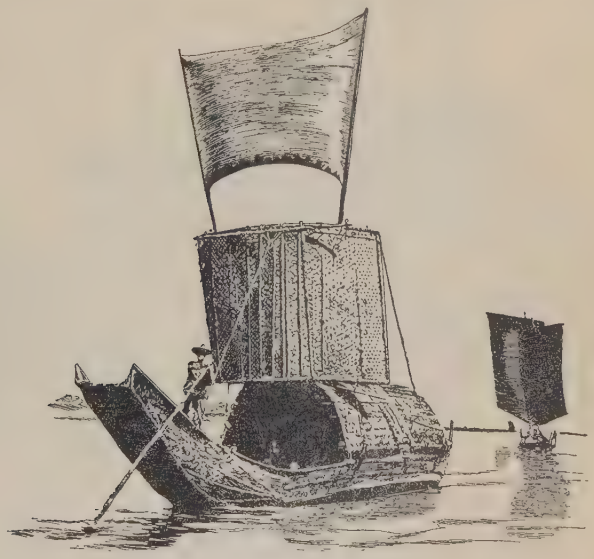
Most happily the Washington Arms Conference of 1921–1922 put a stop to this naval race and also removed many other grounds of suspicion. When in September, 1923, the great cities of Tokyo and Yokohama were wrecked by the most destructive earthquake in history, the outpouring of sympathy and relief contributions from America helped to lessen the old ill feeling. Yet our immigration law of 1924, excluding all aliens ineligible for naturalization, again offended the Japanese deeply. In the midst of these events many Americans first learned that there is an undertone of liberalism in Japan, struggling hopefully to make Japan more democratic and neighborly.

1. What is the reason in each case? 2. How long was this "gentleman's agreement" carried out?

China Blinking in a New Light

A Stagnant, Ancient Culture. — The population of China is estimated to be about three times that of the United States. Thus China and India rank about equally as the most populous nations of all. Of the 320,000,000 (estimated) Chinese, about 300,000,000 live in the eighteen provinces of China proper, as distinguished from the encircling fringe of Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang (sĭn-kyäng′), and Tibet. Lying in the temperate zone, with soil of remarkable richness; with abundant deposits of iron, coal, oil, and other minerals; with natural waterways in her long rivers, China is equipped to support a vast population.

For some three thousand years China lived in seclusion, early developing and long retaining a distinct type of civilization. A fairly unified Chinese Empire existed as early as 1000 B.C. The Chinese system of writing was being developed as early. Confucius taught the Chinese high moral principles,

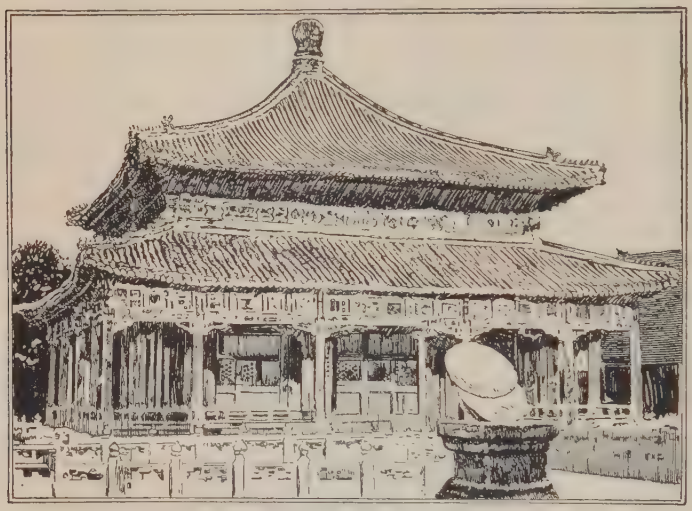


PASSENGER BOAT ON A CHINESE RIVER
The upper sail is made of cloth, and the lower, of matting.

coupled with veneration of ancestors, about 500 B.C. The great Chinese wall was completed about 225 B.C. Printing was used in China some five hundred years earlier than in Europe. The one profound influence from without which molded old China was Buddhism, which came from India in the first century A.D., and is still the religion of most Chinese.

China Samples Western Culture. — Like Japan, China was for a while freely open to Europeans. During the great age of discoveries, Portuguese voyagers reached China in 1517. Following them came traders — Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English. At the same time, just as in Japan, Jesuit missionaries

introduced the Catholic religion and extended it with considerable success. But the opening of China did not prove permanent. With passing generations foreigners became less and less welcome. Christianity was placed under the ban, although not



Temple of Confucius, Peking, China
Drawn from a photograph.

fully stamped out. Foreign commerce was limited to the single port of Canton, where it consisted largely of tea trade in the hands of the British East India Company.

Foreigners Force their Way into China. — At Canton British traders for years conducted business with a few Chinese merchants, but always under difficulties. From about 1830, England tried in vain to negotiate directly with the Chinese authorities to secure freer commercial opportunities. At the same time the Chinese government was trying to stop the importation of opium from British India. A war with Great Britain resulted, known popularly as the Opium War (1840–1842), in which the Chinese were defeated.

By the treaty of Nanking, China was forced to cede to Great Britain the barren island of Hongkong — now of immense

commercial and strategic importance.[1] Shanghai and three other Chinese ports were opened to commerce. These, together with Canton, which was already open, were the first of those treaty ports through which outer civilization has flowed into China. Other nations soon secured the same rights as England had gained. Caleb Cushing was the American diplomat who at this time made our first treaty with China, establishing rights of Americans in the treaty ports.

A second foreign war — with Great Britain and France — (1856–1860) yielded additional privileges for foreigners. The Chinese now agreed to open five more treaty ports. Foreign nations were allowed to maintain diplomats at Peking.[2] Missionaries were also permitted to live, work, and own property in all parts of China, although other foreigners could not hold property outside of the treaty ports.[3]

1. Why? 2. Why did they wish to do so? 3. What reason for this can you suggest?

China is Partly Modernized. — Foreign influences in China now multiplied, especially in the southeastern part.[1] Missionaries extended even far into the interior their civilizing and liberalizing work. Commerce, mostly British, increased in the treaty ports.[2] Some Chinese visited and studied abroad, and foreigners frequently traveled through China. However, the Chinese could not yet be said to welcome the " foreign devils," or to wish to imitate them.

Meanwhile, the neighboring Japanese were rapidly and cordially absorbing western ideas. We have seen how the two nations went to war in 1894 over conflicting policies in Korea. Decisive defeat shocked thinking Chinamen into appreciating how flabby was their nation when pitted against the modernized " mimicking pigmies " from Japan. These progressive Chinese were even more impressed by the concessions wrung from their feeble country in 1898 by Russia, Germany, Great Britain, and France. For at that time these powers forced China to give to them leaseholds on Chinese ports of strategic importance. Russia took Port Arthur; Germany, Kiaochow (kyou′chō′);

Great Britain, Weihaiwei (wā′hī-wā′); France, Kwangchow (kwäng′chō). Modernizing of China was now advocated by many native leaders, lest inertness and old-fashioned ways might lead to the complete partition of the land by foreigners.[3]

Before such a transformation could be carried through, however, the reactionaries, known as Boxers, made a desperate effort to expel the "foreign devils." This led to the invasion of China by an international army of Japanese, Russians, British, Americans, French, and Germans. The Boxers were suppressed, Peking was occupied and looted by the foreigners, and the Chinese were forced to pay an indemnity of $300,000,000.

1. Why especially in that part? 2. Why was it mostly British? 3. Why did the fossilized character of China invite partition?

China Eagerly Faces the West. — After the Boxer uprising the modernizing of China progressed rapidly. The old exclusive spirit broke down, and the Chinese began to welcome western education, western industrial life, western customs and manners. Efforts are being made to establish popular education. Numerous cotton, woolen, and silk factories, and flour mills have been built, owned in many cases by British or Japanese firms. Railroads and telegraph lines have been multiplied. Some of the cities have been partly modernized, especially in the southeast.

In 1911 a revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat Sen overthrew the empire of the Manchus, established in 1644, and set up a republic. Whether the Chinese are capable of conducting anything like a democracy is still problematic. No people can expect to learn self-government in a day. Moreover, southern China, different from the northern provinces in speech, spirit, and outlook, soon separated from the Peking government and set up a republic of its own. Other difficulties have beset new China in its efforts to become a modern republic. Civil war between North and South and between self-appointed leaders, usurpation of power in some provinces by military governors, the prevalence of brigandage, ignorance, and graft — these are some of the difficulties which have beset the wabbly young Chinese republics.

THE LARGEST INDUSTRIAL PLANT IN CHINA

This steel plant at Hanyang manufactures every sort of steel product and employs thousands of men.

Foreigners Keep China under Tutelage. — Ever since the foreigners first forced their way into China, they have encroached heavily upon its territory and sovereignty. We have already noted how France thrust Chinese suzerainty out of Indo-China, and how Great Britain and Japan later did practically the same thing in Tibet and Manchuria, respectively. Before the World War, Great Britain laid claim also to the great Yangtze Valley as a rather vague sphere of British influence, while Japan did likewise in Fukien and eastern Mongolia, Russia in Outer Mongolia, and France in the region north of Indo-China.

Within the treaty ports, foreigners from the first were subject to their own consular courts rather than to uncertain Chinese justice.[1] This alien jurisdiction is known as *extra-territoriality*. With the growth of clusters of foreign residents in the important commercial centers, these became little islands of foreign-ruled territory within Chinese cities. A really significant example of European aggression in these foreign sections was a sign, " Chinese and dogs not allowed," posted at the entrance to a park in the foreign part of the great city of Shanghai.

Chinese finances came closely under foreign supervision also. The Chinese tariff was fixed for her by the powers, and administered by foreign officials. Foreign post offices, prior to 1922, were common throughout the country. Foreign soldiers guarded the different legations and the foreign-owned railroads.

By 1900 it appeared as if there would be thorough partition of China among the powers. In that year the Boxer uprising offered a supremely enticing opportunity to carve out more coveted leases, concessions, and spheres of influence. Against these encroachments the United States vigorously protested, advocating a counter policy — that of territorial integrity and the " open door." By the " open door " is meant equality of business opportunities in China for men of all nations.[2] To this principle the leading powers gave their support more or less cordially. However, the principle was dangerously threatened in Manchuria before the Russo-Japanese War and again by Japan during the World War in the forced agreement of 1915. At the

Washington Arms Conference the nine powers represented agreed to observe the " open door " policy in China and not to take advantage of the existing confusion in the feeble republics to encroach further upon Chinese rights and territory.

Beginning in 1926, a strong nationalistic movement, known as the Kuomingtang, developed in the southern, or Cantonese, republic, aiming to unite China under one government and to free

Wide World Photos

CHINESE SEEKING REFUGE AT THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT AT SHANGHAI, 1927

her from the supervision of foreign nations. In the face of violent anti-foreign agitation, missionaries, merchants, and other foreigners withdrew from the interior sections of China. The Nationalist armies, under Chiang Kai-Shek, extended their power and in June, 1928, occupied Peking. Yet, threatened by ambitious and self-seeking generals in various sections of the great Chinese lands, the Nationalists were unable to weld the people into a single state. In March, 1930, they were compelled to surrender Peking, and no end seemed in sight for the disastrous civil wars.

1. Where else have you met this principle? 2. Can you apply the expression "open door" to other countries also? Explain and illustrate.

Problem and Reference Work

1. America's problem in 1898 was — "Shall we annex the Philippines?" Give a short report on it. C. R. Fish, *The Path of Empire*, pp. 185–192.

2. Tell what the United States has done for the Filipinos. Use Fish, pp. 211–217; or Du Puy's *Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles*, pp. 15–20; or Gibbons's *New Map of Asia*, Chapter 8.

3. Make a report on education in Japan. Use A. B. Hart's *Obvious Orient*, Chapter 8, or J. I. C. Clarke's *Japan at First Hand*, Chapter 5.

4. Using Chapter 4 of Clarke's book, prepare a five-minute talk on Japanese home life. Or use Gulick's *Evolution of the Japanese* (index).

5. On Japanese government, read Chapter 7 in McGovern's *Modern Japan*.

6. Read a fuller account of Perry's visit. Latourette's *Development of Japan*, Chapter 7, or P. T. Treat's *Japan and the United States*, pp. 22 ff.

7. Read a statement by a Japanese on Japan's need of room and resources. Kawakami's *Japan in World Politics*, pp. 11–15, and Chapters 4 and 5. Or use his *Japan and World Peace*, Chapters 4 and 10.

8. On Chinese thrift and thoroughness read Latourette's *Development of China*, pp. 90 ff.

9. On the scramble to parcel out Chinese territory read pp. 181 ff. in Latourette's *China* or pp. 161–165 in Treat.

10. Learn about Hay's "open door" policy. Use Treat, pp. 170 ff.

11. Show geographic and economic resemblances between England and Japan. Work this out thoughtfully.

Reading List

Fish, C. R., *The Path of Empire.* Excellent on the Philippines and on Hay's policy toward China.

Collier, P., *The West in the East* (1911). Sketchy comments on things Japanese and Chinese.

Hart, A. B., *The Obvious Orient* (1910). Interesting observations on Japanese and Chinese ways.

Gibbons, H. A., *The New Map of Asia* (1919). Interesting sketches on all parts of Asia.

Kawakami, K. K., *Japan in World Politics; Japan and World Peace.* Fair explanations of the Japanese point of view by an Americanized Japanese.

Clarke, J. I. C., *Japan at First Hand* (1918). Readable and refreshing.

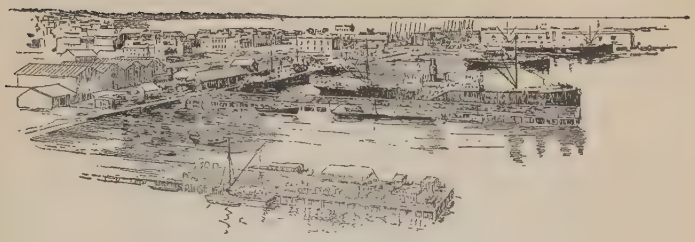
Treat, P. T., *Japan and the United States* (1921). Clear and impartial.

Latourette, K. S., *The Development of Japan* (1918); *The Development of China* (1917). Very valuable and readable historical sketches.

McGovern, W. M., *Modern Japan* (1920). A sympathetic description.

Gulick, S. L., *The Evolution of the Japanese.* Appreciative but impartial.

Giles, H. A., *The Civilization of China* (1911). Disjointed, but of value.



Harbor of Vera Cruz, Mexico

CHAPTER XXVIII

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION TRANSPLANTED TO NORTH AMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA

Our European Heritage

Colonization in the Americas is Different. — Modern civilization in the Americas, as in Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world, has been in great measure derived from Europe. In America, however, there is this difference. The period of land claiming and colonization in the New World has long since passed. Independent nations emerged from European colonies a century or more ago in most cases, so that Canada is the only American nation of importance still attached to an Old World empire. Freed from European guidance, the American peoples have developed types of civilization quite peculiarly their own, yet all deeply based upon European origins.

Europe Overflowed into the United States and Canada. — Our own civilization, like the kindred civilization of Canada, is in a great degree a European product.

First of all, the very blood of Americans and Canadians is overwhelmingly European. Merged with the original British stock, or thriving alongside of it, are liberal strains of Irish, German, Polish, Italian, Jewish, and many other races — almost wholly European.

Economically, American life has derived much from Europe. The usual means of livelihood of farmers, merchants, bankers, manufacturers, professional men, and mechanics have come to us by way of Europe. Especially influential in shaping the economic life in English-speaking America was the great Industrial Revolution which found its way from England into America, there to be modified by many important American inventions.

In government England has been the teacher of America as well as of Europe itself. Representative self-government, upon which modern democracy everywhere rests, is of English origin, and was transplanted to this continent first in Virginia (1619). From a common English source have come the representative legislative bodies which now prevail in nation, states, and cities. Our jury system, our broad guarantees of personal rights, and the underlying principles of law governing our relationships in business, in the home, and in the community are other features of our heritage from England.

American Culture an Import from Europe. — Along cultural and ethical lines, our Anglo-American civilization has drawn heavily from Europe, both ancient and modern. Our vast heritage from antiquity in literature, art, philosophy, science, law, and religion reached the western world through European channels. In language and literature, America and Canada have naturally had their chief inspiration from England, or by way of England. Shakespeare, the English Bible, Tennyson, and Dickens, as well as Virgil and Homer, are illustrations.

The American free, nondenominational, public school system, which is so characteristic of our states and of some of the Canadian provinces, had its origin in Puritan community schools established shortly after the founding of New England. From those partial and sectarian beginnings under Puritan inspiration in colonial days our modern American school system has evolved.

What our American civilization owes to Europe, ancient and modern, in the realm of science and philosophy may be slightly suggested by mere reference to such men as Aristotle, Plato, Newton, Copernicus, Galileo, Darwin, Lyell, Pasteur, Marconi,

Locke, Spencer, Adam Smith, and Karl Marx.[1] In the realms of art and music such conspicuous names as Phidias, Michelangelo, Raphael, Van Dyck, Beethoven (bā′tō-vĕn), Bach (bäĸ), Chopin (shō-păN′), Verdi (vâr′dē), Caruso, Paderewski (pȧ-dĕ-rĕf′skē), Tschaikowsky (chī-kôf′skē), and McCormack,[2] illustrate our debt to Europe.

The above scanty hints will give some idea of how largely the basic elements of present American life in both the United States and Canada have been drawn from European sources.

1. Tell one thing for which each is famous. 2. Do the same for these.

Latin America Wins its Independence

What "Latin America" Means. — As the northern parts of the Western Hemisphere may be called Anglo-America because of their extensive heritage from England, those regions where civilization has been shaped under Spanish or Portuguese influences are called Latin America. The territory thus named extends from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, and includes also most of the West Indies.

Latin America not a Land of Liberty. — In Latin America of colonial times, government and church were in close union, both patterned after the system in the Iberian home countries — an absolute monarchy and an absolute church. The Roman Catholic religion alone was tolerated, and this was extended widely among the Indians by earnest missionaries. In politics, absolutism was the rule under royal governors. The management of things was badly hampered by red tape and tainted with graft, even though the home authorities were trying fairly well to give good government. Just as in French Canada, so there were no popular assemblies in the colonies of Spain or Portugal.[1] Major positions in government and church generally went to Spaniards from the home country. Owing to this, a bitter feeling arose between these Iberian Spaniards and the creoles, as colonial-born Spaniards were called. The great bulk of planters, business men, and professional men were creoles.

Business in Spanish America was very closely regulated in

accordance with the mercantile theory of trade which held that a mother country ought to control the business of her colonies in such a way as to make her own industries thrive.[2] Until about 1750, all commerce of Spanish America was carried in

THE CATHEDRAL OF A VILLAGE IN THE ANDES

It is from 300 to 350 years old. Note the Indian idols flanking the entrance.

officially convoyed fleets which could go only at stated times from certain home ports to Vera Cruz and Porto Bello. Later, individual ships were given licenses to go to other ports named in their permits; but in no case was commerce free to all Spaniards, while non-Spaniards had no legal right to trade at all.

Regarding Portuguese Brazil, it is sufficient to say that in most respects it closely resembled the Spanish colonies.

1. Compare with the English colonies in this respect, and account for the difference. 2. Where else have you met the mercantile theory?

Why Latin America Revolted. — In spite of the watchfulness of the officials and the thoroughness of the autocracy, from about 1750 onward revolutionary ideas from abroad filtered into

Latin America. On the wrappings of goods and by means of other ingenious devices, the writings of such thinkers as Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire [1] were smuggled into the colonies and eagerly read by many of the educated creoles in the towns. The influence of the French Revolution and of the American Revolution was highly stimulating upon this same creole group. The Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution, translated into Spanish, were widely circulated. Thus, many colonials were by 1800 tinged with revolutionary thought.

Then came the days of the great Napoleon. In 1808 Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain, and in so doing stirred up stiff resistance in that country. Refusing to recognize the rule of the new king, the creoles in Spanish America started a war, which, with interruptions and varying fortunes, continued until independence was won.

1. Tell again the importance of each of these thinkers.

A Long and Bitter Struggle. — This war of independence, first against the Bonaparte king, and later against the restored Bourbons, was in part a civil war. In general, the ruling classes opposed the revolt and remained loyal to Spain.[1] "Hardly a third of the population was interested in the struggle when it began," says a leading authority.[2]

The outstanding leader among the revolters was Simon Bol'ivar of Venezuela, who is credited with winning independence for the regions now comprising Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia. (Map, p. 681.) A second great leader, José de San Martin (hō-sā′ dā sän märˈ-tēn′), born in Argentina and trained as an officer in the Spanish army, aided in freeing Argentina, Chile, and Peru. In 1822 he generously withdrew from the struggle in order that Bolivar might be without a rival in leadership.

In 1824 the last important battle was fought. "The Spanish-American Revolution," writes one historian, "was a struggle which devastated large areas, destroyed capital, property, and many lives, and encouraged revolutionary habits."

In Brazil the revolution began in a peculiar way. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1807 to enforce his decrees against

British commerce, the royal family fled to Brazil under the protection of British warships. In 1815 Brazil became a separate kingdom, but still under the Portuguese crown. Revolutionary discontent continued, however, under this plan of Portuguese rule. In 1822 Pedro, the prince regent of Brazil, announced its complete independence from the home country, and set up the empire of Brazil with himself as emperor. Under a fairly liberal constitution, this empire continued until changed to a republic in 1889.

1. Why? 2. Was there a similar condition in the American Revolution?

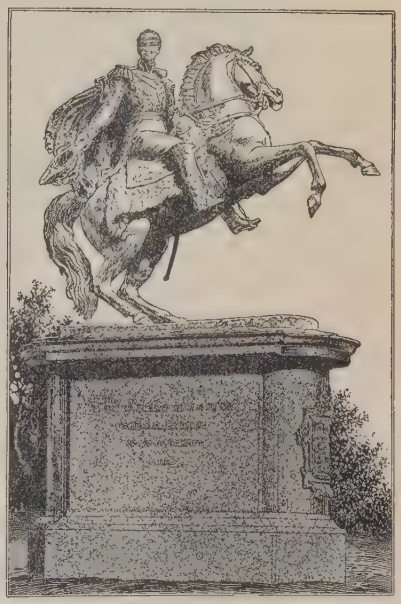
England and the United States Help. — Meanwhile, wider influences were deciding the fate of the revolting colonies. Metternich's Holy Alliance was just then in its prime, bent upon upholding autocracy and crushing revolution in Europe. In 1823 this alliance urged France under Louis XVIII to crush a formidable revolt against the oppressive despotism of Ferdinand VII in Spain.[1] Next it was planned that the Holy Alliance should back France in reconquering for Spain her lost colonies.

England and the United States became deeply interested. Many Englishmen had personally helped the revolutionists with munitions and money or as volunteers in the Spanish-American armies. British ships of war had also prevented Portugal from making any move to subdue Brazil. With the collapse of Spanish and Portuguese authority in the New World, much of the commerce of the former colonies went to England. The United States had already recognized the new Latin-American nations and was alarmed at the prospect of an assault upon them by the great antiliberal alliance of Europe. In 1823, therefore, the British government through George Canning, its foreign secretary, invited President Monroe to protest jointly with Great Britain against the proposed French move for the reconquest of the Spanish colonies. When our government declined this offer,[2] Canning himself warned France to keep hands off. Later in the same year (1823) the famous Monroe Doctrine was announced,[3] showing America's attitude toward the schemes of

Metternich. This spirited opposition from both England and America was enough. Not a move was made by the alliance against the revolting colonies.

1. Where else did the Holy Alliance crush revolts? 2. Why was Canning's offer declined? 3. How was it announced?

Democracy in Latin America Long in Doubt. — The eight new republics and one empire of Latin America arising from the period of revolution, were far from successes for nearly half a century, and some of them still are failures. Utterly without experience in self-government, shaken by the long period of upheaval, cursed by illiteracy, these countries all passed through many years of confusion and strife. Dictatorships of military chieftains were a typical form of government, such as that of Bolivar, the Liberator, who was dictator of "Great Colombia" from 1821 to 1830. Constitutions were made, only to be overridden by usurping leaders. Defeated candidates in elections could be counted upon to start revolts against the winners.



Statue of Bolivar at Caracas, Venezuela

With time, much foreign capital was invested in developing Latin-American industries. Immigration from Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Germany brought new blood. The countries receiving the greatest influx of foreign capital and foreign immigrants have been by far the most progressive ones, such as Chile, Argentina, and Brazil.

Cutting Mahogany in Central America
From an early nineteenth-century print.

Republics, but not Democracies. — The eight Latin-American republics of a century ago have increased to twenty. Uruguay separated from Brazil in 1828. Great Colombia broke apart into New Granada (grȧ-nä′dȧ) (Colombia), Ecuador, and Venezuela. The old Central American Federation split into five small republics in that section. The feeble negro republic of Haiti and the weak Dominican Republic arose on a single island. Cuba, rescued in 1898 by the United States from Spanish misrule, became a republic in 1902. Panama seceded from Colombia in 1903, protected by the United States. Meanwhile, back in 1889, a group of discontented politicians in the empire of Brazil banished the aged Emperor Pedro II and proclaimed a republic there.

Thus, Latin America consists of republics, with the exception of a few European colonies in Guiana, Honduras, and some of the West Indian islands. The republics, as a group, have constitutions patterned somewhat after that of the United States. Although republics, the Latin-American nations can scarcely

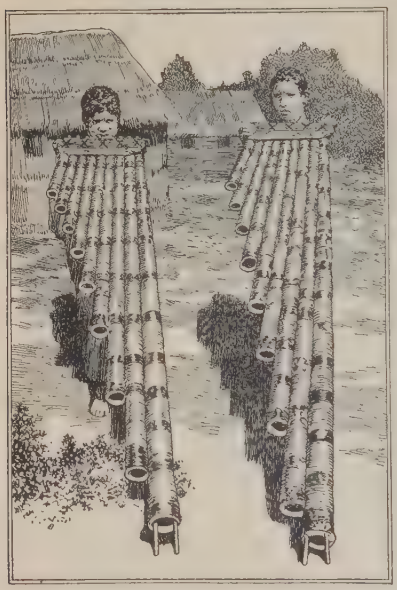
be classed as democracies. With a large element of uneducated people in most of the republics, it has not seemed wise to try genuine universal suffrage. In fact, illiterates are pretty generally shut out from voting. Rule by ambitious, self-appointed

Galloway

A Primitive Bridge in Peru
Notice the group of llamas.

dictators or by small cliques representing the wealthy is even yet far from rare. As for real democracy, a leading authority in 1914 wrote: "Public opinion as a controlling force, in the sense in which the expression is understood in the United States and Great Britain, is virtually non-existent."

Latin America's Mixed and Unmixed Peoples. — With a total area nearly three times that of the United States, the Latin-American republics have a population of about 90,000,000, of whom one third are in Brazil. Vast stretches of land, notably in the interior jungles of tropical Brazil, are uninhabited. Ever since colonial times the population has been of four kinds — white, negro, Indian, and mixed. Since the races have mingled freely for centuries, a large proportion of the people are of mixed blood, forming a distinct Latin-American race. Pure-blood Indians are still numerous, forming over half the population in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru, where many tribes in the interior still live in a state of barbarism. The negro population is found mainly along the coast of the hot Caribbe'an countries. In the southern republics of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, lying in the temperate zone, whites — largely of Spanish blood — are far in the lead.



PANPIPES OF BOLIVIAN NATIVES
These large pipes are used for ceremonial dances.

Latin America encourages European immigration, and Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay have, in recent decades, welcomed Europeans in large numbers. Some thirty per cent of the people of Argentina are of foreign birth, while in southern Brazil and in Chile are large colonies of Germans with their Old World speech, manners, and loyalties. The United States has evidently no monopoly on the problem of Americanization.

Latin America is still largely rural rather than urban. This

Galloway

SOME OF THE PUBLIC GRAIN ELEVATORS ON THE WATERFRONT OF BUENOS AIRES

On the opposite side of the inner harbor is another line of them.

means relatively fewer industrial laborers than in Europe and the United States. Yet cities are important, especially the capitals Buenos Aires, Santiago, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and Havana.[1]

1. Name the country of which each is the capital.

Social and Economic Contrasts. — Social distinctions and contrasts in wealth are sharp among Latin Americans. Between the ruling classes of great planters, ranch owners, and affiliated business and professional men on the one hand, and the illiterate, semi-servile peons on the vast estates, and the shiftless, degenerate negroes in the tropical coast towns, on the other, is a wide social gulf.[1] In the countries where the white population is greatest, such as Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Uruguay, the importance of the middle classes is increasing.

Vast landed estates are found most of all in Mexico, but extensively too in Chile, Peru, Argentina, and elsewhere. These are largely an inheritance from the days of the Spanish grandees of colonial times. On these estates the laborers, known as peons,

are generally Indians or part-Indians who through heredity or debt have reached a condition next door to slavery and live in a state of great poverty and degradation.

Farming of some sort is the basis of economic life throughout Latin America. This farming, however, shows sharp contrasts. Cuba lives largely by raising sugar cane and tobacco. On the far-reaching fertile plains of Argentina and Uruguay millions of cattle and sheep are raised. In 1922 the cattle in Argentina numbered 37,000,000 and the sheep 30,000,000. Brazil is the greatest coffee-producing region of the globe, furnishing about eighty per cent of the world's supply.

1. Are such sharp distinctions among a people beneficial or harmful?

Some Problems and Achievements of Latin Americans

Cities are Modernized. — Throughout the above account, various problems and achievements of the Latin-American people have been touched upon. A few remain to be treated separately.

One significant sign of progress in Latin America has been the transformation of some of the chief cities. Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, with about two million inhabitants, is the most prosperous city south of the United States — the metropolis and leading railroad center of all Latin America.

Under a progressive president of Brazil, between 1902 and 1906, Rio de Janeiro, the metropolis of that republic, was radically remodeled, with many fine national and city buildings, as well as private ones. A splendid quay of masonry and fine parks and boulevards added utility and beauty. Crowning all, modern scientific sanitation made war on germ-carrying mosquitoes and rooted out yellow fever from the city.

In Guayaquil, the main port of Ecuador, an even more striking victory of modern science was achieved. For years this port had been in practical quarantine against the world, so scourged was it with yellow fever and bubonic plague. In 1916, upon the initiative of the Rockefeller Foundation, a clean-up was undertaken. Gorgas, the American sanitary expert who earned world fame by conquering tropical fevers at Panama, was placed in

charge. By 1920 Guayaquil, although lying directly under the equator, had become safe for commerce and habitation.[1]

1. What American physician discovered how to combat yellow fever?

Galloway

AVENIDA RIO BRANEO, RIO DE JANEIRO
This broad avenue corresponds to Fifth Avenue in New York.

Financial Looseness Causes Trouble. — Mismanagement and corruption in public finances have too often blighted the Latin-American states. Excessive public debts have in many cases been piled up in the building of railroads and other public enterprises. As the borrowing for these purposes was done largely through bonds sold abroad, serious difficulties have arisen when payments of interest or of principal have fallen behind, since foreign governments have been disposed to enforce the rights of bondholders threatened with loss. Mexico in 1861 and Venezuela in 1902 became so seriously involved with foreign countries

in this way that the United States was led to enforce pointedly the Monroe Doctrine — against France in the one case, and Germany in the other.[1]

1. Read a narrative of each of these episodes.

What Pan-Americanism is. — This mongrel word means the movement toward a union of sympathies and of interests among the republics of the New World. To foster such a union, Pan-American conferences have been held at intervals, the first of which met at Washington in 1889, presided over by our Sec-

The Pan-American Building in Washington

retary of State James G. Blaine, an ardent champion of Pan-Americanism. Out of this conference arose an international information bureau, now known as the Pan-American Union and housed in a splendid building at Washington. Strong support among Latin Americans for the idea of compulsory international arbitration has been developed by these conferences. Pan-American sentiment was greatly promoted by the World War. Owing largely to the influence of the United States, Brazil and eight of the smaller Latin-American republics entered the war against the Central Powers, while others expressed a sympathetic attitude toward the Allies.

The Monroe Doctrine is Applied and Broadened. — Through-

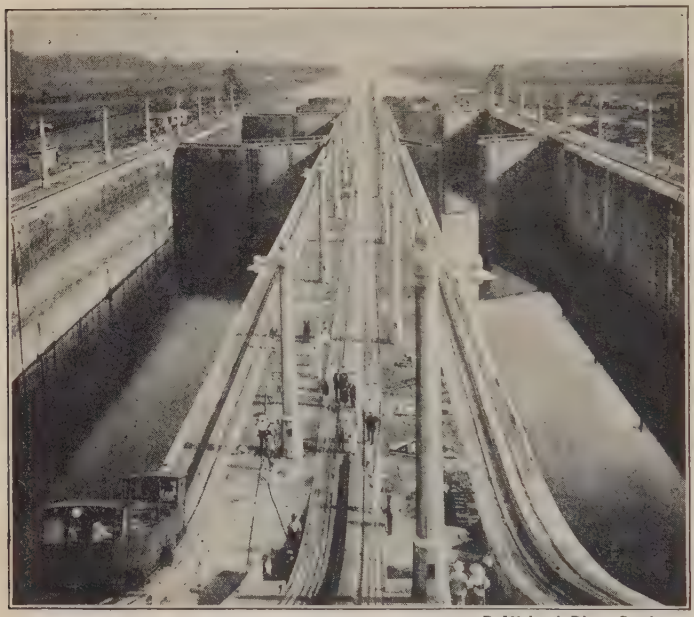
out the century since the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States has been deeply interested in the Latin-American states, especially in their relations with the outside world. Three times this country has vigorously enforced the Monroe Doctrine to protect threatened republics. At the close of the Civil War the United States forced Napoleon III to withdraw the French army by which the empire of Maximilian was supported in Mexico. In 1895 President Cleveland pointedly and successfully insisted that a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana should be settled by arbitration, on the ground that the Monroe Doctrine was involved. In 1902, when Venezuela was slack in paying the interest on her bonds owned abroad, and Germany seemed on the point of occupying Venezuelan land as security, President Roosevelt protested. As a result, the claims of foreign creditors were adjusted by international arbitration — and much reduced in the process.[1]

In recent years the Monroe Doctrine has been enlarged into a rather distinct protectorate over several of the weaker republics of the Caribbean region. The principle involved may be stated in this way: The United States assumes the right to supervise the less successful of the Spanish-American republics to prevent them from blundering into trouble through failure to pay their debts or inability to protect life and property.[2] Protectorates of the sort here indicated have been established over Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Nicaragua.[3] In general, the task which the United States undertakes in these republics is to assist when needed in preserving law and order,[4] and so to supervise or administer the finances of the feeble republics that foreign creditors will have no reason to intervene.

1. Just how was each of these incidents an application of the Monroe Doctrine? 2. Read this statement carefully. 3. Why is our interest especially great in the Caribbean republics? 4. What does the Monroe Doctrine have to do with orderliness in these republics?

United States Frees Cuba and Panama. — Two of the twenty republics of Latin America owe their independence to the United States. These are Cuba and Panama. Cuba was wrested from Spain by the United States in the war of 1898, owing to Spain's

long misgovernment in the island, coupled with the injuries done to American-owned sugar and tobacco business in Cuba during persistent revolts on the island. After the Spanish-American War the island was governed until 1902 by the United States. In that year Cuba began her career as a republic under a



Publishers' Photo Service

THE GATUN LOCKS OF THE PANAMA CANAL

constitution which gave us definite assurances that we might intervene to preserve order, to prevent excessive indebtedness, or to safeguard her independence.[1] Whether Cuba will prove capable of successful self-government is yet uncertain. The United States has once been obliged to intervene (1906–1909) and several other times has threatened to do so when defeated candidates at elections have refused to accept the result peaceably.

Prior to 1903 Panama was a discontented province of Colombia. When the United States and Colombia reached a deadlock

CENTRAL AMERICA
AND
WEST INDIES
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600
Gulf of Mexico
Havana
Guadalajara
Mexico
Vera Cruz
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
Belize
BR. HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
CENTRAL AMERICA
San Salvador
SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
Managua
San Jose
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
Panama
Porto Bello
COLOMBIA
Caracas
VENEZUELA
CARIBBEAN SEA
WEST INDIES
CUBA
JAMAICA (Br.)
Kingston
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
Port au Prince
Santo Domingo
PORTO RICO (U.S.)
San Juan
GUADELOUPE (Fr.)
MARTINIQUE (Fr.)
ST. VINCENT (Br.)
TRINIDAD (Br.)
BARBADOS (Br.)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
100 Longitude West from Greenwich 60

SOUTH AMERICA
IN 1929
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800 1000
80 Longitude West 60 from Greenwich 40
CARIBBEAN SEA
Panama
G. of Panama
Caracas
TRINIDAD (Br.)
Orinoco R.
VENEZUELA
Georgetown
Paramaribo
BRITISH
DUTCH
GUIANA
FRENCH
Cayenne
Bogota
COLOMBIA
Equator
Quito
ECUADOR
Guayaquil
Pt. Parina
Amazon R.
Para
C. St. Roque
Madeira R.
Tapajoz R.
Tocantins R.
Pernambuco
BRAZIL
Lima
Callao
PERU
São Francisco R.
Bahia
La Paz
BOLIVIA
Paraguay R.
Rio de Janeiro
C. Frio
São Paulo
Santos
Tropic of Capricorn
PARAGUAY
Asuncion
Parana R.
Uruguay R.
Porto Alegre
URUGUAY
Montevideo
Rosario
Buenos Aires
Plata R.
JUAN FERNANDEZ IS. (Chile)
Valparaiso
Santiago
ARGENTINA
Str. of Magellan
FALKLAND IS. (Br.)
S. GEORGIA I. (Br.)
Cape Horn
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
0
20
40

in bargaining over the price to be paid for the Panama Canal Zone, Panama in disgust seceded from Colombia. President Roosevelt promptly recognized the independence of Panama and prevented Colombia from undertaking a reconquest.[2] Panama then established a republic based on a definite protectorate of the United States, similar to the one already existing over Cuba, and ceded the Canal Zone to the United States.

1. Where are these assurances placed? What name is usually applied to them? 2. How did President Roosevelt justify this action?

America Declines to Pacify Mexico. — When the long dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (dē′äs) in Mexico ended in 1911, that republic was for long convulsed with civil wars and other disorders. The interest of the United States in these matters was keen, owing partly to nearness and sympathetic neighborliness, partly to possible infractions of the Monroe Doctrine when injury was done to foreigners in Mexico, and partly to enormous investments of American capital in oil deposits, railroads, mines, land, and government bonds. In spite of strong promptings to intervene in order to pacify Mexico, our government, throughout the period of commotion, rather consistently followed the policy aptly named by President Wilson "watchful waiting." [1]

1. What is the present condition in Mexico and its relation to us?

Latin-American Feeling toward the United States. — Toward the United States, Latin Americans are not altogether cordial and appreciative. The very bigness of the North American republic in an age of imperialism has been disquieting to them; and our system of protectorates in the Caribbean region has been felt to contain a possible menace to other republics, especially since rather frankly based on what President Roosevelt called "an international police power" of the United States in the New World to meet cases of "chronic wrong-doing." Roosevelt's promptness in taking Panama from Colombia roused apprehensions, which led the United States in 1921 to ratify a treaty agreeing to pay Colombia $25,000,000 for harm done her by the revolt of Panama. So, coupled with gratitude for the protection of our Monroe Doctrine, are mingled feelings of un-

easiness and suspicion at times. Whether the United States shall be regarded by Latin America as a big brother or more as the "colossus of the North" will depend upon how far our larger duties assumed under the Monroe Doctrine can be fulfilled without irritation in the coming years.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Read the original Monroe Doctrine as stated in 1823. Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 42 ff.

2. Make a report on social classes in Latin America, using W. R. Shepherd's *Latin America*, Chapter 11.

3. Tell the story of Bolivar's troubled career as president of Great Colombia. Use Shepherd's *Hispanic Nations of the New World*, pp. 61–67.

4. Learn more about the peons in Shepherd's *Latin America*, pp. 132–135. Compare the peons with American slaves before 1860.

5. Tell the class about the valuable work done by the United States in Cuba (1898–1902). Use Fish's *Path of Empire*, pp. 201–203.

6. In the same book, pp. 252–258, find a clear account of how President Roosevelt secured the Canal Zone. Or Haskin's *Panama Canal*, Chapter 19.

7. Read about the applications of the revised Monroe Doctrine in the Caribbean region. Fish, pp. 264–270.

8. Has the Monroe Doctrine helped or hindered progress in Latin America? Give proofs.

9. Compare the causes of our War of Independence with those of the Spanish Americans in their wars.

10. Give reasons why self-government in Latin America has been less successful than in Anglo-America.

11. Compare the races of Latin America with those of the United States.

Reading List

Turner, F. J., *The Rise of the New West*, Ch. 12. A full, scholarly account of the origin of the Monroe Doctrine.

Shepherd, W. R., *Latin America* (1914). A brief, clear history, with valuable characterizations.

Shepherd, W. R., *The Hispanic Nations of the New World* (1919). A simple, readable, historical sketch.

Fish, C. R., *The Path of Empire*. Excellent on the relations of the United States with Latin America.

Haskin, F. J., *The Panama Canal*. A lucid and complete narrative.

Bullard, A., *Panama*. Spirited and interesting.

Longitude 20 West
0 Longitude East 20 from Greenwich 40
60
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Paris
GERMANY
Vienna
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
FRANCE
RUM.
BULG.
BLACK SEA
PORTUGAL
Madrid
Rome
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREECE
TURKISH EMPIRE
PERSIA
ASIA
Str. of Gibraltar
Tangier
(Neut. Zone)
Algiers
Tunis
ALGERIA
MADEIRA IS. (Port.)
Fez
MOROCCO
Atlas Mts.
Tripoli
Bengazi
CYRENAICA
TRIPOLITANIA
Cairo
CANARY IS. (Sp.)
Agadir
LIBYA
EGYPT
ARABIA
Tropic of Cancer
Sahara
C. Blanco
RIO DE ORO
FRENCH SUDAN
Dakar
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
PORT. GUINEA
FRENCH GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
NIGERIA
Lagos
Omdurman
Khartum
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ERITREA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
BRIT. SOMALILAND PROT.
Gulf of Aden
Berbera
Adis Abeba
ABYSSINIA
Monrovia
LIBERIA
FERNANDO PO I. (Span.)
GULF OF GUINEA
SPANISH GUINEA
KAMERUN
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
UGANDA
KENYA
Mogadisbo
ST. THOMAS I. (Port.)
Equator
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
BELGIAN CONGO
Nairobi
L. Victoria
INDIAN OCEAN
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Zanzibar (Br.)
Dar es Salaam
Tanganyika
Boma
Loanda
ASCENSION I. (Br.)
ANGOLA
L. Nyasa
NORTHERN RHODESIA
PORTUGUESE
Channel
MADAGASCAR
ST. HELENA I. (Br.)
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND PROT.
WALFISH BAY (Br.)
Windhoek
Mozambique
Tropic of Capricorn
TRANSVAAL
Limpopo R.
Pretoria
Lourenço Marques
ORANGE FREE STATE
NATAL
Cape Town
C. of Good Hope
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
W-G CO.
AFRICA IN 1914
Scale of Miles
0
500
1000
1500
British Possessions
French Possessions
German Possessions
Italian Possessions
Portuguese Possessions
Belgian Possessions
Spanish Possessions
Independent Countries

A Bongo Village in the Sudan near the Nile

CHAPTER XXIX

EUROPE DIVIDES DARKEST AFRICA

The Dark Continent Comes into the Light

What Made Africa Dark. — In histories, geographies, and other descriptive books of a few decades ago, Africa was very generally referred to as the "Dark Continent," or "Darkest Africa," and treated as of slight importance to civilization. To be sure, Egypt was known as the very ancient home of an advanced civilization, whose memorials in abundance still mark the land. Carthage, the imperial, had long since arisen and been blotted out. The entire Mediterranean fringe of Africa was a highly important part of the Roman Empire. But thereafter the blight of stagnation had fallen upon all those parts of Africa; and in medieval and modern centuries the enormous bulk of Africa seemed chiefly a bothersome obstacle in the path of navigators and traders on the way to the Indies.

A few limited areas along the coast had been claimed by European nations — Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and France — prior to 1850. Nothing was known of the vast interior except that it abounded in great rivers and

inland lakes, in dense jungles and far-reaching deserts, in fierce beasts of prey, in scattered tribes of savage black men, and in destructive diseases and pests under a torrid sun. The darkness of Africa was partly the lack of the world's knowledge about it, and even more, perhaps, the blackness of unredeemed humankind under the blight of ignorance and barbarism.

Like other unknown and undeveloped regions, Africa had first to be explored and brought to light. The exploration of the thirty-five years following 1850 really opened the Dark Continent to the attention of Europe. During this period many explorers went out from different countries, just as in the New World after the coming of Columbus. Of special interest were the journeys of Du Chaillu (dü shå-yü′) and De Brazza (dā brät′sä) in what is now French Equatorial Africa; the trip of Cameron up the Zambezi (zăm-bē′zĭ) Valley and across the continent; and, most dramatic, the work of Livingstone and of Stanley. Of the last two more must be said.

Undussuma Warrior of Central Africa, about 1890

Livingstone and Stanley Penetrate Africa. — David Livingstone, a Scotchman, went out originally as a Protestant missionary to the country north of the present Union of South Africa. Between 1851 and his death in 1873 he traveled, largely on foot, some 29,000 miles, exploring the entire course of the Zambezi River, and the shores of the lakes of Nyasa (nyä′sä) and Tanganyika (tăn-găn-yē′kä). For some years the outside world received no news of the great missionary, and a belief that he had been lost in the wilds of Africa excited universal interest. Thereupon Henry M. Stanley, a newspaper reporter, was sent by the *New York Herald* to rescue him. Among natives

whose friendship he had won, the great explorer was found in the land west of Lake Tanganyika (picture, page 573). Livingstone, however, preferred to remain with his African friends, and died there in the wilderness the same year (1873).

After finding the missing Livingstone, Stanley distinguished himself as an explorer on his own account. Working his way from the eastern coast of Africa to Lake Victoria, he circled this queen of African lakes by boat. Thence he journeyed to Lake Tanganyika and then out into the Congo River, which he followed despite most harassing difficulties for 2,000 miles to its mouth on the Atlantic coast (1877). Stanley's adventures, well advertised by his book, *Through Darkest Africa*, stirred great interest in Europe and America, and suggested the money-making possibilities lying in Africa's untouched resources, as well as the crying need of civilizing the black man.

The Congo Free State Without Freedom

The Congo Free State Becomes Belgian. — First of the African colonies to be developed from this widening knowledge was the project of Leopold II of Belgium in the Congo basin. In 1876 under his leadership an international conference of scientists and diplomats met at Brussels. After discussing the great possibilities of the Congo region, this body organized an "International African Association" to explore that territory, to open it up for commerce and missionary work, and to end the slave trade, cannibalism, and other barbarities among the natives.

Since the International African Association required heavy financial backing, it took the form of a corporation of which the king of Belgium was the president and main investor — to the extent of some $5,000,000 finally. Out of this corporation was evolved, in the eighties, a new nation recognized by all as the Congo Free State. It covered an area three times as large as Texas. Over this vast realm, with its black population of 12,000,000, Leopold was promptly recognized as personal king.

Leopold soon forgot the philanthropic aims of the venture, as the great value of the rubber and ivory business became clear.

Chartered companies were granted the right to exploit some regions, the shrewd king retaining much stock for himself.

No Freedom in the Free State. — Money-making was the prime business of the lord of the Congo and of the chartered companies operating there. And speedy money-making through the gathering of ivory and rubber by savage black men under the equatorial sun led to frightful abuses. Natives were enslaved; forced to deliver fixed amounts of rubber and ivory; and when failing to perform this work or to pay the taxes of the government, were atrociously maltreated or slaughtered.

Finally, in the opening years of the twentieth century the terrible conditions in the Congo became known through reports of missionaries, of travelers, and of the British consul Sir Roger Casement. Emphatic protests began to arise from many quarters, especially from the British press and the British government. Roused at length by the outcry against the misrule and the atrocities in the Congo Valley, Leopold in 1906 consented to the annexation of the colony to Belgium. In 1908 this was done, and the Congo became a national colony, ruled by the Belgian parliament, instead of being a personal domain of the king.

Belgium Begins Reforms in the Congo. — Since 1908 little Belgium has tackled bravely her task as a colonizing power. When the progressive King Albert I succeeded Leopold II in 1909 the task became easier. The government of the Congo was placed under the control of the cabinet and parliament at Brussels. The old monopoly of trade gave way to the "open door" policy.[1] The natives were freed from forced labor and enslaving taxation. All together, an honest effort was made to efface the black record of past years. Yet the task remains enormous. To establish law and order, to combat tropical diseases, to foster commercial development on a fair basis, to make the colony self-supporting financially, and to bring the native millions upward toward civilized living and self-government — all this will require years of heroic effort and patience. Such is the real "white man's burden."

1. What does "open door" policy mean? Where else have you met it?

France Creates a New Empire in Africa

France Surrounds the Sahara Sands. — Beginning just before the Revolution of 1830 and continuing under Napoleon III and the Third Republic, France has developed a vast colonial domain in Africa. The bulk of this empire sweeps around between the Sahara and the sea from the western border of Libya to the Congo Valley, interrupted in eight or ten places by intervening lands belonging to other nations. This goodly African empire France acquired in various ways — by exploration, by treaties with native rulers, by occupation, and by conquest. Likewise she rules it in various ways — some as parts of the French Republic itself, some through colonial governors, some by means of different types of protectorates.

Algeria, the Pioneer Colony of Modern France. — In Algeria the new French colonial empire began. Just before Charles X

Bombardment of Algiers by the French Fleet, 1829
From an old engraving.

was thrust from power by the Revolution of 1830, he sent a force against the bey of Algiers to punish him for a personal insult to the French envoy. This marked only the beginning of a long and costly struggle, ending in 1848 in the French conquest.

France made a poor record in Algeria until after she took charge of neighboring Tunis in 1881. Since then she has reformed her system and made good progress. Algeria to-day is governed as a part of the French Republic, having members in both branches of the parliament at Paris, elected by those Algerians who have been given the ballot.[1] Within Algeria there is provision for both the French and the natives, through elected delegations, to assist the governor-general in shaping the budget and fixing the taxes for local needs.

There have been many signs of real progress in Algeria in recent decades. Life and property are well protected, and justice

The Harbor of Algiers
From a photograph.

is fairly dealt out in the courts. Many roads and railroads have been built. Wheat, grapes, and various fruits are raised in good amounts by improved methods. Since the beginnings of financial self-government in 1898 there has been a live interest in good government, shown by the attention given to public education.

National Feature Photos

MODERN TRANSPORTATION IN AFRICA
An omnibus in Algeria.

Colonization by Frenchmen has increased until there are now almost half a million French people living in Algeria.

1. What other French colonies have members in the French parliament?

France Takes Tunis. — A century ago Tunis was a lawless, bankrupt Barbary State. After conquering Algeria France became interested in Tunisian affairs — and was annoyed, too, by raids into Algeria made by marauding bands from across the border of Tunis. Finally, in 1881, being assured that England and Germany would not interfere, the French invaded Tunis, much to the displeasure of Italian imperialists,[1] who straightway carried Italy into the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria.

After gaining military control, France set up in Tunis a protectorate which still exists. Under this government the bey (or native ruler) still rules in name, but is closely supervised and guided by a French official adviser always at hand. In this way reforms have been injected into all branches of the government.

The advance in Tunis under French control has been along lines similar to those applied in Algeria, but more rapid, because

the French have gained greater skill in handling people of alien race and religion. French colonists, however, have not settled in Tunis as freely as in Algeria. In fact, there are considerably more Italians than Frenchmen in Tunis to-day.

1. Why were they displeased, do you suppose?

France in the Land of Atlas (Morocco). — In the French colonial empire, Morocco is the latest comer, coveted for years by French imperialists to round out the African domains of the republic. An imperialistic French premier, Jules Ferry, called Morocco one of the keys to the house of France in Africa.

For a time French ambitions in Morocco were opposed by the British. In 1904, however, a very important understanding was reached between the two powers which adjusted conflicting

National Feature Photos

THE MARKET PLACE IN KAIRWAN, TUNIS

claims and interests everywhere. This was the *Entente Cordiale* (äN-täNt′ kôr-dyȧl′) which united Great Britain and France and

balanced them over against the Triple Alliance.[1] Among the terms of the agreement was one that France would allow Great Britain a free hand in Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan in return for French liberty of action in Morocco. But immediately Kaiser William II became the active opponent of France in this region. On three occasions, 1905–1906, 1908, and 1911, tense friction, threatening war, arose between France and Germany over Morocco. During the last crisis, British support of her ally was so strong that the kaiser consented that almost all of Morocco should become a French protectorate. France in turn gave Germany some land in the Congo region.

1. How did this entente become the "Triple Entente"?

France Civilizes West African Blacks. — The small beginnings of French colonization in western Africa lie away back in the reign of Louis XIII, when some Frenchmen established themselves at the mouth of the Senegal River. Not until the nineteenth century were French claims extended inland from the Guinea and Ivory coasts up the valleys of the Senegal and Niger rivers, and into the great Sahara. Agreements with other powers, notably Great Britain, finally blocked out definite bounds for these territories.

Since 1921, French West Africa has been organized as one great unit consisting of eight colonies, of which the most important are Senegal, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and French Sudan. Dakar (dȧ-kär′), in Senegal, is the capital. Senegal, the queen of the group, is represented in the parliament at Paris by one deputy, and enjoys self-government in its local communes. Of course, these political rights are limited to Frenchmen, of whom there are more in little Senegal than in all the remainder of West Africa.

The French rule in West Africa is enlightened and progressive. Dakar, the capital and main port, is a fortified naval station connected by cable with France, and is growing into a modern cosmopolitan city as well as an active commercial center. Several railroads and telegraph lines now connect the interior with the coast at various points. The slave trade has largely

disappeared. Exports and imports totaling over a billion francs a year are indicative of the economic development of the colonies and of their value to France. Throughout all West Africa, public schools are being established wherever the European or the partly civilized native population warrants.[1] In the World War, hardy soldiers from Senegal, as well as from other parts of West Africa, assisted France in the struggle. These black men are the ones upon whom the future of the country must depend, because nature has made this region preëminently a black man's land. In all French West Africa there are only about 8,600 whites among the 12,250,000 blacks.

1. Of what does this sentence remind you?

France under the Equator and in Madagascar. — The extensive French colony known as French Equatorial Africa, lying to the northwest of the Congo Valley, was gained from 1848 onward in much the same way as French West Africa. A great addition was made to this colony by the acquisition of the major part of German Kamerun (kă-mēr-o͞on′) through the Treaty of Versailles (1919). As yet, French Equatorial Africa is largely undeveloped. Unfortunately, too, the French formerly permitted here many of the same abuses which gave Belgian Congo its bad name under Leopold II. However, since 1910 the treatment of the natives has been much improved, and there is promise that France will develop over her 10,000,000 subjects under the equatorial sun, a rule as beneficial as she exercises along the Mediterranean coast and in West Africa.

The huge, undeveloped island of Madagascar, larger than France itself, off the southeastern coast of the continent, became French through conquest of the native rulers in 1896. Good government, though not democratic, is in force; and much has been done for the improvement of the natives.

From Cape to Cairo

Great Britain divides honors with France in the colonizing of Africa, both as to extent of land controlled, and as to success in management. Stretching throughout the length of the continent

Galloway

CAPE-TO-CAIRO RAILROAD AT THE KHARTUM STATION IN THE SUDAN

from the mouth of the Nile to the Cape of Good Hope, is a broad band of British-controlled territory. Besides, there are British Nigeria, larger than Texas, and several smaller colonies.

The British Domain in East Africa. — In eastern Africa, the British Empire now includes four large areas, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Nyasaland. Kenya includes the larger part of the original colony in this region, British East Africa. Uganda is a large inland region north of Lake Victoria. Sleeping sickness, the worst scourge of tropical Africa, has been especially destructive in Uganda. It is reported that two thirds of the native black population died from the disease within the six years before 1908. To check the ravages, the government, in 1908, removed all the remaining population from the islands near the Uganda shore of Lake Victoria, where the tsetse (tsĕt′sĕ) fly was doing its most deadly work.

Tanganyika is the former German East Africa converted into a British mandate. Nyasaland, lying west of Lake Nyasa, was the scene of much of the work of the great Livingstone. Most of the elements of civilization in these regions are due to the presence of British authority and a small white population.

The White Man's Frontier in South Africa. — By far the most likely section of Africa as the abode of the white man is found in the southern part of the continent.

The Union of South Africa has already been fully treated (pp. 618–625). Despite its large black population and its harassing problems, the new commonwealth bids fair to become a successful nation within the British Empire. Since the Treaty of Versailles (1919), the annexation of the former German Southwest Africa has added greatly to the area of the Union.

Lying both north and south of the great Zambezi River is Britain's newest pioneer land — Rhodesia — more than large enough to make eight states of the size of New York. White settlers have been attracted into the region to develop farming,

Loading Ivory in British East Africa

grazing, and mining. Irrigation is rapidly adding to the arable area for fruit orchards, dairying, and grain fields. The output of gold is large. Copper, asbestos, and other minerals abound. Across Rhodesia runs an important railroad, a section of the

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RAILROAD BRIDGE OVER THE ZAMBEZI RIVER
On the Cape-to-Cairo line, near Victoria Falls.

Cape-to-Cairo line. Partial self-government for the white population grew up in Rhodesia, and in 1923 Southern Rhodesia was set off by itself as a regular dominion of the empire.

Britain's Black Colony of Nigeria. — In western Africa, Nigeria is by far the most important British possession, extending from the mouth of the Niger River upstream and inland. In its coast line, its great river valley, its forests, its soil, and its people, it is one of the choicest parts of tropical Africa. The Nigerians are rated as much more intelligent than most native Africans.

In Nigeria the British have done much commendable work. Native prejudices and sentiments are respected, and capable trained natives are chosen to assist in the government, though self-government lies yet in the future. The resources of the land are being developed. Palm oil is the main export. A government system of education is under way, with schools in

many sections. The prevailing Mohammedan religion is taught in the public schools to children of Mohammedan parents. The British rule over the 16,000,000 Nigerian blacks is an illustration of high-quality imperialism.

Britain in the Valley of the Nile. — British control over Egypt has been described elsewhere (pp. 627–630). Far up the Nile Valley south of Egypt lies the Sudan. Over this region the authority of the khedive was partly extended by Egyptian forces, led by British officers. Between 1869 and 1879 the famous General Gordon served here at intervals as general and governor, quitting finally because the khedive failed to support his efforts to pacify the country and to reform its slipshod government. Then in 1881 there arose in the Sudan a Mohammedan leader who was known as the Mahdi, or Leader of the Faithful. With his fanatical followers (dervishes) he overran the Sudan, spreading terror to the Egyptian residents and officials. After an army sent against the Mahdi had been destroyed, it was decided to abandon the country.

Gordon and Kitchener in the Sudan. — Early in 1884, accordingly, General Gordon was sent into the Sudan to aid in the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons and residents. Finding the situation critical, owing to the threatening power of the Mahdi, Gordon asked for reënforcements, and declined to leave the country, hoping for support from England. While Gladstone, the British premier in London, hesitated,[1] Gordon was besieged within Khartum (kär-to͝om′) by wild bands of dervishes; and, before a belated relief expedition arrived, he was slaughtered, together with the other foreigners in the town. Thereupon the British and Egyptians abandoned the Sudan entirely to the Mahdi (1885) and his successor.

Wild tyranny and destruction held sway in the Sudan under the dervishes for the next twelve years. Finally the British General Kitchener,[2] with an Egyptian army, attempted to pacify the country. A successful expedition, culminating in the battle of Omdurman (ŏm-do͝or-män′) (1898), routed the dervishes, whose leader was slain the next year. Then an Anglo-

Egyptian agreement (1899) provided for a joint control in the hands of a governor-general chosen by Egypt with the approval of Great Britain. In practice this meant, of course, British rule.

1. Was Gladstone eager to extend the British Empire? 2. What fate did Kitchener meet during the World War?

THE SUDAN ADVANCE

In the background, on the rise of land, stands Kitchener, reviewing the troops. From a drawing by H. C. S. Wright.

The Sudan is Reformed and Modernized. — Under this Anglo-Egyptian arrangement, a new day dawned in the Sudan. Religious fanaticism was allayed by a policy of complete toleration. The slave trade was rooted out, and the importation of liquor restricted. Security of life and property succeeded the terrorism of the dervish régime. Cotton raising developed rapidly alongside the native output of ivory and gum arabic. A regular government school system was built up for those able to benefit by it;[1] in these schools the Mohammedan religion is taught, as in Nigeria. Khartum, the capital of the Sudan, has been made a model tropical city.

1. Name three other colonial regions in which modern school systems have been established.

Other European Colonies in Africa

Stagnant Portuguese Africa. — The bulk of the Portuguese colonial empire of to-day consists of two large areas in Africa, Mozambique (mō-zăm-bēk′) and Ango′la. Both of these are inheritances from the days of Portugal's greatness in the sixteenth century, originally stopping points on the way to the East. Although Portugal has held the coast line of these two possessions for over four hundred years, and although both are well endowed naturally, she has done little to justify the existence of a Portuguese colonial system at all. The resources of the regions have been little used for the benefit of either natives or mother country, and 5,000,000 backward people in the two colonies are still without good government or the uplifting touch of an enlightened and virile colonizing power.

Italian Imperialism in Africa. — Italy's part of Africa consists of Italian Somaliland (sō-mä′lē-lănd) and Eritrea (ā-rē-trē′ä) in the east, and Libya (lĭb′ĭ-*à*), lying between Egypt and Tunis. The first two are unpromising colonies which are still a financial drain upon Italy.

Before France set up a protectorate over Tunis in 1881, Italy had had ambitions in that direction. Thereafter Italian expansionists made Tripoli, instead of Tunis, their goal, and Italians in considerable numbers began the development of business and commerce there. But Tripoli was a province of the Turkish Empire. Suspicious of the Italian penetration, the Turks tried to hinder its advance. Bitterness increased more and more between the two powers. Finally, in 1911, Italy went to war with Turkey. Even during the hostilities (1912) Tripoli was declared annexed to Italy, a move confirmed by treaty at the end of the war. The entire region is now called Libya.

Because of scanty rainfall Libya is a less promising part of the Mediterranean fringe than Egypt, Algeria, or Morocco. However, the Italian government has been planning and working hopefully in the two provinces of Tripolita′nia and Cyrena′ica, into which Libya is divided. Orderly government is being

National Feature Photos

PANORAMA OF MODERN TRIPOLI
In the foreground is the Arch of Marcus Aurelius.

established over the mixed population of Arabs, Negroes, Jews, and Italians; and some small steps in the direction of self-government have been begun.

Germany's Short-lived Colonial Empire. — Germany entered the colonial field late, when newly roused colonial ambitions were stirring the ruling classes in all the leading nations. Persuaded by the need of wider markets for the rapidly growing German industries, the same Bismarck who in 1871 had frowned upon colonial expansion, became in 1884 its ardent promoter.[1] German acquisitions of colonies in Africa were secured largely through the energy of a few leaders who bought extensive tracts of land from native chieftains or gained wide privileges by treaties with them. Private initiative, followed by government activity, gained for Germany four African colonies: Southwest Africa, East Africa, Togo, and Kamerun.

These German colonies, except possibly East Africa, were second-rate in natural endowments — sections which other powers had not cared to take for themselves. However, during the period of their control, the Germans worked vigorously to make these colonies successful. Harbors were built, seaports developed, railroads and other accompaniments of modern life introduced, scientific farming and mining encouraged, and education fostered. Along with this enterprise, however, went an arbitrary, dictatorial spirit, and a lack of skill in dealing with inferior races. Of German colonial officials in the early years of the colonies it has been said, " Those that were not domineering, pompous, and inexperienced, were incompetent and corrupt."

However, Germany was gaining experience as a colonizer, and was making progress in many lines when the World War broke out. As a result of that war all her colonies throughout the world were taken from her. Southwest Africa went to the Union of South Africa, German East Africa became the British colony of Tanganyika, while Togo and Kamerun (now Cameroon) were divided between Great Britain and France, the major parts going to France. German colonies in the Pacific were divided between the British Empire and Japan. Thus an ambitious colonial program was wholly destroyed.

1. What advantages of imperialism appealed to Bismarck?

Is Modern Imperialism Good or Evil?

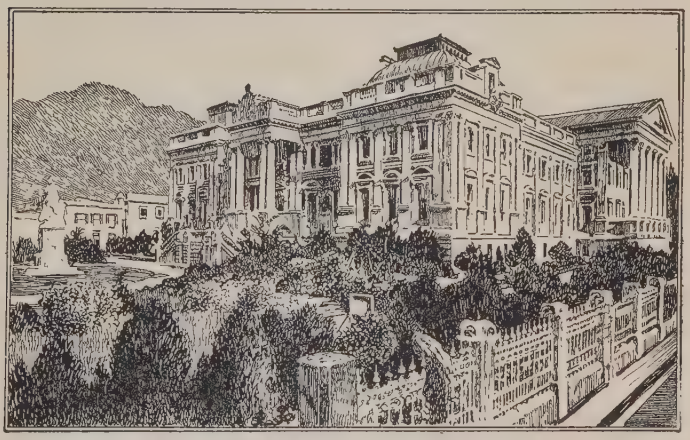
The modern expansion of European control over many parts of the earth having been discussed in this and the preceding chapters, a few comments in conclusion are fitting:

(1) The narrative must have suggested that force has been predominant in the extension and maintenance of the rule of Europeans. Barbarous tribes have not welcomed the white man, but have been compelled to submit to his sway. In some cases the force has been applied gently, in others savagely.

(2) Whether we believe in thus bringing backward races within the touch of civilization or not, it is certain that these races do not rise in the scale of themselves; nor do they, indeed, under

the rule of the white man, unless that rule is enlightened and purposely reformative. In spite of many blots on the record, the more enlightened colonizing powers have visibly elevated their subject peoples by stamping out such barbarous practices as the slave trade and cannibalism, by fostering the work of missionaries, by developing natural resources, by maintaining even-handed justice and orderliness, and, in some instances, by splendid educational systems and training in self-government.

(3) Among colonizing powers, Great Britain is generally regarded as the most successful. Long experience has built up sound British traditions of good government, and has developed in high degree the necessary qualities of tolerance, moderation, and tact in dealing with peoples of different races, religions, and



PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN

customs. Then, too, Great Britain, in the main, sends out as rulers and officials in her colonies and protectorates abler and better-trained men than other nations do, because colonial service is looked upon as a highly honorable career for British men of real capacity and education.

(4) The years between 1880 and the World War were marked by keen and embittering competition among the leading powers in the colonial field. In the scramble for readier access to sup-

plies of metals, cotton, timber, oil, and rubber, every available strip of land was claimed or seized. The rapidity with which Africa was parceled out by Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, and the eager beginnings of a like process in China, are illustrations of the race for colonies and resources. This race was one of the main causes of the World War, to which we now turn.

Problem and Reference Work

1. In Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II, find some vivid original material: (*a*) Stanley's account of finding Livingstone, pp. 449 ff.; (*b*) an American description of Congo atrocities, p. 453; (*c*) Lord Milner's justification of British occupation of Egypt, pp. 454 ff.

2. Read a full narrative of Gordon at Khartum. Use N. D. Harris's *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, pp. 332 ff.

3. For a narrative of the work of Livingstone, use C. Lucas's *Partition of Africa*, Chapter 4; or H. H. Johnston's *Opening up of Africa* (index).

4. In Chapter 5 of Lucas read of the scramble for African colonies.

5. Tell how Rhodesia was developed by Cecil Rhodes's company. Use Harris, pp. 202–212; or Gibbons, *New Map of Africa*, Chapter 10.

6. For a sketch of the French empire in northern Africa consult Fueter's *World History*, Chapter 16.

7. Make a list of all the modern colonies in which you find imperialism praiseworthy. Have definite reasons in every case.

Reading List

Three standard accounts of modern imperialism in Africa are:

Harris, N. D., *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*. Rather advanced and detailed.

Johnston, H. H., *The Opening up of Africa*. A comprehensive sketch.

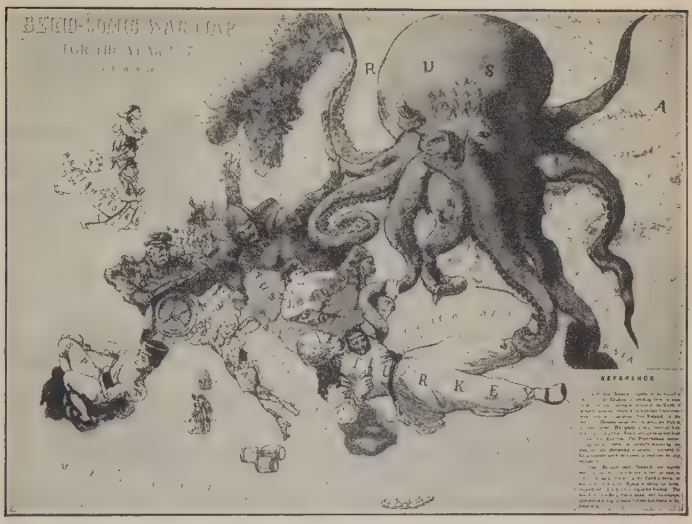
Lucas, C., *The Partition of Africa*. Fairly brief.

Fueter, E., *World History*. Chs. 16 and 29 are of use here.

Gibbons, H. A., *The New Map of Africa* (1916). A readable series of sketches and impressions.

Hazen, C. D., *Fifty Years of Europe* (1919). Ch. 9 deals well with the partition of Africa.

Hughes, T., *David Livingstone* (1897). A sympathetic sketch.



Anti-Russian Cartoon of 1877

CHAPTER XXX

RIVALRIES AND ALLIANCES MAKE EUROPE NERVOUS

Germany and her Neighbors

Deep Causes of Europe's Rivalries. — We have just studied Europe as the center from which modern civilization has spread, and have seen how European nations have come to influence the rest of the world — on the whole, beneficially. But modern Europe has also been the center of most of the rivalries and squabbles which have stirred hostile feelings among the nations and which led finally to the catastrophe of the World War.

These European rivalries and conflicting interests are nothing new. They developed a new aspect, however, in the nineteenth century and after, owing to the Industrial Revolution and the

French Revolution. The Industrial Revolution created the modern, bustling industrial world, with its business enterprises reaching out for greater and greater stores of raw materials and for wider and wider markets. This fact underlies much of modern international rivalry, since each nation endeavors to aid its own people in their race for added wealth.

The French Revolution stirred profoundly the feelings of nationalism throughout Europe. This modern nationalism was the underlying force which made Italy and Germany into united nations in the sixties and seventies and which has kindled the ardent patriotism of all peoples in recent generations.

After 1870 especially, rivalries multiplied among European nations — rivalries over territory and leadership in Europe, over colonial possessions and commercial opportunities, and over warlike armaments on land and on sea.

During the forty-four years following 1870, Germany was the center of much of the rivalry of European interests. This was because she so suddenly, so dramatically took her place among the major powers under the leadership of Bismarck, and, once arrived, was far from willing to occupy a back seat.[1] In fact, under Bismarck, Germany quickly came to be recognized as the prime power on the Continent.

1. How does sudden dramatic success generally affect people?

Bismarck Makes Alliances against France. — Bismarck's crushing victory over France in 1870–1871 quite naturally left a heritage of hatred. The billion-dollar indemnity, the loss of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, the overwhelming military conquest and loss of prestige were, to the French, humiliating beyond measure. Passionate hope to retrieve themselves some day filled every French heart. This Bismarck well knew. So when he discovered that his huge indemnity failed to crush France, he aimed to isolate her diplomatically — to leave her no friends in case she should attempt a war of revenge.

With this aim Bismarck cultivated friendship with Austria despite the war of 1866 and Prussia's startling victory at Sadowa. For a time he was also friendly toward Russia. Having sided

with Austria, however, against Russia in the Congress of Berlin (1878),[1] Bismarck next formed with Austria a secret defensive alliance (1879). This, however, did not prevent him from maintaining an informal friendly alliance of the emperors of Germany, Austria, and Russia up to 1890.

France, meanwhile, was endeavoring to console herself for the losses of 1871 by erecting the colonial empire described in the preceding chapters. Diversions over seas seemed to Bismarck the best thing to make France forget Alsace-Lorraine. In fact, the French authorities entered Tunis in 1881 with assurances of noninterference on Bismarck's part, as well as on England's.

To Italy, however, the French occupation of Tunis was deeply irritating, as her own ambitions were thwarted by it. Forgetting about her traditional enmity toward Austria, Italy now accepted a place in Bismarck's Austro-German alliance, and the famous *Triple Alliance*, which, was to endure for a generation, was formed (1882).

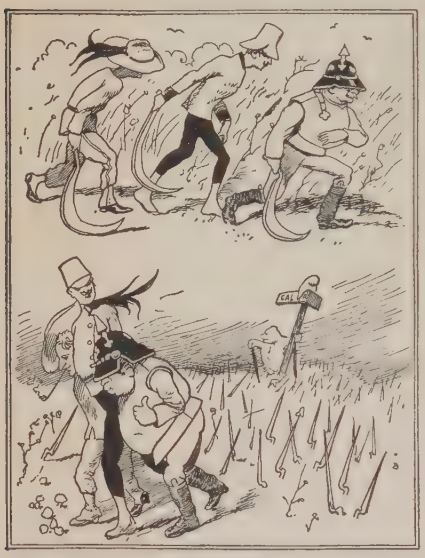
1. What did Austria gain at this congress? What did Russia lose?

Bismarck Tricks Russia. — Up to 1878 Bismarck used the friendship of Russia for the benefit of Prussia. This friendship led Russia to keep aloof while Bismarck was crushing Austria in 1866 and France in 1870; but the helpful neutrality was soon forgotten by the builder of the German Empire. In 1878, after Russia had decisively beaten the Turks in war and the self-invited powers had assembled in the Congress of Berlin to assist in making peace, Bismarck backed England and Austria in demanding that Russia surrender the main fruits of her victory. This move, followed by the Austrian alliance of 1879, effectively isolated Russia and checked her advance in the Balkans.

Bismarck rejoiced to see France hopelessly out in the cold, and the "Russian bear" evidently made harmless. Great Britain, meanwhile, was holding aloof from permanent alliances, as she generally did. She was felt to be the "traditional enemy" of France, the unfriendly rival of Russia in the Near East but, in the main, cordial toward Bismarck's empire and its leadership on the Continent.

France and her Neighbors

Democratic France Allied with Despotic Russia. — France recovered rapidly from the collapse of 1870. She paid off the German indemnity by 1873,[1] laid firm foundations for an extensive colonial empire, settled the issue of republic or monarchy, and entered upon a period of economic prosperity. Her international position, too, became less precarious when Bismarck was dropped in 1890 by his new master William II.



Cartoon against the Triple Alliance

Upper: "The field [meaning France] is ready, and we are going out to reap it." *Lower:* "Sapristi, if the Bear is guarding it, no one would even consider reaping it. Let's go home." From a Spanish magazine, 1893.

Soon thereafter France and Russia drew together. Russia needed an ally to protect herself against the Triple Alliance and required foreign capital to develop her industries along modern lines.[2] The French, on their part, dreading a new German attack, and not being on friendly terms with England or Italy, were anxious to find a powerful ally. French people were, therefore, encouraged to invest heavily in Russian securities.[3] Thus mutual need established a strong bond between the two.

In 1891 a French fleet visited Russia. Very cordial was the welcome given, the czar standing with bared head to hear the band of the French flagship play the "Marseillaise."[4] In the same year, the secret *Dual Alliance* was cemented between democratic France and czar-ruled Russia. The French now felt

less nervous about Prussian aggression, but, on the other hand, German imperialists resented the Franco-Russian alliance as a blow at German leadership.

1. How was France able to do this? 2. Did Russian industries develop early, or late? Why? 3. What do you know about the French people as investors? 4. Did the czar accept the sentiment of the Marseillaise? Why?

France and England Collide in Egypt and in the Sudan. — It will be remembered that England and France were the earliest nations to arise out of the feudal chaos of the Middle Ages, and that clashes between the two had been frequent throughout the centuries. Especially during the Second Hundred Years' War (1689–1815) the issue of leadership in Europe and in colonial realms was fought out by the two powers.[1] Succeeding generations of Englishmen and Frenchmen were saturated with the idea that their countries were hereditary foes.

Evidences of this old-time hostility were apparent even after 1870. When Great Britain in 1882 established herself in Egypt as official adviser of the khedive, the announcement was made that the British occupation was to be only temporary. The deep indebtedness of the khedive, however, as well as the feebleness of his government, made it difficult for the British to withdraw. Their lingering on was highly offensive to French leaders.[2]

Meanwhile France and Great Britain after 1880 were both enlarging their colonial domains in Africa. In 1898, as we have seen, General Kitchener reconquered the Egyptian Sudan from the fanatical dervishes. Upon reaching Khartum, he learned that a French officer named Marchand (mȧr-shäN′) had penetrated from the interior of French Africa to the Nile at Fasho′da, some three hundred miles above Khartum. Hastening to Fashoda, Kitchener demanded the withdrawal of the French. Marchand refused to go. Then the matter was referred to the respective home governments. War might easily have resulted; but France yielded, giving up all claim to the Nile Valley in return for undisputed rights to regions in the interior.

1. What was the final outcome of that contest? 2. How long did the British control Egypt?

France and England Become Friends. — The same year as the Fashoda episode, the Spanish-American War again showed the cleavage between England and France — the former sympathizing warmly with America and the latter with Spain. Next came the Boer War, during which pro-Boer sentiment was pronounced in French official circles. The hereditary enmity between France and England appeared as strong as ever.

Then came a sweeping change. The South African War taught the British how unpopular they were on the Continent, especially in Germany. France was becoming convinced that one "hereditary enemy" at a time was enough for her. New leaders in both England and France helped powerfully in burying the hatchet. Such men were notably King Edward VII of Great Britain and Delcassé (dĕl-kȧ-sā′), the French foreign minister from 1898 to 1906. In 1904, under the inspiration of Delcassé, the two countries reached a cordial understanding — the famous *Entente Cordiale* — on all points of friction between the two powers, especially in Egypt and Morocco. This Entente Cordiale, like the Dual Alliance of France and Russia, seemed to leaders in Germany an open menace to German prestige. England plainly was breaking away from her traditional isolation.

France and Italy Patch up their Differences. — In another direction, Delcassé scored for France; for in 1901 he reached an understanding with Italy that France might develop her special interests in Morocco in return for like privileges for Italy in Tripoli. Italy's loyalty to the Triple Alliance was evidently weakening.[1] How both France and Italy made use of their opportunities in northern Africa has already been told.

1. Why did Italy join it in the first place?

England Makes New Friends and Foes

Old-Time Rivals Become Cordial Friends. — Another long-standing international feud kept England and Russia apart. Fearing rivalry in the Near East, Great Britain fought the Crimean War against Russia in aid of the Turk. Again in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin, England, through Lord Beaconsfield

(Disraeli), once more helped bolster up the " Sick Man of Europe " when Russia had trounced him well.[1] Later Russian expansion beyond the Caspian Sea had been circumvented by the British (page 634). Still again, the two powers were rivals in Persia early in the twentieth century. In the Russo-Japanese War, moreover, it was Great Britain's newly accepted ally who wrested from Russia her precious warm-water outlet into the Pacific at Port Arthur.

But time brought shifting sympathies. Both countries became cool toward Germany, as well as friendly toward France,

FRENCH FLEET, 1891
Types of warships of the period.

as we have seen. This made it easier for the British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, in 1907 to clear up all conflicting imperial interests between Russia and England. Friction over Persia, over Tibet, and over Afghanistan being removed, England now welcomed Russia into the Entente Cordiale, which thereby was enlarged into the famous *Triple Entente*, including France, Great Britain, and Russia. Besides settling the colonial claims, this entente showed a community of sympathy among the three powers, cemented by the feeling that Germany was a

growing and menacing rival of each. So, from 1907 onward, over against Bismarck's Triple Alliance stood the Triple Entente.

1. Just what did the Congress of Berlin do for Turkey?

Old Friendships Begin to Cool. — The relations between Great Britain and Germany require special treatment. If John Bull had been the "traditional enemy" of the Gaul, he had also been the traditional friend of the Teuton. Many ties bound the two peoples together. They were kin by blood. Both were largely Protestant in religion. Royal marriages, literary interests, and commercial activities united them.

Still the Englishman and the German did not really understand each other, and each found much to dislike or to ridicule in his distant kinsman. Germany was junker-ruled, while Britain was becoming increasingly democratic. German and British nobility were of different and discordant types.

Then deeper and more tangible reasons for unfriendliness developed. When in 1884 Germany entered the race for colonies, she found the British Empire much in her way. The choice parts of the earth being already preëmpted, Germany sought to get the "leavings." Even in this, Britain's bulky form blocked the road. When Germany staked out her claims to Southwest Africa, she found that Great Britain had recently acquired Walfish (wŏl′fĭsh) Bay,[1] the most promising natural harbor along the entire coast. Until the World War this undeveloped bay remained a British enclave [2] in the side of German Southwest Africa. True, in 1890 Great Britain gave Germany the island of Helgoland (hĕl′gŏ-länt) in the North Sea when the two powers adjusted their colonial claims in Africa; but the German imperialists still felt that England was ungraciously cramping their national ambitions.

1. Use map. 2. Judge for yourself what this word means.

Rivalry in Trade Makes Bad Feeling. — More vital than colonial rivalry was the competition in trade between Briton and Teuton. Under Bismarck's protective tariff policy, begun in 1879, German industrial growth had been wonderful. Factories and mines, railroads and steamship lines, banks and cor-

porations of every sort multiplied and expanded. Hand in hand with the internal economic development, went a corresponding increase in foreign trade. During the thirty years preceding 1900 Germany moved up from fourth place to second place in the extent of her foreign commerce.

But Great Britain had been the unquestioned leader in manufactures and foreign commerce ever since the Industrial Revolution. To her the rapid advance of Germany was disconcerting. German science and technical training, German alertness, push, and salesmanship were outdistancing the easy-going Britons. Cordiality between the two nations was vanishing.

Two Wars Push England and Germany Apart. — The widening rift in Anglo-German friendliness was increased by the Spanish-American War. British sympathies were emphatically pro-American, while Germany hoped for Spanish success.[1] In fact, British friendliness toward our cause probably prevented serious trouble between the German commander and Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay in 1898.

Of greater effect upon Anglo-German relations was the German attitude in the conflict between British and Boers in South Africa. In 1896 the kaiser by telegram congratulated President Kruger upon his victory over the Jameson raid "without appealing to the help of friendly powers." Then, during the war, German sympathy with the Boers was emphatic and pronounced. By the time King Edward VII succeeded his renowned mother Victoria in 1901, Englishmen had awakened to the fact that the Germans cordially disliked them.

1. Can you tell why?

The Anglo-German Naval Race. — At the opening of the new century, Germany, realizing her weakness on the sea, set about building up a powerful navy.[1] "Our future," announced the kaiser, "is upon the sea." Once started toward sea power, Germany progressed rapidly, guided by Von Tirpitz, the kaiser's high admiral. Beginning in 1900, through persuasion, coaxing, and patriotic appeals the Reichstag was induced to authorize expenditures[2] for the creation of a mighty fleet.

GERMAN NAVY IN REVIEW NEAR KIEL, 1911

England now took genuine alarm. For generations Britannia had ruled the wave. In fact, the very situation of Great Britain and the nature of her far-flung empire made it seem axiomatic to the British that they must maintain naval supremacy. And here was the upstart young German giant venturing to challenge that supremacy. In this keen naval race lies one of the deep causes of the World War, as the next chapter will show.

1. Why? 2. Recall again how laws were made in the German Empire.

RIVALRY GROWS MORE TENSE

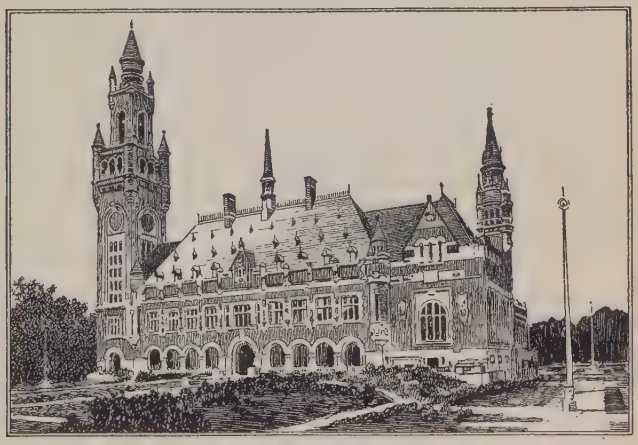
The Scramble for Military Preparedness. — The Anglo-German naval rivalry was not the only kind of race in armaments in those years. Great Britain, indeed, had refused to adopt compulsory military training; but on the Continent the situation was quite different. Induced by the dramatic success of Bismarck's fighting machine in his two wars of 1866 and 1870, or frightened by its nearness and power, one after another of the Continental countries imitated Prussia's military system. Austria-Hungary was the first, in 1868. Then followed France in 1872, Russia in 1874, Italy in 1875. Compulsory military training for young men, large bodies of well-trained reservists, and staggering military expenditures became the general rule.[1]

Not without protests, however, grew this wild competition in preparations for war. Many publicists condemned the swollen size of the military budgets, while pacifists [2] and other reformers pointed out the sure menace to peace inherent in the struggle to

be the most fully armed. Partly to curb this irrational competition, partly in the endeavor to make wars less barbarous, two international conferences were held at the Hague (hāg), in 1899 and 1907, on the call of the czar of Russia. The question of the reduction of armaments was discussed at both conferences; but, owing largely to the opposition of Germany and France, only a feeble resolution was passed declaring that military expenditures ought to be restricted.

1. Read this sentence again carefully. What else did militarism involve?
2. Define "publicist" and "pacifist."

The Hague Conferences Encourage Arbitration. — To foster the settlement of knotty international disputes by arbitration, the Hague Tribunal was established by the first Hague Conference. This tribunal is a waiting list of qualified men from the different countries ready to serve as judges in any case which the nations in controversy wish to refer to arbitration.[1] The United



PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

The seat of the Hague Tribunal. It was designed by a French architect.

States and Great Britain backed a proposal to make the arbitration of certain kinds of controversies mandatory; but the suggestion failed on account of the opposition of other powers. Rules were adopted by the second conference forbidding numerous

inhumane practices in war. These rules, however, became effective only when ratified by the respective home governments, which acted so variously that little was really gained. Thus the Hague Conferences netted only slight accomplishment. Militarism, with its enormous cost and its international tenseness, continued as a constant menace to the peace of the world.

1. Note carefully this definition.

The Moroccan Crises nearly Cause War. — In two places on the globe the rivalries of the powers became especially acute early in the twentieth century. These places were Morocco and the Balkans.

When the century opened, Morocco was in a degenerate condition under an irresponsible, spendthrift sultan. Life and property were unsafe, and foreign capital invested in the country was insecure. France was especially interested in Morocco as one of the doors of her African house, and claimed the opportunity of exploiting, controlling, and reforming the country. The Anglo-French accord of 1904 gave to France England's leave to dominate the situation, and for a year no one objected seriously.

Then suddenly in 1905 the German kaiser stopped at Tangier while on a cruise, announcing that he recognized the sultan as " an absolutely independent sovereign " and was visiting him in order to safeguard the interests of Germans in Morocco. He further advised the sultan to go slowly in accepting any direction from France. The whole move was a challenge to try the strength of the new Anglo-French entente at the moment when France's ally, Russia, was demoralized by the war with Japan. It was a favorite claim of the kaiser that no important international decision could be made without consulting Germany. But regarding Morocco, Germany had not been consulted at all; so a crisis was precipitated.

Germany also demanded an international conference to deal with the Moroccan question, thus denying the dominant interest of France in that country. To avoid more serious trouble, the famous *Algeciras* (ăl-jĕ-sē′răs) *Conference* was held in Spain (1906). Throughout the meeting Germany was fully supported

by only Austria and Morocco. Even her own ally, Italy, insisted upon a compromise which had been proposed by President Roosevelt.[1] The agreement reached was that France and Spain together should have power to preserve order in Morocco, but

By Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

THE KUTUBEYA TOWER, MOROCCO

This tower is a classic in minaret construction.

not to annex or dominate, and that business opportunities there should be open equally to the citizens of all countries.[2]

In 1911 another crisis arose. German business interests in Morocco had increased much in those six years since the Algeciras Conference, and Germans in Morocco frequently complained because the French did not really maintain an open door there.

Germany also resented the clear drift toward a French protectorate over Morocco, which was indicated by the sending of a French force to Fez, the capital. Germany announced her claim to be consulted and sent a small warship to the harbor of Agadir (ä-gä-dēr′). War again loomed up, but when the British cabinet resolutely supported France, the kaiser drew back and agreed to a French protectorate in Morocco, receiving in return a part of French Congo.

These Moroccan crises were clear proof of the firmness of the Anglo-French entente, as well as of the tensity of the rivalry between the two opposing combinations of the powers.

1. Does the United States generally participate in such conferences? Give reasons. 2. What is the usual name for this principle?

The Balkan Tangle

Old and New Friends of the Sick Man of Europe. — Complications in the Near East in the early part of the twentieth century were even worse than in Morocco. A very simple explanation must suffice here. In the first place, Russia, the greatest Slavic state, claimed to be the special protector of the small Balkan states liberated from Turkish misrule. Russia was also keenly interested in securing control of the waterway from the Black Sea out into the Mediterranean. Great Britain, on the other hand, had befriended Turkey against Russia, and was eager to thwart her advance to Constantinople lest such advance should imperil the British trade in the Levant [1] as well as British control of the road to India.

Gradually, however, Anglo-Turkish friendship cooled, owing partly to the British occupation of Egypt, over which the sultan claimed suzerainty. Another reason lay in the British condemnation of Turkish cruelties to the Armenians and other Christian subjects of the sultan. On the other hand, Kaiser William II, from the beginning of his reign (1889), had cultivated the friendship of Turkey. In 1898 in a speech at Damascus he declared: "His Majesty, the Sultan Abdul Hamid (äb′dŏŏl hȧ-mēd′) II, and the 300,000,000 Mohammedans who reverence him as caliph

may rest assured that at all times the German emperor will be their friend." German advisers aided the sultan in those years, German officers remodeled his army, and German investments in Asiatic Turkey increased.

Chief among German ventures in Turkey was the projected Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad, authorized by the sultan in 1902.

Galloway

On the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad

This line was intended as an artery of economic penetration by German interests.[2] From the heart of Germany it was to extend to the promising, but long undeveloped, Tigris-Euphrates Valley [3] by way of Vienna, Belgrade, and Constantinople. There was also hope of an extension to the Persian Gulf — a proposal wholly unwelcome to England.[4]

1. Define "Levant." 2. What does "artery of economic penetration" mean? 3. What do you know about this valley in ancient times? 4. Why was it unwelcome?

Turkish Revolution of 1908 Uncovers a Powder Magazine. — Meanwhile the miserable empire of Abdul Hamid II was in dire

THE BALKAN STATES
IN 1914
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
20
25
30
45
40
35
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Danube R.
Budapest
Debreczen
Carpathian Mts.
Czernowitz
Dniester R.
BUKOVINA
Pruth R.
BESSARABIA
Jassy
Kishinev
Odessa
MOLDAVIA
Cluj
Szeged
TRANSYLVANIA
Mures R.
Temişoara
Tisza R.
CROATIA AND SLAVONIA
Transylvanian Alps
Ploiesti
Braila
WALLACHIA
RUMANIA
Save R.
BOSNIA
Belgrade
Craiova
Bucharest
Constanța
DOBRUDJA
Sarajevo
Danube R.
HERZEGOVINA
Ruschuk
SERBIA
Nish
Balkan Mts.
Varna
BLACK SEA
MONTENEGRO
Cetinje
Sofia
BULGARIA
Burgas
EASTERN ROUMELIA
Scutari
Skoplje
Philippopolis
Maritza R.
Adrianople
Constantinople
Bosporus
Scutari
ADRIATIC SEA
Durazzo
THRACE
Lüle-Burgas
Tirana
ALBANIA
Monastir
MACEDONIA
Berat
Valona
Salonika
Gallipoli
Sea of Marmara
ITALY
Otranto
Mt. Athos
Dardanelles
Troy
LEMNOS
CORFU
Larissa
G. of Salonika
ASIA MINOR
IONIAN SEA
EPIRUS
GREECE
AEGEAN SEA
MYTILENE
EUBŒA
CHIOS
Smyrna
CEPHALONIA
Patras
Athens
CYCLADES
DODECANESE ISLANDS
RHODES
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Candia
CRETE
W. & A. K. JOHNSTON
Longitude East 25 from Greenwich

need of drastic overhauling. Despotism, extravagance, repression, and backwardness marked his rule. A story is told that an official of the sultan objected to the importation of a set of chemistry books by a mission school on the ground that the books were "highly seditious." When asked for evidence, the official declared that the chemical formula H_2O (water) was a sly incitement to rebellion, since the "H" stood for Hamid, the "2" for II, and the "O" for zero, and H_2O surely meant "Hamid II is no good."

In 1908 the world was startled by the news that a reform party in Turkey, known as the Young Turks, had forced a constitutional régime upon the notorious old sultan and had later deposed him. When firmly established in power, the Young Turks proved hardly less oppressive and brutal than Abdul Hamid had been. This was especially evident in their efforts to make Turks out of the various subject races throughout the empire, such as Greeks, Syrians, Jews, Armenians, and Arabs. Thus the Turkish revolution of 1908 failed to reform the decadent empire of the sultans.

Events of wide importance, however, resulted from the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. It will be recalled that the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been placed under the protection of Austria by the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Now, since the people of these regions were largely Serbs, they naturally desired union with the kingdom of Serbia. On her part, Serbia cherished ambitions of forming a greater state to include the fellow Serbs, not only of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also those of Croatia and Slavonia as well.

Great was the wrath and consternation among the Serbs, therefore, when Emperor Francis Joseph of the Dual Monarchy used the Turkish Revolution of 1908 as a safe occasion to annex outright the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. When the czar of Russia, as self-appointed protector of all the Slavs, protested, the German kaiser "donned his shining armor" — to use his own expression — and threatened war upon Russia in support of his Austrian ally. Thereupon Nicholas II yielded

and the hopes of the Pan-Serbians (Serbian expansionists) were blasted.

The Seizure of Tripoli Threatens an Explosion. — The next disturbing move in the Near East came from Italy. In 1911, while the powers were engrossed in the last Moroccan crisis, Italy reached out for the Turkish province of Tripoli across the Mediterranean, which Italian imperialists had eagerly coveted ever since Tunis was taken by France in 1881. Using Turkish hindrances to Italian business in Tripoli as a grievance, Italy unexpectedly made war upon Turkey. She pushed rapidly to victory and annexed Tripoli in 1912.

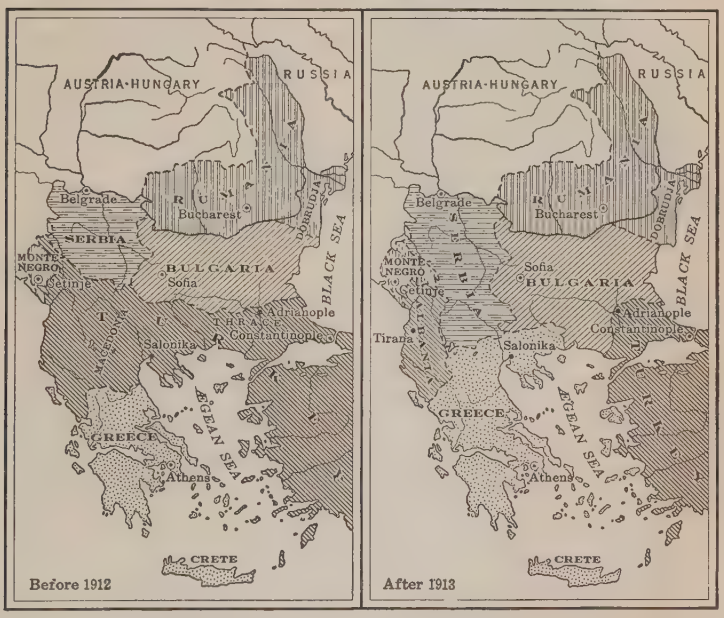
The Balkan Wars of 1912–1913. — The same year in which Tripoli was lost saw more troubles for the Young Turks. First, there was a vigorous revolt of the Albanians against efforts to Turkify them. Taking advantage of this and of the defeat of the Turks by Italy, four Balkan states, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, buried for the time their own long-standing animosities toward each other, and united in a common effort to thrust the "unspeakable Turk" out of Thrace and Macedonia. (Maps, pages 514, 720.)

The military success of the new allies was unexpectedly complete, although the Turkish armies fought stubbornly in the great battle of Lüle-Burgas (lü'lĕ-bo͝or-gäs') against the Bulgars in Thrace, and in defense of the strongholds of Monastir (mŏn-*ȧs*-tēr'), Scutari (sko͞o'tȧ-rē), and Adrianople. Classical students and liberals in many lands were especially pleased to see the Greek fleet oust Turkish authority from the islands of the Ægean, which had been centers of ancient Greek culture. By a treaty made at London in May, 1913, the Turks agreed to give up the Ægean islands and to withdraw from all European Turkey except eastern Thrace and Constantinople.

Meanwhile the hastily made Balkan alliance was crumbling. Included in the territory wrested from Turkey in the First Balkan War was Albania, peopled largely by Slavic mountaineers. As planned by the victors, Albania was to provide for Serbia her greatly coveted coast line, besides enlarging

Greece. To this arrangement Austria objected,[1] backed by Germany and Italy, and so a new nation — Albania — was set up, mainly to thwart the Serbs. Then the Serbs and Greeks began to quarrel with Bulgaria over the division of Macedonia. The outcome was an attack upon Greece and Serbia by Bulgaria.

This brought on the Second Balkan War (1913), with Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria. Rumania also came to the aid of



RESULT OF THE BALKAN WARS, 1912–1913

Bulgaria's foes, and the Turks, too, seized the opportunity to recover from Bulgaria some of their lost lands. The war was bitterly and barbarously fought on both sides. Quickly vanquished, the Bulgars sought terms. By the Treaty of Bucharest (bo͞o-kȧ-rĕst′) (1913), Rumania gained an addition to the Dobrudja (dō′bro͝o-jȧ) province; Turkey was given Adrianople and its neighborhood; while Greece and Serbia took Macedonia.

1. Why did Austria object?

Europe's Nerves on Edge in 1913. — Such was the inglorious ending of the promising efforts of the liberated Balkan states to expel the Turk from Europe, and to form a friendly relationship among themselves. In the end Bulgaria was deeply embittered against her neighbors; Serbia now had a deeper grudge against Austria; while the Turks retained strategic positions on the European side, together with control over the Straits.

THE BOILING POINT
From *Punch*, 1912.

So far the results seemed favorable to Germany and her allies. The Balkan alliance was destroyed; the road from Berlin to Constantinople remained open save for Serbia; and Serbia was threatened from the rear by a hostile and vengeful Bulgaria. Yet within the Triple Alliance the seeds of dissension had been sown by the Balkan wars, because Austria and Italy both had eager eyes on the Albanian coast of the Adriatic.

The nerves of Europe were badly on edge that year, 1913. While the Treaty of Bucharest was being completed, Austria suggested to Germany and Italy that Serbia be crushed once and for all; but Italy declined to aid in such an offensive war, and Germany held Austria back from the proposed attack. The same year an increase of the German standing army from 720,000 to 860,000 was authorized. Russia likewise expanded considerably her warlike preparations, and France voted to extend the term of military training from two years to three, so as to increase her standing army beyond Germany's strength.

Thus we reach the opening of the fateful year of 1914 with

the powers of Europe lined up in two hostile and suspicious groups; with warlike preparations menacing, and terribly expensive; and with an experience of crises and bare escapes from a general war painfully disquieting to the lovers of peace.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Compare the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente as to origin, membership, purposes.

2. Summarize the effects upon the Balkan problem produced by each of these wars: Crimean (1854), Russo-Turkish (1877), Italo-Turkish (1911), Balkan (1912–1913).

3. Find what important international crises have been settled by the Hague Tribunal. Use Hayes's *Modern Europe*, Vol. II, p. 684.

4. Find how far the United States has been willing to bind itself to use arbitration. Fish's *Path of Empire*, pp. 281–284.

5. Prepare a report on the rapid economic development of modern Germany. Use Priest's *Germany since 1740*, pp. 128 and 146–151.

6. For a description of William II's famous visit to Turkey in 1898 use Earle's *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railroad*, pp. 43 ff.

7. Chapter 6 of the same book explains the imperialistic interest of Germany in the Bagdad railroad.

8. Read a lively interpretation of the Algeciras Conference in Bullard's *Diplomacy of the Great War*, pp. 90 ff.

9. In Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 463 ff. read the call for the first Hague Conference.

10. In Gibbons's *New Map of Europe* read one: (*a*) The Moroccan crises, Chapter 4; (*b*) Italia Irredenta, Chapter 7; (*c*) The Young Turk régime, Chapter 11.

Reading List

Davis, W. S., *The Roots of the War*. Spirited and full of information but not impartial.

Hazen, C. D., *Fifty Years of Europe*. A good treatment of the Balkan Wars in Ch. 15.

Fueter, E., *World History*. On the rivalry of Austria and Russia in the Balkans, Ch. 33 is useful.

Choate, J. H., *The Two Hague Conferences* (1913). Interpretative lectures for mature students.

Earle, E. M., *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railroad*. Assumes good historical knowledge.

Gibbons, H. A., *The New Map of Europe* (1914). Readable and instructive.

Battleships of the British Navy

CHAPTER XXXI

THE CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

The Threatening State of Europe

Frenzied Nationalism. — The foregoing chapter is really a discussion of the underlying causes of the great World War; for the terrible catastrophe of 1914 arose from the rivalries, jealousies, suspicions, and conflicting interests of the nations of Europe. The spirit of nationalism had grown into ardent patriotism in the souls of Frenchmen, Germans, Britons, and the rest. But patriotism, like other emotions, can be overworked and so get beyond the control of reason. Indeed, modern patriotism in many countries had become almost frenzied in its warmth. "My country, right or wrong" had become its motto.[1]

1. What is a reasonable patriotic person to do when he feels that his country is in the wrong?

Economic Rivalry Chills Good Will. — Now the modern nations had become highly industrialized and eager for wealth during the preceding half century. Money-making became the life aim of multitudes; amassing vast fortunes, the achievement of many. As successful money getting seemed to dominate

private life, so nations were shaping their policies to aid the business interests of their citizens. A scramble for advantage in world markets incited the spirited race for colonies and territories in the thirty years preceding 1914. Protective tariff walls to aid business men against the competition of goods from other countries became practically universal among the nations, except in Great Britain. "Every nation for itself only," seemed to be the rule. This tendency to worship mammon [1] and to disregard the interests of other peoples, together with excessive patriotism, chilled the sentiments of international good will,[2] and formed a background productive of strife.

1. What is meant by worshiping mammon? 2. Does the worship of mammon chill personal good will?

A Mad Race of Armaments. — During those same years frantic exertions were made to build up great armaments on land and on sea. Following the lead of Germany, the Continental countries adopted compulsory military training, with great standing armies and still greater bodies of trained reservists.[1] Great Britain, feeling no need for large land forces,[2] strove rather to maintain a navy equal in strength to her two nearest competitors combined. In all this warlike activity each nation claimed that its own preparedness was purely defensive. In favor of these enlarged armaments, too, it was urged that thorough preparedness was the safest guarantee of peace, the best insurance against war.[3]

An influential class of professional fighters developed, officers and ex-officers in armies and navies, who championed all the martial preparations of the age. On the same side were powerful business interests engaged in the making of guns, explosives, and all sorts of equipment for war.[4] However sincere or insincere the arguments for preparedness may have been, it is now very plain that a Europe of armed camps was a very touchy community.

1. When was this military system begun in Germany? 2. Why did Great Britain not feel this need? 3. What do you think of this claim? 4. Now tell four or five reasons why militarism was prevalent.

German Fear of the Slavs. — The embittering rivalry of the modern European nations had produced very tense feelings. One of these was a rather vague fear of Russia which took deep hold upon Germany. The imperfectly Europeanized millions in Russia were felt to have in them possibilities of devastating invasions of central Europe, not unlike the onrushing of Genghis Khan and his Tartar hordes of old. In the early days of the World War, German advocates made much of this dread of "Slavic hordes," as a cause of the conflict.

Besides, on making herself heir of England in Turkish friendship, Germany had inherited England's old opposition to Russian hopes of getting Constantinople. Thus, mutual distrust and fear marked the relations of Germany and Russia.

The Open Sore of Alsace-Lorraine. — An even more tense situation existed as one of the after effects of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. Because France had been despoiled of two choice provinces which had been integral parts of the French nation for generations, and had been crushed and humiliated by utter defeat, many Frenchmen under the leadership of Delcassé

Fortress at Metz, in Lorraine *Galloway*

and Poincaré (pwăn-kȧ-rā′) eagerly hoped for revenge and a chance to redeem a damaged reputation. Over France, during all those forty-three years, hung the fear of another German attack. So, from 1872 forward, France sought to safeguard

herself by imitating the German military system. This was a nerve-racking process, since the French population remained

Brown Bros.

ALSATIAN GIRLS IN NATIONAL COSTUME

about stationary while that of Germany mounted up with the years until it was some sixty per cent greater than that of her old rival.

Germany's treatment of her annexed provinces of Alsace and Lorraine added to the bad feeling between the two powers. These provinces, although they were originally largely German in blood and language, had in 1871 vigorously objected to being annexed to Germany, and through their representatives had asserted their "immutable will to remain French." Against this attitude the rulers of Germany set their immutable will. Through enforced use of the German language in the schools

of Alsace-Lorraine, through compulsory service in the German army, the German authorities endeavored desperately to force a transformation of the people into patriotic Germans.[1] All wholly in vain. Germany's efforts only kept alive ill will in both France and the annexed provinces.

1. What conquering empires in history have been able to transform alien races into people of their own kind?

Germany Demands a Place in the Sun

German Militarism Makes Europe Nervous. — In Germany, preëminently, militarism held sway. In the completeness of her warlike preparations Germany outdid all her rivals. She had the most effective standing army, the best-trained bodies of reservists,[1] the most scientific military organization under her famous general staff,[2] the most permeating secret service system,[3] as well as a navy constantly being enlarged in an effort to match England's.

But militarism of the German sort included more than colossal armaments. In Germany, the highest social honors were paid to military men. In the government, too, the military class was more influential than in England or America.

Added to this were the spirit of ready obedience grained into the national character, a philosophy which taught that "might makes right," and an aggressive ruling class eager for national aggrandizement. No wonder, then, that the German war machine sent shudders through Europe, and that, when the proposal to curb armaments was vetoed at the two Hague Conferences, and when Germany, France, and Russia in 1913 hastened their preparations, all Europe felt that the only safety lay in being armed to the teeth.

1. Define "reservists." 2. What is a general staff? 3. What is the purpose of such a system?

"Kultur" Makes Germany Aggressive. — Another irritant arose from certain aims and ideals which strongly gripped the German people after 1870. Germany, thanks to Bismarck, had had a spectacular rise into the front rank among the leading

powers. Along with this meteoric ascent had come a truly remarkable advance in German industry, trade, wealth, and population, and in German prestige and influence on the Continent. Such sudden success had the same effect on Germany as it has on individuals — a magnified feeling of importance. The German people began to consider themselves a " chosen people " with a grand mission in the world. Convinced that the German type of civilization — *Kultur*, as the Germans called it — was superior to all others, many of their leaders felt called upon to spread its blessings far and wide.

Pan-Germanists Aim at World Power. — Some German leaders desired to spread German sway by force. These Pan-Germanists, as they were called, were the most ardent of the devotees of militarism. Their spokesmen gloried in the martial achievements of the fatherland, and in its mighty military machine. To them war was not a curse and a blight upon civilization, but a beneficent force, blessing the race with rugged virtues. Two of the outstanding exponents of this philosophy were Professor Treitschke (trīch'kē) and General Bernhardi (bĕrn-här'dē).

It is true that the Pan-Germanists, with their swollen ambition to make Germany the dominant world power by means of their gleaming swords, were a minority in the nation. The great majority of the German people were peaceful and industrious, though patriotically eager to see their fatherland a strong force in the world.[1] But the Germany of 1914 was not ruled by the majority. Instead, the militarists and Pan-Germanists [2] held the chief seats of power. The ruling group in the nation consisted of army and navy officers, junker nobles, and industrial magnates.[3] These men were not devotees of peace. And in the crown prince, Frederick William, these militarists had an ardent leader, who in 1913 wrote, " It is only by relying upon our good German sword that we can hope to conquer that place in the sun which rightly belongs to us, and which the world does not seem willing to accord us."

1. State some principles of right conduct which ought to govern nations.
2. Now define Pan-Germanism. 3. Get the full force of this sentence.

Kaiser William II in the Spotlight. — In Kaiser William II the German nation had a forceful and popular leader, proud of the achievements of the Hohenzollern family and of Germany under their leadership. He was thoroughly steeped in militarism by training, but was not an out-and-out Pan-Germanist. He preferred to advance the prestige of Germany without war

The Kaiser and his Six Sons at a Military Review

as long as other means would succeed. His fondness for the dramatic and his indiscreet speeches often precipitated delicate crises, but these were perhaps his way of bluffing through. His congratulatory telegram to President Kruger in 1896, his bid for support of the Mohammedan world in his speech at Damascus in 1898, his theatrical visit to the sultan of Morocco at Tangier in 1905, and the donning of his "shining armor" to overawe Russia in the Bosnian crisis of 1908 — these are illustrations.[1]

The great menace in this sort of acting lay in the fact that the kaiser was the ruler of a mighty nation, armed and ready to fight upon short notice. The kaiser considered himself a special "instrument of Heaven," and he recognized no human authority

except his own. Because of this fondness for the spotlight, he appeared to the outside world as a far more important figure in German life than he really was. In shaping national policies, he was in fact much influenced by his advisers, many of whom were Pan-German militarists; and the great body of the German people were docile and well schooled to follow these leaders.

Whether Germany was to carve out for herself a larger " place in the sun " or not, she was already the leading power on the Continent. This primacy the German leaders were determined to maintain undiminished; they did not intend to be shoved aside or passed by unconsulted when important international matters were being decided. As William II put it in 1900, " without Germany and the German emperor no great decision dare henceforth be taken." The Bosnian crisis of 1908 and the Moroccan crises were cases in which Germany forcefully insisted upon being consulted.

1. Refresh your memory about each of these episodes.

Germany Challenges Britain's Naval Power. — To be able always to command attention in international matters, Germany had her great military establishment. From 1900 onward, she aimed also to become as effective a force on the sea as she already was on the land. Hence the race with Great Britain in the building of warships of increasing formidableness.

But to Great Britain, with her empire sprawling under all the heavens, and with her dependence upon the sea to bring the necessities for her life and for her industry, — to Great Britain the control of the sea had been for years a cardinal principle. This British conviction of the necessity for supremacy on the sea was cartooned by a German paper in a picture of John Bull eagerly consulting his Bible and asking his wife, Britannia, " Where is that verse, where God told the English to rule the wave? "

Thus, over against the German conception of their national destiny, stood the British conviction that for them it was sea power or the downfall of their empire. When Germany challenged British sea supremacy, therefore, the British took alarm.

EUROPE IN 1914
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
20
10
0
50
40
SHETLAND IS.
NORWAY
Chris
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Glasgow
NORTH SEA
DENMAR
Copenha
Belfast
BRITISH ISLES
Dublin
Liverpool
IRELAND
Manchester
HELGOLAND
Cuxhaven
Elbe
WALES
Birmingham
ENGLAND
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
London
Dunkirk
Calais
FLANDERS
Brussels
Cologne
English Channel
Boulogne
Ypres
BELGIUM
Liege
Coblenz
Frankfor
Sedan
ARGONNE
Mainz
LUXEMBURG
Brest
Seine
Reims
Paris
Verdun
St. Mihiel
LORR.
Toul
ALSACE
Rhine
Nuren
Nantes
Loire
R.
Belfort
Munich
FRANCE
BAY OF BISCAY
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Lyon
Bordeaux
The Alps
Milan
Turin
Po
Genoa
Rhone
Toulouse
Oporto
Ebro
Pyrenees
ANDORRA
Marseille
Florence
Douro
R.
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tagus
R.
Barcelona
CORSICA (Fr.)
Guadiana
R.
Valencia
SARDINIA
C. St. Vincent
BALEARIC IS.
Seville
Malaga
Str. of Gibraltar
MEDITERRANE
AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Longitude West
0 Longitude East from Greenwich 10

20
30
40
50
Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
St. Petersburg (Leningrad)
Gulf of Finland
Stockholm
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
Riga
Düna R.
KURLAND
BALTIC SEA
Volga R.
Moscow
Vilna
Tannenberg
Brest-Litovsk
Vistula R.
Warsaw
POLAND
Bug R.
Lodz
Breslau
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Kharkov
UKRAINE
Ekaterinoslav
Lemberg
Dniester R.
Prut R.
Kishinev
Odessa
Sea of Azof
Carpathian Mts.
Vienna
Budapest
HUNGARY
Tisa R.
Save R.
Fiume
RUMANIA
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
BOSNIA
Belgrade
Sarajevo
Danube R.
Sofia
Balkan Mts.
BULGARIA
Bosporus
Constantinople
MONTENEGRO
Cetinje
Durazzo
ALBANIA
GALLIPOLI PENINSULA
ASIA MINOR
ASIA
AEGEAN SEA
GREECE
Athens
IONIAN SEA
CYPRUS
CRETE
W. & CO.

They made it their settled policy to build two fighting ships for every German one. So the race continued, especially from 1908 till the war.

British statesmen, however, made several efforts to reach an agreement with Germany to limit the naval armaments of both. The great Liberal leaders, Asquith, Lloyd George, and Grey, from 1908 onward, earnestly advocated curtailment by agreement. In 1912, and again in 1913, the British first lord of the admiralty, Churchill, proposed a naval holiday, Great Britain not to build any new warship in any year when Germany would abstain from building. Interpreting these overtures as cries of despair from a decadent rival, Admiral Von Tirpitz and the German chancellor declined to slacken their pace. And the naval race continued.

Germany as well as the Rest of Europe Becomes Nervous. — The German policy of aggressiveness had brought into existence a powerful alliance of Russia, France, and Great Britain. Motives of revenge, jealousy, and fear had cemented the union of the three states. From 1907 onward, this alliance had grown stronger and had been worked out in detail for the joint use of Entente armies and fleets in case of a war against Germany. On the other hand, Germany's Triple Alliance was being progressively weakened by the coolness of Italy and by the recklessness of Austria in her dealings with the Balkan states. Under these conditions, many Germans felt that they were being hemmed in by a circle of enemies and that their efficient fighting machine must be put to use at an early date if it were ever to be victorious. Thus the fear and nervousness felt by the Entente group in the face of German military power was matched by an equal nervousness on the part of Germany. The mental and moral results of huge armaments and of clashing national interests afflicted all Europe.

The Explosion in the Balkans

Austria Checkmates Serbia. — Still another tense situation was created by the relations of Austria and Serbia. For years

Serbia had aspired to become a leading Balkan power by annexing neighboring lands controlled by Austria but peopled by fellow Serbs. Herein lies the deep disappointment and rage of the Serbs when, in 1908, Austria-Hungary finally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina while the kaiser's " shining armor " dissuaded Russia from backing Serbia's demands for an adjustment.

Belgrade, the Capital of Serbia

In another way Austria stood squarely athwart Serbia's coveted progress. Serbia was a land of small farms, raising grain, fruit, cattle, pigs, and sheep for export; but the little country was without a seacoast and had to send most of her products to Austrian markets or across Austrian territory to the sea. In the way of this traffic Austria placed unreasonable and irritating restrictions. The Serbs naturally longed to free themselves from this dependence by gaining on the Adriatic a seacoast of their own.

With this end in view the Serbs entered the First Balkan War (1912) and fought with surprising energy and success. When the prize was within reach, Austria, together with Italy, insisted upon the creation of the new state of Albania,[1] including all the coast line which Serbia was about to annex. Checkmated again by Austria, the Serbians sullenly pondered; and in many secret societies plotted how they might yet defeat Austria and make their ambitions come true. Out of this tense and bitter Austro-Serbian situation arose the immediate circumstances which plunged Europe into war in August, 1914.

1. Is Albania still an independent nation?

The Murder of the Austrian Crown Prince. — On Sunday, June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria, with his wife, visited Sarajevo (sä-rä′yä-vô), the capital of Bosnia, to inspect the royal troops stationed there. The archduke was the heir apparent to Emperor Francis Joseph, who had reigned over Austria since 1848. While motoring through the crowded streets of the little city, the archduke, together with his wife, was shot and killed by a young Bosnian Serb belonging to an aggressive group of Pan-Serbist agitators, whose leader at that time was the man at the head of the secret service system of Serbia. As later evidence showed, the plot which culminated in the murder was laid in Serbia and came to the knowledge of members of the Serbian cabinet; orders were given to prevent the plotters from crossing the border to Bosnia, but were not carried out. The Sarajevo crime was fiendish enough in itself; but who could foresee the awful consequences?

A Glimpse of Sarajevo

Note the minaret of a mosque, indicative of the fact that Bosnians include Moslems as well as Christians.

After waiting nearly a month, Austria, on July 23, presented to Serbia a set of ten demands in the form of an ultimatum,[1] requiring complete acceptance of its terms within forty-eight hours.[2] The chief demands were that Serbia should suppress

Pan-Serbist papers and societies within her territory; should dismiss anti-Austrian agitators among her officials; and should permit Austrian officials to assist within Serbia in ferreting out and punishing the plotters of the murder at Sarajevo. Of course, it was natural for Austria to demand that plots against her rulers be stamped out, but it was unprecedented for one nation to demand a share in criminal trials and investigations within another independent state. These are fields which each nation reserves wholly for itself.[3] Austria's justification in her own mind lay in her feeling that the Serbian government was full of criminal plotters who did not deserve to be treated as civilized.

1. Define "ultimatum." 2. What impression was made by this haste following a month's waiting? 3. Why should it?

Austria's Ultimatum Alarms Europe. — This Austrian ultimatum, like a stroke out of the blue, came in the midst of the midsummer dullness when government officials were on vacations scattered far away from their capitals. The Serbian foreign secretary was out of town when the Austrian ultimatum was presented at his office; the kaiser was on a cruise in northern waters; President Poincaré of France, with his prime minister and his foreign secretary, was visiting Russia to cement more firmly the alliance with the czar, promising support if a crisis should develop from the murder. Amid such a lull came the shock of the Austrian ultimatum, quickly telegraphed throughout Europe — and only forty-eight hours for full acceptance! Instantly diplomats hurried home, and an active exchange of suggestions and requests began in the hope of averting a crash.

Directly after the murder of the archduke, Austria sought German support of her plans to punish Serbia. With a fatal disregard of possible consequences, and without inquiring beforehand what Austria proposed to do, the kaiser assured his ally of full support. Having thus given Austria a free hand, Germany felt compelled to back her up in the controversy, although as the crisis deepened Germany did urge Austria to try to avoid war with Russia.

Serbia, on the other hand, sought the backing of her big Slav

brother, Russia. On Russian advice, at the end of the two days allowed by the ultimatum, she accepted all the Austrian demands except those calling for Austrian assistance in the investigation and punishment of crime and plotting within Serbia's own bounds. These points, however, Serbia offered to submit to the Hague Tribunal.[1] Although the reply was so conciliatory that even the kaiser felt that it ought to be accepted, Austria declared it to be unsatisfactory, broke off diplomatic relations, and started war upon Serbia.[2]

1. What is "the Hague Tribunal"? 2. State your opinion of Austria's action.

Europe Plunges into War

Trying to Keep the War from Spreading. — Meanwhile, the diplomats of the several powers were feverishly busy, while warlike preparations proceeded apace on every hand. Germany at first insisted that the disciplining of Serbia was Austria's own business, with which others must not interfere; Russia began mobilizing her armies to support Serbia and to menace Germany and Austria; while England's foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, "worked for peace up to the last minute and beyond the last minute."

Of course, every statesman well knew that Russia would never consent to see Austria destroy Serbia, and that if Austria and Russia once began war the other powers would be drawn into the fray. As the danger of war grew more acute, Germany changed her attitude, and joined with England in urging an international conference to prevent war. But Austria stubbornly refused to accept any interference and Russia showed no inclination to yield for the sake of peace. The acute danger lay in the existence of the hostile alliances whereby Germany was pledged to aid Austria, and France to help Russia in case of attack.

Russia made war inevitable by ordering on July 30 a general mobilization of her armies, and on August 1 Germany declared war upon her, although Russia and Austria at that time were

still at peace. France was brought into the war by loyalty to her Russian alliance and the eagerness of her aggressive President Poincaré to get revenge for 1870. Of momentous consequence to both sides was the attitude of England, not yet decided.

What Would England Do? — All through those hectic closing days of July, Great Britain, through Sir Edward Grey, sought to find some escape from a general war. Germany, meanwhile, tried to pledge Britain to neutrality; while France and Russia sought from her assurances of aid. To neither side did Great Britain give definite assurances until after France was at war. Then she promised to defend the northern coast of France against German naval attacks.

P. & A. Photos

SIR EDWARD GREY

As soon as Germany and France were at war, the vital question arose whether the German armies would move toward Paris by way of Belgium or try to break through the heavily-defended Franco-German frontier to the southward. Now, Belgium had in 1831, and again in 1839, been declared by the powers a neutralized state. By solemn treaty, Great Britain, Russia, France, Prussia, and Austria had promised to respect the " perpetual neutrality " of Belgium and the " integrity and inviolability of her territory." Even through the clash of the Franco-Prussian War this pledge had been respected.

To England the safeguarding of the integrity of Belgium had always been a cardinal point of policy, because she could not tolerate the prospect of any rival power in possession of the

Belgian coast and harbors so near to her own door. During this crisis of July, 1914, therefore, Great Britain asked from both France and Germany assurances that the neutrality of Belgium would be respected in case war should break out. France quickly gave definite assurances, but Germany would bind herself only on condition that Great Britain remain neutral.

Germany Invades Belgium; England Fights. — Germany next demanded from Belgium permission to send her armies through Belgian territory against France. This the cabinet of the sturdy little nation refused to allow, but prepared such defense as possible and appealed to England for help. When Great Britain again demanded that the rights of Belgium should be respected, Germany refused, and Great Britain declared war on August 4. Then it was that the German chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg (bāt′mänhŏl′vāĸ), in deep irritation at the prospect, berated the departing British ambassador for "going to make war for a scrap of paper."

P. & A. Photos
BETHMANN-HOLLWEG

On the same day the chancellor, in the German Reichstag, made a speech in which he tried to justify the acts of the German government. Said he: "We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. We were compelled to override the just protests of the Luxemburg and the Belgian governments. The wrong — I speak openly — that we are committing we will try to make good as soon as our military goal is reached. Anybody who is threatened as we are threatened and is fighting for his highest possessions can have only one thought — how he is to hack his way through."

Who was Responsible for the World War? — Thus was begun

the most terrible war in all the ages — a war which brought death to millions of the young men of all nations, with woe and desolation to multitudes of innocent people. This war now stands out as the arch crime against civilization. Upon whom will impartial history place the blame for the awful catastrophe?

The war arose, as we have seen, from the jealousies, rivalries, and old grudges among the nations of Europe. Austria, Germany, France, Russia, England, Italy, Serbia, and other states had helped to create that condition. A considerable part of the store of combustibles was laid up by Germany after 1860 by Bismarck's "blood and iron" policy and by the swollen ambition of the lusty young German Empire to play a leading rôle on the stage of the earth. A part was also contributed by Russia in her aggressive eagerness to gain Constantinople; by France in her determination to recapture her lost provinces; by Great Britain in her claims to supremacy on the sea.

But the immediate crime of pushing Europe into the suicidal conflict in those midsummer days of 1914 — whose was that? Here the prime fault seems to have been Serbia's, by harboring criminal plotters against Austria, and Austria's, by insisting on pushing her quarrel with Serbia to a decision of arms, when, with the proffered coöperation of the great powers, other means could easily have been found to protect herself and to punish that unpopular and disorderly little state; and finally deep responsibility rests upon Germany for recklessly backing Austria's aggressive action, and upon France for her encouragement of Russian mobilization.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Explain clearly how modern industrial life aided in causing the war.
2. Prepare carefully your own tabulated list of the main causes of the war.
3. For an estimate of William II written by an observant American the year before the war use Collier's *Germany and the Germans*, Chapter 3.
4. Find another estimate of him by a prominent British historian. Buchan's *History of the War*, Vol. I, Chapter 1.
5. Describe Alsace-Lorraine under German rule, using Priest's *Germany since 1740*, pp. 143 and 170; or Davis's *Roots of the War*, pp. 239–248.
6. Read some of the following, also in Davis: (*a*) Germany's eagerness

to build a navy, pp. 382–394; (*b*) The story of the Austrian ultimatum, pp. 493–498; (*c*) The famous " scrap-of-paper " interview, pp. 532 ff.

7. In R. G. Usher's *Story of the Great War* read: (*a*) German feeling of being cramped and hampered by jealous neighbors, pp. 7–14; (*b*) A summary of dramatic ascent of Prussia, Chapter 3; (*c*) The German secret service, pp. 31–36.

8. Get an idea of the German point of view in the war by reading in Von Mach's *What Germany Wants:* (*a*) Comments on Bernhardi's and Usher's views of Pan-Germanism, Chapter 1; (*b*) The character and aims of William II, Chapter 3; (*c*) German militarism, Chapter 9; (*d*) The invasion of Belgium and the chancellor's speech in the Reichstag, pp. 137–153.

9. Read the analysis of the causes of the war in Hayes's *Brief History of the Great War*, Chapter 1, especially pp. 1–7, and Flick, A. C., *Modern World History*, Chapter 34.

Reading List

Usher, R. G., *The Story of the Great War* (1919). A brief, spicy narrative.

Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, Ch. 30. A good sketch, not elementary.

Rose, J. H., *The Origins of the War* (1914). Eight lectures by a noted British scholar.

Muir, R., *Britain's Case Against Germany* (1914). Moderate and well written.

Von Mach, E., *What Germany Wants* (1914). A German view of the causes of the war. Well written.

Von Mach, E., *Germany's Point of View* (1915). A collection of articles published in Boston.

Barnes, H. E., *The Genesis of the World War* (1926).

CHAPTER XXXII

THE WORLD WAR

The Terrific Onrush of Germany

Germany Strikes Quickly. — Once the war was begun, the German armies struck with terrific force and speed, hoping for a quick triumph. For this sort of blow the Germans were pre-eminently prepared — with their superb military system and with their general staff to plan and direct all moves. Thinking that the Russian army would get under motion slowly, the German high command decided to crush France first by a smashing drive upon Paris before meeting the attack of Russia's millions upon the eastern frontier of Germany. This drive against France was to be made through Luxemburg and Belgium, because these two states were considered negligible. Besides, the natural defenses and artificial fortifications of France were much weaker against Belgium than along the Franco-German frontier farther south, where France was protected by the Vosges (vōzh) Mountains and the Ardennes (ȧr-dĕn′) Hills and by such great fortresses as Belfort, Toul, and Verdun (vĕr-dŭn′).

Into Belgium and through Belgium, therefore, the German armies rushed, delayed a week or more, however, by the unexpected and heroic resistance of the Belgians, notably at the fortress of Liège (lē-ĕzh′). In delaying the German advance, the Belgians gave France a little while to prepare for the great assault. Brussels was taken by the Germans on August 20. A little later the remainder of Belgium was overrun, and was held by the German conquerors until the closing months of the war.

The Germans are Checked at the Marne. — In northeastern France, the Germans advanced along a wide front toward Paris during the closing days of August and in early September. The British had promptly sent a small expeditionary

force of some 150,000 men, under General French, across the English Channel to aid France.

Against the onrush of the Germans the French armies and the small British force could do little at first except to retreat. It seemed as if the events of 1870 and 1871 were being reënacted in a speedy conquest of France by the Germans. The French government even abandoned Paris as a capital and moved to Bordeaux. When within fifteen miles of Paris, however, the French under General Joffre (zhŏ′fr') ceased retreating; and in the valley of the Marne River eastward from Paris they fought one of the most memorable battles in history, September 5–10. Paris and France were saved. The defeated German armies, along a front of a hundred miles, were forced back some distance in retreat, but still remained far inside French territory.

Soon both sides along the entire western front, from the border of Switzerland to the Belgian coast of the North Sea, were strongly intrenched. And there the armies of millions of men on both sides remained in trenches not far from the same line until the spring of 1918.

War Methods Violate International Law

The German Methods in Belgium and France. — The location of the intrenched fronts meant that practically all of Belgium and the heart of the industrial section of northeastern France lay in the hands of the German conquerors for nearly four years. Harsh treatment was meted out to those French and Belgian cities, villages, and countrysides. Machinery, metals, cattle, and all sorts of usable private property were carried off to Germany. Cities and towns were compelled to pay heavy contributions to aid the finances of the enemy. Villages were burned, orchards and forests ruined, mines exploited or wrecked, and thousands of innocent civilians were set at hard labor. The Germans were evidently practicing their doctrine of "Schrecklichkeit," or frightfulness, — that is, making war as frightful as possible to the home folks of the enemy in order to crush the morale of the fighters.

Conduct of Other Nations. — The Russians, during their brief invasion of East Prussia, followed the same policy of destruction of private property and cruel treatment of civilians as was practiced by the Germans in Belgium and France. On the sea, England refused to observe the old rules governing the blockade of an enemy's ports, and disregarded the trading rights of neutral countries. In fact, during the great struggle both sides felt compelled to adopt every means which seemed likely to bring success. Yet, owing to the fact that Germany was the

Belgian Refugees Fleeing before the German Advance

invader and held enemy territory throughout the war, and that she was compelled to use submarines on the sea, the German violations of international law were more numerous and shocking than the violations of that law by the Allies. But what is international law? How is it made? How is it enforced?

How International Law has been Made. — International law is that set of principles by which civilized nations are expected to govern their conduct toward other nations or peoples.[1] This body of principles is a product of gradual growth, rather than of enactment by a legislative assembly. Some of the principles

have come down from distant ages by custom; others have been agreed upon in modern times as parts of treaties or resolutions of international conferences.

Chief among such conferences in which conscious efforts at progress were made in the growth of international law, were the Congress of Paris (1856), the Geneva Conference (1864), and the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. The Congress of Paris, for instance, outlawed privateering,[2] and declared the principle that if a nation at war wishes neutrals to respect its blockade of an enemy's ports it must really keep enough ships at hand to make entrance to those ports dangerous. The Geneva Conference of 1864 attempted to give special sanctity to life-saving work in wartime, declaring that ambulances, hospital workers, and the like are immune from attack or capture. The principles of the Geneva Conference became the basis of the international Red Cross organization. The Hague Conferences gave a certain prestige to international arbitration by establishing The Hague Tribunal, and also attempted to lay down rules to prevent barbarous methods in war, as well as to safeguard the rights of noncombatants.

1. Note carefully this definition. 2. What was "privateering"?

Who Enforces International Law? — Unfortunately, the civilized world has not yet devised any effective means of enforcing the principles of international law or of determining clearly what those principles are. In the general mêlée of the World War, the military philosophy of might and necessity paid scant heed to the supposed limits on methods of fighting, but broke the "rules" at pleasure. The wrongs committed against the civilian populations in conquered territory were instances of this. So were bombardment of hospitals, sinking of hospital ships, bombing of great cities, and submarine warfare upon passenger and freight steamers without rescuing the people on board.

The World War Upsets International Law. — Some of the infractions of the established rules of war were so advantageous to Germany that the Allies hastened to employ the same methods. An illustration of this was the use of poison gases. Germany

began the practice, but the Allies soon adopted it. In fact, the ferocity of the colossal struggle seemed to sweep aside all restraints and to leave only a wreck of international law. The world has come to believe that the only way to prevent the outrages upon civilians and soldiers alike in a great life-and-death war is to prevent the war from occurring.

How the World War was Different from Others

The Great War was a World War. — The World War, which so grimly impressed upon the nations the real character of Mars, was different in many respects from earlier conflicts. It was, in the first place, by far the greatest war ever waged. Not one major power remained neutral throughout the struggle. Against the four Central Powers — Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey — were ranged, by the end of the war, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the United States, and twenty-two smaller nations, including four newly-formed ones. Russia had dropped out in 1917. A map showing the neutral areas of the earth in white and the belligerent regions in black would be overwhelmingly black.

American army statisticians have figured that the Central Powers mobilized in all during the war 22,850,000 soldiers, and the Allied and Associated Powers, 42,189,444 — an amazing grand total of over 65,000,000 men.

New Kinds of Battles. — With such colossal forces engaged, the battles were largely of a new type. Instead of clashes of fairly small bodies of mobile troops in a setting of glamour and adventure, the battles of this war were grapples of long intrenched lines with each other, often in mud and darkness, against unseen foes cannonading from a distance, or dashing across " no man's land " from trench against trench. The great battles of history before 1914 very rarely involved 400,000 men on the two sides together, and were, as a rule, fought out in a day or two. Such were the battles of Wagram, Dresden, and even of Leipzig in the wars of Napoleon, and the battles of Sadowa and Sedan in Bismarck's wars. The fighting of the Russo-Japanese

War was more like that of the World War, the mighty battle of Mukden involving 700,000 men on an eighty-mile front for three weeks. Yet some of the battles of 1914–1918 extended along a front of more than 150 miles for weeks, with 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 men engaged.

A French Front Line Trench in the Somme District

A War of Entire Peoples. — Again, this war became a gigantic wrestle of whole peoples. Industry, agriculture, finance, and shipping, as well as the press, the churches, and the schools, were marshaled in support of the fighting men at the front. Great mills were converted into munition factories; ships, railroads, and telegraph lines were commandeered for war purposes; farmers and laborers increased the production of food, clothing, and other necessities; while every agency of public information and inspiration from daily paper to eloquent pulpit joined in keeping up the fervent loyalty of the people — a spectacle the sun had never before shone upon!

Applications of Modern Science to Warfare. — The conflict brought about the application to warfare of the most modern inventions and the most advanced scientific discoveries. Wireless telegraphy was of incalculable value to all the armies

TANKS IN ACTION, FRANCE, 1918 *Brown Bros.*

and to ships at sea. The newly-invented airplanes changed from objects of curiosity into war machines for scouting, for bombing, for fighting in mid-air. Motor cars by thousands were used as ambulances, and for transport of troops and supplies. Transformed into tanks [1] by British genius, such motor cars became terrific fighting engines, able with their caterpillar traction [2] to override fences, ditches, and barbed wire entanglements, and to do deadly work with their machine guns. Guns and

International Newsreel

BARBED WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS ON A BATTLEFIELD
American soldiers advancing.

cannon of amazing destructiveness, range, and accuracy were developed. Somewhat as a freak terror, shells were dropped by the Germans in 1918 upon Paris from a distance of seventy-five miles by means of long-distance guns nicknamed "Big Berthas." The gigantic Zeppelin airships [3] which at times bombed London were likewise spectacular. The submarine proved highly destructive to the merchant shipping of the Allies.

British Officer in Gas Mask, in Mesopotamia *

Chemistry and medical science contributed both to the destruction and to the saving of life. Gases and chemicals, first introduced into the war by the Germans at the battle of Ypres (ē′pr') in 1915, came into general use on both sides. Through progressive development, chemicals were produced capable of blinding, disabling, or killing over large areas. In the perfection of these deadly chemicals, as well as in the making of protective gas masks, the Allies finally outdid the Germans.

In the conservation of health of the fighters, as well as in the care of the wounded, and in the rebuilding of the disabled, modern science wrought wonders. Scientific sanitation wherever men were stationed in numbers; immunization against typhoid fever, the old-time scourge of war camps; and the most advanced forms of curative and restorative surgery were some of the means employed.

1. What are "tanks"? 2. Explain "caterpillar traction." 3. How are such airships different from airplanes?

Many Nations Join in the Combat

Japan's Part in the War. — Austria began the struggle against Serbia on July 28, 1914. Within a week after this, as we have seen, Germany, Russia, Belgium, France, and Great

* His equipment included a gas mask, wrist watch, and "shorts," which are more comfortable than ordinary trousers in hot climates.

Britain had been drawn into the war. Montenegro joined her neighbor, Serbia, a few days later.

Before the end of August, Japan also entered the war in loyalty to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, originally made in 1902 and renewed in 1905 and again in 1911. Demanding that Germany relinquish to Japan her leased area on the Shantung Peninsula " with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China," Japan made war. Before the close of 1914 she had wrested from Germany all the latter's powers and rights in Kiaochow and neighboring parts of Shantung, including the modern German city of Tsingtau (tsĭng-tou′), which had been built alongside of Kiaochow. Beyond this achievement, Japan's assistance to the Allies consisted chiefly in keeping the Pacific clear of German commerce raiders, and in shipping large quantities of supplies to Russia over the long railroad from Vladivostok.

By Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway
A Detachment of Turkish Cavalry

Why Other Nations Joined. — Before the end of 1914 Turkey joined the Central Powers, as was to be expected from her close relationship with Germany for the preceding quarter century.[1]

A year later Bulgaria, too, threw in her lot on the same side, expecting to be with the winners, owing to the dismal failure of the Allies to force their way to Constantinople in a desperate campaign on the Gallipoli (gäl-lē′pô-lē) Peninsula during 1915.[2]

Since 1882 Italy had been a member of Bismarck's defensive Triple Alliance, though not at home in it. Especially since 1902 she had been on good terms with France, and increasingly cool toward Austria, because of "Italia Irredenta"[3] and the rival interests of the two nations in Albania. So in 1914 Italy declined to assist Germany and Austria in their offensive war. In May of the next year she joined the Allies in the hope of taking those parts of Austrian territory in the Trentino, Trieste, and Istria, peopled by Italians.[4]

Rumania, like Italy, had an "irredenta" problem and also aspirations, since large numbers of Rumanians lived in eastern Hungary.[5] In the hope of annexing this region, Rumania entered the war on the side of the Allies during 1916. The entrance of the United States in 1917 will be treated later. Other nations, such as Brazil, Cuba, China, and Portugal, though participating officially, contributed little.

The war was being fought out in seven parts of the world: (1) the western front in France and Belgium; (2) the eastern front in East Prussia and old Poland; (3) in the Balkan states; (4) on the sea; (5) in the Asiatic Near East; (6) in the German colonies; and (7) in northeastern Italy. In simple form the struggle in each part will be sketched, with the momentous year, 1917, as a natural dividing point.

1. In what ways were Germany and Turkey closely connected? 2. Find Gallipoli on the map. 3. How did "Italia Irredenta" alienate Austria and Italy? 4. Be sure about map locations here. 5. Name as many "irredenta" problems of Europe in 1914 as you can. Why were there more such problems in Europe than elsewhere?

Fighting along Two Fronts

The Western Front; Going over the Top. — The first battle of the Marne saved Paris — for the time. Soon thereafter both sides were deeply dug in along the western front from Switzerland

to the North Sea in elaborate systems of trenches, combined with miles of intricate twistings of barbed wire and massive defenses of concrete and earth — all alive with watchful soldiers

Brown Bros.

DUGOUTS NEAR THE MEUSE RIVER IN FRANCE

Living quarters of soldiers near the front.

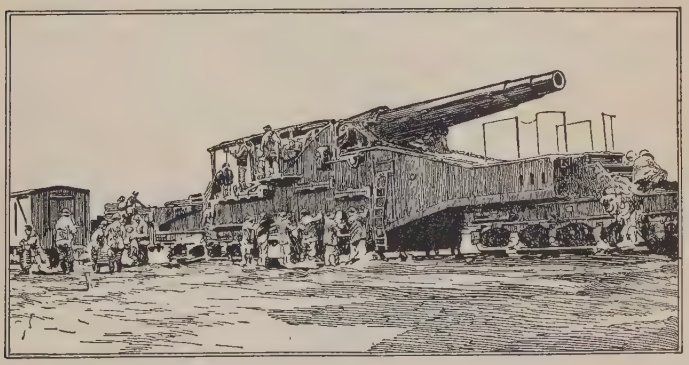
and protected by thousands of guns of all sizes. Until the spring of 1918 the numerous battles were in the form of drives against greater or smaller sections of the enemy's intrenched line, mainly in the valleys of the Aisne (ân), Somme (sôm), and Meuse (mûz) rivers, and in Flanders. Following terrific shelling of the space selected for the drive, bodies of troops would go "over the top" of their own trenches and rush against the intrenched opponents. Then would follow fighting at close range. Of the frequent drives along the western front in 1915, 1916, and 1917, some of the more significant were the battle of Ypres, the first battle of the Somme, and the great battle of Verdun.

THE WESTERN FRONT IN THE WORLD WAR
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
Greatest German Advance Sept., 1914
Battle Line, July, 1916
Hindenburg Line of 1917
Greatest German Advance July, 1918
Armistice Line, November, 1918
ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Strait of Dover
London
Thames R.
Dover
Brighton
Hastings
Portsmouth
Flushing
Zeebrugge
Ostend
Nieuport
Bruges
Dixmude
Dunkirk
Calais
St. Omer
Boulogne
Ypres
Courtrai
Roubaix
Lille
Béthune
Lens
Douai
Vimy Ridge
Arras
Cambrai
Abbeville
Dieppe
Albert
Amiens
Peronne
Ham
Cantigny
Montdidier
Havre
Rouen
Beauvais
Soissons
Senlis
Meaux
Vaux
Paris
Versailles
Fontainebleau
Troyes
Crecy
Chateau Thierry
Epernay
Châlons-sur-Marne
Vitry-le-François
Reims
Laon
La Fere
St. Quentin
Fourmies
Mons
Maubeuge
Tournai
Ghent
Tremonde
Brussels
Louvain
Antwerp
Charleroi
Namur
Dinant
Mézières
Sedan
Grandpré
Argonne Forest
Verdun
Bar-le-Duc
Neufchâteau
Chaumont
Langres
Epinal
Toul
Nancy
St. Mihiel
Luneville
Belfort
Mulhouse
Colmar
Strassburg
Baden
Saarburg
Metz
Thionville
Longwy
Luxemburg
LUXEMBURG
Liége
Spa
Maastricht
Aachen
Eupen
Duren
Cologne
Duisburg
Düsseldorf
Essen
Crefeld
Coblenz
Mayen
Frankfort
Mainz
Kaiserslautern
Karlsruhe
Black Forest
Vosges
Rhine
Meuse
Somme R.
Oise
Aisne
Marne
Aube
Seine
Yser R.
Lys R.
Scheldt
Semois R.
Moselle
Saar R.
FLANDERS
PICARDY
ARDENNES
CHAMPAGNE
LORRAINE
ALSACE
NETHERLANDS
GERMANY
FRANCE
W-G CO.

Three Great Battles in the West. — The Germans in their great drive at Ypres in 1915 made a determined effort to force their way to the Channel ports of France — Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne — nearest to England. In this battle, for the first time, the Germans introduced the use of gas attacks very destructively, as the thing was a surprise, and protective masks were not yet in use. Yet, owing to the tenacity and valor of the Canadian soldiers, the Channel ports were saved.

The first battle of the Somme (1916) was a huge effort of the French and British to force their way through the enemy's intrenchments by a great mass attack. Like other attempts of the same kind on both sides, the drive won a considerable area of devastated land, but only with enormous losses. Nothing conclusive was accomplished.

The great battle of Verdun in 1916 was a German drive of the same sort. It was intended as a master stroke — a drive against the morale of the French people, who had so heroically borne the brunt of the war through two fighting seasons and were now



A Big French Gun near Verdun
Mounted on a heavy railway carriage.

wearied and disheartened by their grievous losses. The German leaders reasoned that a smashing blow against the French line at the celebrated national fortress of Verdun would crush the spirit of the French and perhaps open a new way to Paris and to

victory. So the blow fell, with more than the usual amount of heavy bombardment and massing of troops. But the French displayed in a superlative measure the magnificent heroism which characterized them throughout the war. "They shall not pass" became the slogan of French determination; and the German hosts did not pass, although the struggle was continued desperately through many weeks. Hostile critics now took a new measure of that "decadent" [1] French nation.[2]

1. Define "decadent." 2. Why had these critics thought that France was decadent?

German Dreams Seem to be Coming True in the East. — In the early weeks of the war the Russians made a vigorous invasion into East Prussia, but were soon defeated by General Hindenburg in the battles of Tannenberg and the Mazurian Lakes and forced to retreat. The same fortune followed their early successes in Austrian Poland. Hindenburg, together with Mackensen, then followed the retiring Russians and succeeded in pushing their line far back to the eastern border of Poland. A Russian drive the next year scored some gains, but the Russian bear was still far from the heart of Germany or of Austria.

The invasion of Serbia with which Austria opened the war, was checked by the Serbians and Montenegrins during 1914; and for a while the little country was cleared of the enemy. The next year, however, German and Austrian armies overran and conquered the entire country, together with Montenegro. Rumania, which in 1916 finally joined the Allies, was likewise conquered before the year ended. These important victories were largely the work of General Mackensen. The Teutonic Powers had joined their own territory with that of their allies, Bulgaria and Turkey.

It now seemed as if the dreams of the Pan-Germanists had come true in large measure; for here was their coveted empire of Middle Europe, extending even far across Asiatic Turkey beyond Bagdad, all under the sway of Germany and her allies! Besides, the prestige of the Entente Allies had suffered grievously in the Near East by the utter failure of their attempts to open

the straits into the Black Sea in 1915. For, after unsuccessful naval operations and a very bloody and ill-fated campaign by land on the peninsula of Gallipoli, the Allies, late in 1915, abandoned the attempt completely.

THE SWAY OF THE CENTRAL POWERS AT ITS HEIGHT, EARLY IN 1918

Up to the beginning of 1917, in the main, the Central Powers had been the winners. On both the French and the Russian fronts, as well as in the Balkans, they had made and held important conquests; and in strategy, as well as in fighting, they had well maintained the German reputation of invincibility.

THE WAR ON THE SEA

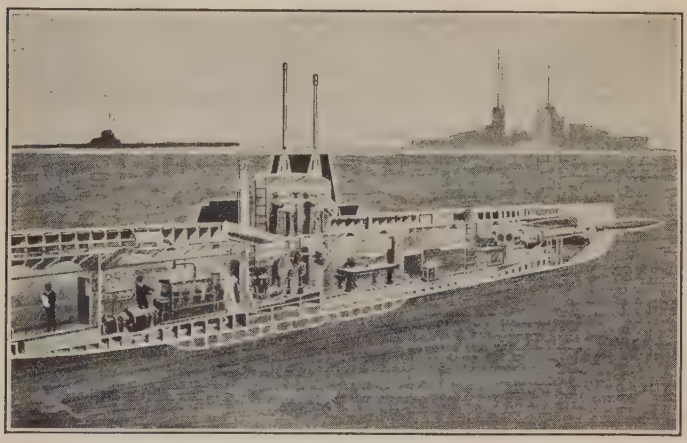
Germany Pinched by British Sea Power. — On the sea, however, it was quite different. Britannia still ruled the wave.

Germany's proud merchant marine and world-wide commerce had disappeared, since her merchant ships had been captured or were seeking refuge in home ports or in those of neutral countries. The formidable German navy scarcely dared venture outside of the strongly defended and mined waters of Kiel (kēl), Helgoland, and Cuxhaven (cŏŏks-hä′fĕn). A tightening blockade, meanwhile, was cutting Germany off from her best markets and from a major part of her needed imports. To a country which had been accustomed to import vast quantities of such vital necessities of life, industry, and warfare as wheat, rubber, oil, cotton, and copper, a tight blockade long applied would mean strangulation. German conquests in the Balkans and in Russia did relieve the tension considerably, to be sure, but the economic pinch due to lack of access to the sea was becoming more and more distressing.

The Great Naval Battle of Jutland. — A few German cruisers, abroad on the ocean at the opening of the war, caused loss and anxiety to the Allies until hunted down, but practically all of Germany's real sea fighters remained in their own safe nooks. Only once was there anything like a real test of strength between the major fleets of the world's two leading naval powers. On May 31, 1916, the main German fleet, under Admiral Von Scheer, venturing out of its zones of safety, was met off the coast of Denmark by a part of the British navy under Admirals Jellicoe and Beatty (bē′tĭ). The battle of Jutland, fought throughout that afternoon, was by far the greatest contest ever waged between modern giants of the sea. Heavy losses were sustained by both sides. After the contest, the German fleet returned to its hiding, from which it never again went abroad until it steamed out to be surrendered at the close of the war.

Germany Specializes in Submarine Warfare. — Unwilling to risk their great warships in battle, the Germans specialized in submarines. These undersea craft were of recent invention, new to warfare, but were destined to react terrifically upon their first users. Since early in 1915 Germany had been using submarines, not only against ships of war, but also against

merchant vessels. As a reply to the British blockade Germany proclaimed a war zone around the British Isles in which it was her aim to sink by means of " U-boats " enemy ships of every kind. Neutral nations were warned to keep their vessels away from this danger zone lest " accidents " might happen to them.



SECTIONAL VIEW OF A GERMAN SUBMARINE

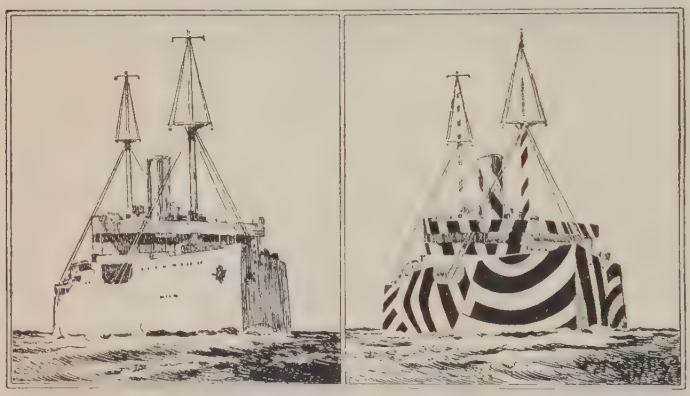
This boat was captured during the war. Note the two periscopes projecting above the surface, and the torpedo being discharged at the bow of the boat.

According to the hitherto accepted rules of warfare under international law, a belligerent may destroy fighting ships of the enemy in any possible way, but merchant ships of neutrals, or even of the enemy, with the exception of blockade runners, must not be destroyed unless passengers and crews are first placed in safety.[1] A submarine depends upon stealth to do its deadly work; and, being small and frail, has no means of taking passengers and crew of a captured vessel aboard or of otherwise providing for their safety before sinking its victim. The Germans were unable to enforce a real blockade of England [2] and their submarines were unable to capture merchantmen according to established usages, but they determined to sink such ships anyway, offering as an apology that " necessity knows no law." In some cases passengers and crew were sunk with the

ship; in others they were allowed to take refuge in their own small boats and seek safety as best they could.

On May 7, 1915, the world was horrified by the deliberate sinking of the great British ocean liner, the *Lusitania*, off the coast of Ireland on its return trip from New York,[3] with the loss of 1153 men, women, and children, including 114 Americans. Yet the German government bestowed honors upon the commander of the attacking submarine and struck a commemorative medal.

A year later, however, on May 4, 1916, after pointed threats from President Wilson, Germany promised thereafter that merchant vessels should not be sunk without warning, and that provision should be made for the safety of the crew and passengers unless the vessel attempted flight or resistance. But the military leaders advocating extreme measures got the upper hand in Berlin, and the German government announced its intention, beginning February 1, 1917, of sinking without warning all ships of enemies and neutrals encountered by German submarines



A Merchant Ship — The Same Ship, Camouflaged

Camouflage was used to confuse the observations made through the periscopes of enemy submarines.

within a greatly widened war zone off the coasts of the Allied countries. By this sweeping attack on commerce, the German leaders hoped to destroy England's control of the sea, to cut off food supplies and ammunition shipments coming from the

United States, and thus to win the war. Instead, they brought the United States into the war, April 6, 1917, after some twenty American ships had been sunk. America's entrance into the conflict was reluctant, and only after extreme provocation. By forcing America in, Germany doomed herself to defeat.

1. Note carefully this distinction. 2. Why were they unable to do it? 3. Who owned the *Lusitania?*

America in the War (1917–1918)

Why America was Neutral so Long. — During almost three years of the war the United States had remained aloof, strongly preferring neutrality for several reasons. In the first place, the American people were antimilitaristic: to them war was a thing to be avoided by all honorable means. In the second place, the United States had always stood outside the international rivalries which were now turning Europe into a shambles, and it had played no part in bringing on the present conflict. Sentiment, too, was divided between the Allies and the Teutons because of the presence in this country of so many recent immigrants from the opposing nations in the war. Besides this, greatly stimulated sales of food, clothing, munitions, and other supplies to the Allies were rapidly enriching many Americans.

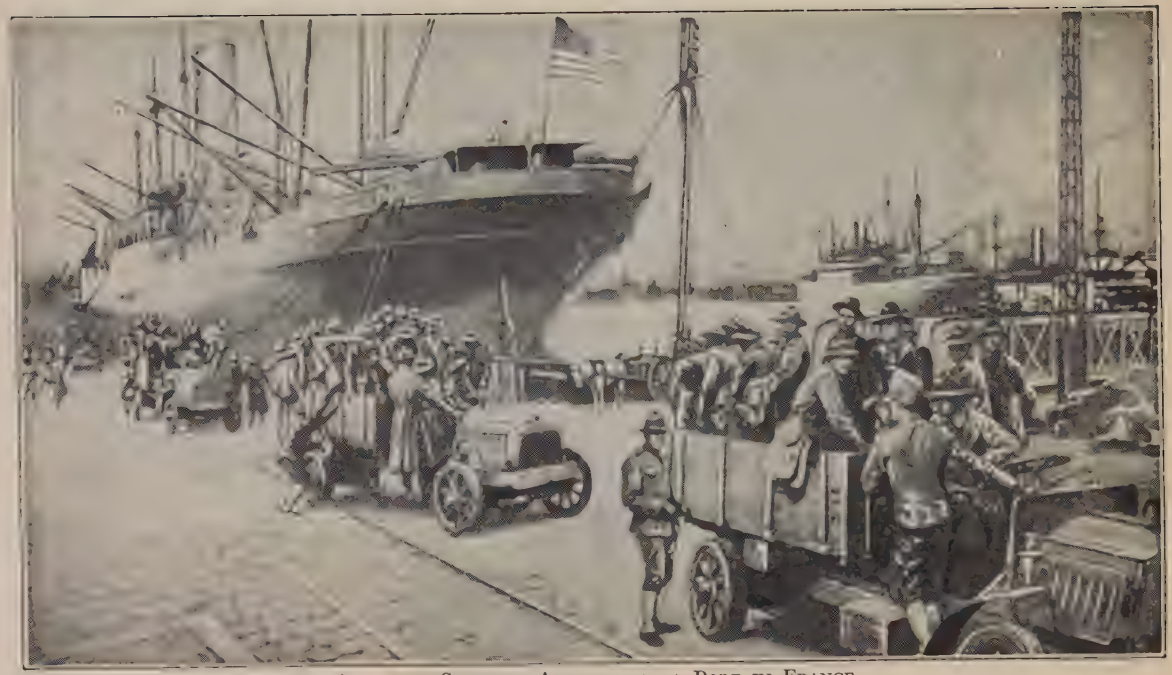
Why America Entered the War. — To break American neutrality and bring the United States into the war, various influences were at work up to April, 1917. Sympathy for martyred Belgium, for republican France, and for kindred England was very strong from the start. Accumulated information was persuading Americans that the war was a fight against autocracy and militarism; and influential leaders were showing that a Teutonic triumph would be a deadly menace to precious principles of liberty and democracy throughout the world. When the Russian revolution of March, 1917, overthrew the autocracy of the czars, the future of democracy seemed fully identified with the cause of the Allies. Finally, the unrestricted submarine policy announced by Germany was a deliberate defiance of American neutral rights and led inevitably to war.

America Aids the Allies Powerfully. — When the rich, energetic republic of the West finally was forced to defend her rights, she contributed powerfully to the cause of the Allies. She supplied them with vast quantities of foodstuffs, clothing, and munitions on credit, paying the American sellers with proceeds of Liberty bond sales. With marvelous speed she built ships to help replace the losses caused by submarine sinkings. The American navy aided in keeping open the "sea lanes," and in destroying submarines. American war relief work through the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and other splendid agencies provided vital necessities and cheer to civilians and soldiers in Belgium, France, Italy, and other war-burdened regions. In President Wilson, especially, the Allies found a voice clarifying the issues, and summoning to a war by which the world might be made "safe for democracy." And under skillful direction, America's selective draft provided a host of fresh fighters, rapidly trained and hurried across to the French front.

The Russian Revolution of 1917

A Moderate Revolution Becomes a Socialistic Upheaval. — One of the pivotal events of the year 1917 was the coming of America to the side of the Allies. The other outstanding event of that year was the Russian Revolution, which began in March. In the unenlightened despotism and repression of the czars lay the deepest causes of this upheaval. It was hastened by the reverses of the Russian armies and by the distress arising from two and a half years of war. Local rioting in the capital started disorder. Then the Duma, defying the czar's decree of dissolution, assumed charge of the government, and forced abdication upon Nicholas II, the last "autocrat of all the Russias."

But many Russian leaders and agitators were advocating even more revolutionary changes. Socialism, especially, gained strong support, while the socialist leaders organized on every hand local committees or councils, known as soviets (sō-vyĕts′), made up exclusively of workingmen and fighters.



AMERICAN SOLDIERS ARRIVING AT A PORT IN FRANCE

From a contemporary painting

On November 8, 1917, the more radical socialists, known as Bolsheviki (bŏl-shĕv-ē-kē′), led by Nicholas Len′in and Leon Trot′sky, gained control and inaugurated a more extreme rule. A national assembly, called in December, 1917, to make a constitution, was soon broken up by the Bolshevik leaders. After that time they continued to control the country — called the

Brown Bros.

Soldiers and Workingmen in Possession of the Duma, 1917

Russian Socialist Soviet Republic — through their commissioners, representing, supposedly, the soviets of workmen, soldiers, sailors, and peasants throughout the nation. Lenin and Trotsky were from the first the outstanding leaders — Lenin as official head, and Trotsky as minister of war.

Soviet Russia Withdraws from the War. — As the Russian armies were already honeycombed with pacifism and mutiny, and as the Bolsheviki were thoroughly opposed to warring longer by the side of what they called the " capitalist " Allies, Russia ceased fighting and quickly sought peace with Germany. The

Bolsheviki even aimed at bringing the entire war to an end by appealing to the class consciousness of the laborers everywhere. "No annexations and no indemnities" was their widely announced basis for peace. They would terminate the existing war of nations in order to bring about a universal class war.

What the Bolsheviki accomplished was this: They took Russia out of the war on Germany's terms. This withdrawal gave Germany a tremendous advantage against the Allies in the West, and brought her again near to complete victory. The Bolsheviki threw terror for a year or two into the countries of western Europe and even of America, which feared the contagion of their "red" propaganda.[1]

After long negotiations, the Bolsheviki formally made peace with Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918. The Germans, refusing to accept the Russian terms, had ended the armistice in the midst of the negotiations and resumed their march toward Petrograd. The disorganized Russian armies were unable to meet the Germans on the field of battle, and the Bolsheviki were compelled to agree to the German demands. By the peace then signed, Russia gave up Poland, Kurland, Livonia, and Esthonia, then occupied by German armies, as well as Finland and the Ukraine, which had already declared their independence of Russia.[2] Until the close of the war, these provinces with their wealth of iron, coal, railroads, factories, and farm lands, were under the control of Germany.

1. What is "'red' propaganda"? 2. Be sure of map locations.

Significance of the Year 1917. — Thus the year 1917, by the apostasy [1] of Russia, had brought the Allies to the verge of ruin. But the same year also brought the aid of America. Would the unmeasured, unmobilized resources of America begin to count in time to save the day?

1. Define "apostasy."

The War during 1917 and 1918

The Allies Win in the Near East and the German Colonies. Meanwhile, on many fronts the war went on furiously, fast

revealing its character as a test of endurance. In the Near East, the British, after an early failure, succeeded in 1917 in conquering Mesopotamia from the Turks. Near the close of the same

Underwood & Underwood

GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERING JERUSALEM

year, the British General Allenby, moving up from Egypt, captured Jerusalem. Straightway he proclaimed the inviolability of every spot sacred to Moslem, Christian, or Jew in the ancient city, "consecrated," as he well said, "by the prayers

and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries."

While the war was raging in Europe and Asia, Germany's far-off colonies were all wrested from her by the Allies. The Japanese, Australians, and New Zealanders took her Pacific Islands. Togo and Kamerun were occupied by the French and British; while the Union of South Africa conquered German Southwest Africa. Finally, despite great natural hindrances, German East Africa was also won by British and South African forces ably led by General Smuts of the Union.

Italy is Almost Crushed, but Rebounds. — On the western front in Europe the chief campaigns after Russia dropped out and America came in, were: the great campaign in Italy; the second battle of the Somme; the second German advance to the Marne; the second battle of the Marne; and that cumulative series of drives during the late summer and fall of 1918 by which the Allies finally beat back the Germans and made them sue for peace.

During 1916 and the first half of 1917, the Italians made progress against the Austrians toward the coveted Trent and Trieste. After the collapse of Russia, however, Ludendorff, the new German commander on the eastern front, developed there at his leisure a new type of drive designed to break through the trenches by surprise attacks of specially trained "shock troops." These attacks were prefaced by great gas assaults, and were followed by dashes of successive waves of troops secretly concentrated behind the lines.

This new method of attack Ludendorff first used against the Italians. The terrific force and surprise of these assaults almost put Italy out of the war late in 1917. At the Piave (pyä′vā) River, however, the retreating Italian line finally held; while British and French reënforcements were hurried to the relief of their hard-pressed ally. A year later, while Foch (fŏsh) was driving the German lines back in France, the Italian armies, under General Diaz (dē′äts), resumed the offensive and forced the Austrians in complete defeat off Italian soil.

Ludendorff Tries his New Tactics in France. — Early in 1918 Ludendorff made careful preparations to try his new tactics in France, before the American soldiers could arrive in great numbers. Once again the Allied commanders were taken by surprise.

Ludendorff's first blow in his gigantic push to finish the war was struck westward toward Amiens (ȧ-myăn′) in the second battle of the Somme, March 21 to April 8. Ludendorff's aim here was to break apart the British line under General Haig from the French line under General Pétain (pā-tăn′). Then he hoped to drive back the defeated British armies and to pen them in along the Channel, while he dealt with the French armies and the city of Paris. A superiority of numbers at the point of attack, coupled with the new surprise tactics, gave the Germans a great victory — though at a heavy cost.

The battered British lines were pushed back, but were not broken. England quickly hurried additional troops across the Channel, and raised her conscription age limit to fifty years — for she had already resorted to a draft to fill up her armies.

In the most depressing of those days of defeat and retreat during the second battle of the Somme, the Allies at last decided upon unity of command. To General Foch was now intrusted the leadership of all the forces of the Allies. Thenceforth, until the final victory, Foch was supreme in the field; and most fully did he justify the trust reposed in him.

Ludendorff again Hammers the British. — Immediately after the Somme campaign Ludendorff made a second drive against the British under Haig farther north along the Lys (lēs) River. Again the British line was well-nigh overwhelmed. Haig's impassioned appeal to his men on April 11 expressed the desperate determination prevailing in all the Allied nations in those dreadful days: "There is no other course open to us except to fight it out. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, every one of us must fight on to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment." Battered for six weeks, the British line yielded — but finally held.

America Comes to the Aid of the Allies. — At this point the hard-pressed Allies sent appeal after appeal to America for help. Germany hoped and the Allies feared that American assistance would be too late. Already, in June, 1917, General John J. Pershing, the American commander, had reached Europe, and thereafter small bodies of troops were sent across the Atlantic, numbering by the end of the year about 176,000 men. During the spring of 1918 the training of troops and their transportation to France were speeded up in order to make American man power felt against the Ludendorff drives. By July, 1918, over one million of our soldiers were in France; by November there were twice as many. None too soon came the young, enthusiastic doughboys to help the war-weary Allies.

International Newsreel

After the Battle of Cantigny

In April, 1918, the First Division of American regulars was put into the battle line, and on May 28 at Cantigny (kän-tē-nyē′) they won the first American military success in the war.

In June other divisions helped to check the German drive at Belleau (bĕl-lō′) Wood and Chateau-Thierry (tyĕ-rē′). Thereafter, during July and August, the American divisions were scattered along the front helping the Allies where most needed. Later, in September and October, the American troops were organized in separate armies and were kept together as distinct units. It was these fresh troops from the West which brought military success to the Allies in the final campaigns.

Foch Begins. — Once more, and for the last time, Ludendorff endeavored to "hack his way through." This time he struck the French line along the Aisne northwest of Reims. Backward the French were forced, fighting desperately, until the Marne was reached.

Meanwhile, all that spring Foch had been working out his plan, counting on the American soldiers who were arriving in France in rapidly increasing numbers. At last, Foch had the superiority in men and in guns which had been Ludendorff's earlier in the year.

Waiting until the confident Germans on July 14 undertook a renewed drive beyond the Marne, Foch launched his well-timed counter-attack, using against the enemy Ludendorff's own methods revised and improved with many surprise thrusts and a lavish use of tanks. This second battle of the Marne was Foch's first great victory. It marked the turn of the tide.

The Allies Drive and Win Continuously. — Having once gained the initiative, Foch kept it unceasingly during the summer and fall of 1918, striking the enemy now here, now there; and restoring active mobile [1] warfare instead of the long stalemate [2] of the trenches. From the Marne, the Germans were forced back to the Vesle (vĕl). Then followed brilliant rapid strokes by the French, British, Americans, Canadians, and Belgians at points along the Somme, the Aisne, and the Lys.

Throughout September and October the onward drive of the Allies continued, with success on every hand; while the once invincible German line along its 250-mile battle front grew thinner and thinner with enormous losses.

Under General Pershing, the American soldiers distinguished themselves brilliantly in their first major battle at St. Mihiel

ALLIED GENERALS AT METZ, 1918
Left to right: Joffre, Foch, Haig, Pershing, Pétain.

(săn mē-yĕl′) (September 12–13), and thereafter throughout the great fall drive to victory. Clearing the Argonne (ȧr-gŏn′) Forest of the enemy was their outstanding achievement.

1. What does this mean? 2. Explain this passage.

Germany's Allies Collapse; then Germany Herself. — Meanwhile newly organized Allied armies in the Balkans utterly defeated Bulgaria and on September 29 forced her to surrender. Turkey followed on October 31. Then Austria, long weary of the war she had so lightly started, and broken by the brilliant dash of General Diaz in northeastern Italy during October, yielded on November 4.

In France, even the far-famed Hindenburg line of intrenchments, when reached, failed to stop the advance of the Allies and the Americans. Out of Belgium and out of France the German conquerors of 1914 were being hurried headlong by Foch, ably assisted by Haig, Pétain, Pershing, King Albert, and the other commanders.

Germany soon followed her allies. Exhausted by the tremendous strain of the long conflict, shaken by revolutionary

movements within her empire and by mutiny in navy and army, and facing defeat at the hands of the advancing armies of the Allies, Germany, too, sought peace. An armistice dictated by General Foch was signed on November 11, 1918, by representatives of the newly-established German Republic, and the guns of the greatest war in all history ceased firing.

The terms of the armistice were sufficiently severe to insure no renewal of the war on the part of Germany. She was to evacuate at once all invaded regions, and also Alsace-Lorraine. Her troops were to be withdrawn across the Rhine, while garrisons of Allied and American soldiers were to occupy the Rhineland and the important crossings of the Rhine at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mainz. Vast stores of war materials — cannon and guns of all sizes, motor trucks, railroad engines and cars, aircraft, and the like were given up. All of Germany's submarines and the major part of her navy were to be surrendered. The warships, interned in a Scottish port, were sunk by their German crews early in 1919. Amid the crashing ruins of world dominion and of armies and fleets, Kaiser William II gave up in despair and sought a personal refuge in Holland. Dramatic beyond words was the downfall of the great military and naval power of Germany.

Making Peace

The Peace Conference and its Leaders. — But the jaded world longed for peace and rest. The armistice had ended hostilities. Next came the stupendous work of making peace. For this task a great international conference met at Paris on January 18, 1919, under the presidency of the venerable French war premier, George Clemenceau, the "tiger" of France. All of the countries engaged in the war against the Teutonic powers were represented.

The leading men in the conference were the French fighting statesman Clemenceau; Lloyd George, the British prime minister, who had achieved wonders in marshaling the strength and inspiring the determination of the British; Orlando, the

RED CROSS PARADE IN NEW YORK, DURING THE WORLD WAR
A demonstration organized to enlist support for a Red Cross drive.

(Facing p. 774)

war premier of Italy; Venizelos (vĕn-ē-zā′lŏs), the premier of Greece, who had struggled valiantly against pro-German influences in his little kingdom; and President Wilson of the United States, who had been to the eager world the voice of the Allied cause, and who attended the peace conference in the hope of establishing a league of nations which would array " the organized major force of mankind " against future disturbers of the world's peace.

Much is Expected from the Conference. — The peace conference met in an atmosphere of great expectancy. Men everywhere were eager to hail a new day to be ushered in by the decisive triumph of the Allies over the militarism and autocracy of the German war lords. The members of the conference were representatives of the modern democracies of the world, rather than monarchs or spokesmen of monarchs as in the Congress of Vienna. Hopes and aspirations were heightened by an understanding, widely accepted, that peace would be made on the basis of the " Fourteen Points " stated by President Wilson in a speech to Congress on January 8, 1918.

These fourteen points seemed to voice the idealism of the program for which America and the Allies had been fighting, such as the overthrow of militarism; the freeing of submerged nationalities in Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, Transylvania, the Trentino, and Bosnia;[1] the restoration of devastated Belgium and France; the recognition of the rights and wishes of the people in establishing national boundaries; the prevention of future wars; and the substitution of openness and frankness in international dealings for the old ways of secrecy and treachery. Some of these fine expectations were realized in the decisions of the conference; others were not.

The five major powers, Great Britain, France, America, Italy, and Japan, really dominated the conference. These were known as the Big Five. Many actions were made by the Big Four, without Japan. The secret decisions of these major powers were in most cases merely ratified by the full sessions of the conference. Apart from Wilson as sponsor for a league of nations,

Clemenceau and Lloyd George were the guiding minds. Critics and students sharply disagree, and no doubt will disagree for generations to come, as to how far idealistic or selfish motives shaped the terms of peace. Regard for justice and for human rights there certainly was in many provisions; in others may be found a spirit of revenge and selfish national advantage.

After careful deliberations, aided by the advice of groups of

THE BIG FOUR IN CONFERENCE
Orlando, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Woodrow Wilson.

experts on all phases of the problem, treaties of peace were concluded with the four enemy nations separately — the Treaty of Versailles with Germany being, of course, the most important.

1. What were the submerged nationalities in each of these regions?

The New Map (page 779). — Several new nations established during the war by "submerged nationalities" were recognized in the treaties. The dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary had fallen apart in 1918.[1] The two nations were now recognized as wholly distinct. Poland was restored as a republic.[2] Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, peopled largely by Czechs, had seceded

from Austria-Hungary during the war and were now united into a new republic, called Czechoslovakia, with its capital at Prague. The Serbs at last realized their ambition, for Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the provinces of Slavonia and Croatia were all united with Serbia into a greater kingdom commonly called Yugoslavia. Hungary also lost to Rumania the large area of Transylvania (page 754).[3] To Rumania, Austria gave up the small province of Bukovina; to Poland she surrendered Galicia, *i.e.*, Austrian Poland; while Italy gained from Austria her coveted Italia Irredenta when the Trentino, Trieste, and Istria were ceded to her. Thus we see that Austria and Hungary were now separate countries greatly reduced in extent and land-locked; while the discontented peoples formerly under Hapsburg sway were included within nations of their own blood. What remained of Austria was largely German, while Hungary was peopled mainly by Magyars.

Germany, besides losing Alsace-Lorraine and her Polish territory, had to grant to France for fifteen years the coal output of the Saar (zär) Basin, and to agree to a plebiscite[4] to determine the future of Schleswig-Holstein, upper Silesia, the Saar Basin (after 15 years), and small portions of East and West Prussia.

Not one of the colonies taken from Germany was returned to her. Instead, they were divided among the Allies as mandates under the supervision of the new League of Nations. By this plan, German Southwest Africa went to the Union of South Africa, German East Africa to Great Britain, Kamerun and Togo to France and Great Britain in about the ratio of two to one, while the Pacific islands north of the equator went to Japan and those south of it to Australia and New Zealand. Japan also retained the former German leasehold on the Shantung Peninsula until she returned it to China in 1922. Thus Germany, like Austria-Hungary, came out of the war with greatly reduced territory.

1. How long had Austria and Hungary been united? On what terms? 2. Read again the story of the dismembering of Poland. 3. Use map carefully throughout this paragraph. 4. Define "plebiscite."

Plans to Make Germany Disarm and Pay up. — As the war had been waged against Teutonic militarism, the defeated powers were required to abolish compulsory military training — the very heart of modern militarism. Their standing armies, based on voluntary enlistments, were to be sweepingly reduced in size — even Germany's being only 100,000 men. Germany was allowed to have the navy of a third-class power, and was rigidly limited in the production of war machines and materials. The impregnable fortifications of Helgoland were to be demolished. By these means it was hoped that the menace of German militarism would be lifted from mankind.[1]

The peace was based on the theory that there should be no punitive indemnities, as in 1871. And yet immense payments, called reparations, were imposed upon Germany. These were to pay the costs of restoring the private property wrecked in Belgium and France, to cover the loss due to the ravages of German submarines, and for other purposes. To fix the amount of these reparations, as well as to administer the collection of them, an Interallied Reparation Commission was created. After the withdrawal of the United States, the Commission represented Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy.

1. Is militarism any longer a menace?

Cost and Losses of the War. — The losses and suffering caused by the war were appalling. Some 13,000,000 or more men in the prime of manhood were killed or physically wrecked by it, besides millions of others, many of them children, who died from privation or disease. The cost of the war, in taxes and increased public debts alone, was about $186,500,000,000! Adding to this the value of property destroyed — lands devastated, ships sunk, and the like — coupled with the economic loss directly due to the war, statisticians compute that the war cost the staggering aggregate of $338,000,000,000.[1] Must humanity stand in peril of a repetition of this catastrophe?

1. What is the estimated total wealth of the United States now?

The League of Nations. — In the hope of insuring against such a calamity the League of Nations was planned — largely

NEW STATES
and Additions to Existing States
AFTER THE WORLD WAR
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
North Cape
Hammerfest
ARCTIC OCEAN
Murmansk
Arctic Circle
White Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Torneå R.
Kolen Mts.
Gulf of Bothnia
Trondhjem
Bergen
Oslo
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Åbo
Helsingfors
ÅLAND IS.
Gulf of Finland
Leningrad (Petrograd)
Stockholm
Revel
ESTHONIA
Moscow
UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS
Skagerrack
Kattegat
Göteborg
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Riga
LATVIA
Dvina R.
LITHUANIA
Kovno
Vilna
Minsk
BALTIC SEA
Free City Danzig
SCHLESW.
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Bremen
Berlin
EAST PRUSSIA
Vistula R.
Posen
Warsaw
Lódz
Cologne
Rhine R.
Weimar
Leipzig
Dresden
POLAND
Breslau
Prague
Cracow
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Nuremberg
Strasbourg
Munich
Carpathian Mts.
Lemberg
Dniester R.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Pressburg
Vienna
Budapest
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Pruth R.
Kishinev
Odessa
RUMANIA
Milan
Venice
Trieste
ISTRIA
Fiume
Drava R.
Sava R.
Genoa
Zara (Italy)
Bucharest
Florence
SAN MARINO
Belgrade
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
Nish
Balkan Mts.
BULGARIA
Sofia
CORSICA
Rome
Adrianople
Bosporus
Constantinople
Naples
Tirana
ALBANIA
GREECE
Ægean Sea
TURKEY
SARDINIA
Tyrrhenian Sea
Longitude East from Greenwich
W-G CO.

by President Wilson — and incorporated in the peace treaties. The League was to include all of the Allied powers, and neutral ones, by invitation. Late enemies were to be required to show a peaceful and conciliatory attitude before admission.

The governing machinery of the league was to consist of a council of nine nations, always including the Big Five, and an assembly. In the council there would be only nine votes; while in the assembly each member nation was to have one vote. Besides, there was to be established a permanent court of international justice, to consist of eminent jurists selected from the various nations.

League Devices to Prevent Wars. — Special devices to prevent war were included in the plan of the league, as follows: —

(1) Armaments were to be reduced on a basis to be worked out by the council.

(2) All treaties were henceforth to be made public.

(3) Member nations promised to submit to arbitration, or to investigation by the council or the assembly, all future disputes which they could not themselves settle by regular diplomacy.[1]

(4) Nations not members of the league were to be invited or coerced into accepting the machinery of the league in adjusting their quarrels.

(5) Nations going to war in violation of the principles of the league were to be subjected to economic boycott, and, if need be, to the united military and naval force of the league members.

1. Define "diplomacy" in simple language.

The United States Declines to Join. — Such was the "organized major force of mankind" which the war brought forth as an insurance against another cataclysm. Since President Wilson had been the chief inspirer of the plan and its chief builder; and since the United States was one of the major powers surviving the struggle in full vigor, the League of Nations suffered a decided decline in prestige when the American Senate rejected outright the treaty of peace, and declined to join the league. Not until August, 1921, did the United States sign separate treaties of peace with Germany and Austria.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Tell the class about the Geneva Conference of 1864 and the beginnings of the Red Cross. Use Hayes, Vol. II, p. 681.

2. Read to the class the verses entitled "The Red Cross Spirit Speaks" by Dr. John Finley, found in *A Treasury of War Poetry*, p. 187.

3. In the same volume find these bits of war verse by Kipling: "The Choice," p. 3; and "For All We Have and Are," p. 22.

4. Study carefully Wilson's famous Fourteen-Point speech of Jan. 8, 1918, found in *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*, pp. 464 ff.

5. In the same volume read his war message to Congress, pp. 372 ff.; and his Flag Day speech of 1917, pp. 411 ff.

6. Use also Wilson's "Force, Force, Force," speech in *Guarantees of Peace*, pp. 25 ff., and his reply to Germany's request for an armistice, pp. 80 ff.

7. In the *Forum of Democracy* read Secretary Lane's concise statement of America's war attitude, p. 174.

8. Read other effective statements of war leaders, found in the same book: (*a*) Premier Asquith's appeal to the English people, Oct. 2, 1914, p. 12; (*b*) Cardinal Mercier's "Belgium Shall Rise," p. 24; (*c*) President Poincaré's "Verdun," p. 78; (*d*) Premier Lloyd George's welcome to America, p. 124.

9. Read a vivid narrative of the first German drive toward Paris in Usher's *Story of the Great War*, Chapter 6.

10. In the same volume read some of the following: (*a*) The first battle of the Marne, pp. 60–65; (*b*) A bird's-eye view of the entire war, Ch. 11; (*c*) The character of modern warfare, Ch. 13; (*d*) The disastrous Gallipoli campaign, Ch. 16; (*e*) Life in the trenches, Ch. 25; (*f*) The Spirit of Belgium, Ch. 26; (*g*) War in the air, Ch. 27; (*h*) War tanks, Ch. 35; (*i*) Battles fought by Americans, Chs. 40–44.

11. Compare the Versailles Conference and the Congress of Vienna.

Reading List

Buchan, John, *A History of the Great War*, the best account. (4 vols.)

Fueter, E., *World History*. A brief survey.

Usher, R. G., *The Story of the Great War* (1919). A spirited narrative.

Gibbs, P., *The Soul of the War*. Interesting journalistic sketches.

Louzanne, S., *Fighting France* (1918). Four spirited chapters by a distinguished French editor.

Hayes, C. J. H., *A Brief History of the Great War* (1920). A valuable, scholarly account for mature students.

Simonds, F. H., *History of the World War*. (5 vols.)

Clarke, G. H., *A Treasury of War Poetry*. Excellent.

Watkins and Williams, *The Forum of Democracy*. By war leaders.

Wilson, Woodrow, *Our First Year of War*. *Guarantees of Peace*. *State Papers and Addresses*.

REFERENCE
TEUTONIC
English
Germans
Scandinavians
Dutch
Flemings
LATIN
Italians
French
Walloons
Spaniards
Catalans
Portuguese
Rumanians
SLAVIC
Great Russians
White Russians
Little Russians or Ruthenians
Poles
Czechs or Bohemians
Slovaks
Slovenes
Serbs and Croats
Bulgarians
INDO-EUROPEANS
Celts
Lithuanians and Letts
Greeks
Albanians
MONGOLIANS
Turks, Tatars, etc.
Magyars
Finns, Esthonians, etc.
Basques
Caucasians
Armenians
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Icelanders
Reykjavik
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Oslo
Norwegian
Danes
DENMARK
Copen
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Dresden
GERMANY
Germans
NETHERLANDS
The Hague
Dutch
Flemings
BELGIUM
Brussels
Walloons
London
English
ENGLAND
Scotch
SCOTLAND
Celts
Edinburgh
NOR. IRELAND
Belfast
IRISH FREE STATE
Irish
Dublin
Celts
WALES
Celts
English Channel
Paris
Loire R.
Celts
BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
French
Bordeaux
Basques
Rhine R.
Nuremberg
Munich
Bern
SWITZERLAND
AUSTR
Venice
Po R.
ADR
Rhone R.
Marseille
ANDORRA
Barcelona
CORSICA
Rome
ITALY
Italians
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
BALEARIC IS.
Catalans
Madrid
SPAIN
Spaniards
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
PORTUGAL
Portuguese
Lisbon
C. St. Vincent
Str. of Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICIL
AFRICA
W-G CO.
Longitude West
Longitude East from Greenwich
30
20
10
0
10
50
40
10
0
10

EUROPEAN PEOPLES
AND PREVAILING LANGUAGES

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Boundaries of 1926

League of Nations Building at Geneva, Switzerland

CHAPTER XXXIII

RECONSTRUCTING A DISORDERED WORLD

Democracy Gains Growth

A Bewildered, Unsettled World. — The world which staggered from the throes of the World War was a wearied, battered, saddened, disillusioned one. The profound stirring of the depths of emotion during the struggle and the magnificent display of courage and self-sacrifice had raised high hopes of a better age. But the war stirred ugly and selfish human emotions, as well as noble and generous ones; and, by its accompaniment of brutality, suffering, and hate, brought in its train a host of vexing problems and chaotic conditions.

Economically, the war disarranged the usual order of things. The death of so many millions of workers and the destruction of such vast amounts of property tended to upset the economic life in the warring nations. The peoples who had been in the thick of the fight were woefully impoverished. National debts mounted to undreamed-of heights and the burden of taxes became almost crushing. Due to the wastage of property, inflated

currencies, and other causes, the cost of living more than doubled everywhere, and remained extremely high for years afterward.

The inflated cost of living and the losses due to the war bore most unequally upon different countries, upon different classes of people, and upon different kinds of industry. Side by side with acute poverty there appeared swollen fortunes amassed in war industries. Nations, as well as individuals, were very unevenly affected in their economic life. While the warring peoples of Europe were undergoing great strain and impoverishment, some of the neutral countries and even America and Japan were enjoying boom times and being greatly enriched by the war.

Political turmoil and unrest were as evident as economic disturbance. Chafing under old restraints, people everywhere demanded a greater control over their own destinies. The right of "self-determination" became the rallying cry of millions living under governments or conditions displeasing to them. Agitators on every hand found ready listeners. Out of it all a few distinct movements are discernible — the rise of new republics, the extension of the franchise, and a quickening of nationalistic movements.

Germany Becomes a Republic. — The war made republics popular in new nations and in some of the older ones. While the Central Powers were collapsing under the strain of war and sinking to defeat in the fall of 1918, internal revolutions overthrew the ancient monarchies of the Hohenzollerns in Germany and the Hapsburgs in Austria-Hungary.

In Germany a republic was forthwith proclaimed under socialist auspices.[1] A national constitutional assembly meeting at Weimar (vī′mär) in 1919 established a regular democratic constitution for the remodeled German "Reich" (rīĸ), which was thereafter to be a federal republic.[2] The new constitution of Germany was based on the one framed by Bismarck in 1867, but much liberalized and democratized. Instead of a kaiser stood a president, chosen for seven years by vote of the nation, occupy-

ing a position similar to that of the French president. Friedrich Ebert (ā′bērt), a former saddlemaker, was elected first president of the new republic. Upon his death in 1925 he was followed by Hindenburg, one of the ablest of Germany's generals in the war, who now devoted himself to its peace problems.

The Reichsrat (rīks′rät), a national council representing the German states roughly in proportion to population, took the place of Bismarck's Bundesrath. The popular Reichstag was retained, and the chancellor and his cabinet were made responsible to it.[3] All citizens were declared equal, regardless of birth, class, or religion; and women were given the suffrage equally with men.

Friedrich Ebert
First President of Germany.

1. Why do you suppose the socialists came into power? 2. Had Germany been federal before? Had the states been republics? 3. Why was this a very vital change?

Other Nations Choose Democracy. — Austria became a republic under most unfavorable conditions. Stripped of most of her natural resources and wealth-producing territory, overwhelmed by debt and a ruined currency, and under the stigma of merited defeat, her situation, for a time, seemed hopeless. The leaders of the republic would have been glad to have Austria become a state in the German Reich if the Allies had permitted such a union.

Then, in 1923, under the auspices of the League of Nations, hope returned. The vanishing currency was stabilized.[1] Business began to revive. A great international loan, backed by the League of Nations and by the Bank of England, was successfully floated.[2] In her efforts to play fair, Austria found helpful friends and well-wishers among her enemies of five years before.

Hungary, as a separate nation, faltered for a time between a monarchy and a soviet republic, but presently made herself a monarchy, headed by a regent instead of a king. Yugoslavia, as greater Serbia was called, became a monarchy with a cabinet system of government; while greater Bohemia, or Czechoslovakia, began its career as a hopeful republic under its distinguished first president, Professor Thomas Masaryk (mä′-sȧ-rēk). Russia, and all of the new nations severed from her by the upheavals of the war and the Russian Revolution, became republics, endeavoring to work out their own types of democracy.

Czechoslovakian Postage Stamp

It is highly significant that the new democracies of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland, Turkey, and also Yugoslavia — republics and monarchy alike — have chosen the flexible British cabinet system of self-government rather than our American principle of separation of the executive from the legislature.

1. What does this mean? 2. How are loans floated?

Millions Gain the Ballot. — In the wave of democratic sentiment, it was natural that throughout the nations engaged in the war the voting power should be extended to men hitherto deprived of it. The significant thing, however, in the new democratization was the sudden victory of woman suffrage. Most of the new nations gave equal political rights to women. Great Britain in 1918 granted the franchise to many women, extending it in 1928 to all; and in 1920 the United States granted the vote to women equally with men. (See page 551.)

Nationalism in the Ascendancy

Nationalism Triumphant in Europe. — The spirit of nationalism, which had been working like a beaver within the smaller

racial groups of Europe during the nineteenth century, found full expression at the close of the World War.

After more than a hundred years of alien rule, the Polish people were at last united into a single state and Poland resumed its ancient place among the independent nations of Europe. The Finns could not, like the Poles, base their claims to independence upon former membership in the European family of nations, since, previous to their subjection to Russia, they had formed part of the Swedish state. They had, nevertheless, always maintained a separate racial existence with a language and culture of their own. At the close of the war their national claims were recognized and Finland became an independent republic free from the control of either of its more powerful neighbors. The national strivings of the western Slavs were likewise fulfilled. The Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia united with their brethren of Slovakia in the republic of Czechoslovakia; while to the south, the Slavs of the former Austro-Hungarian empire joined with the people of Serbia and Montenegro to form the kingdom of Yugoslavia, thus realizing the old dream of a Greater Serbia.

With these and various other boundary changes, the present-day map of Europe shows, for the first time in history, the political divisions corresponding closely to racial and national groupings (pages 782–783).

Agitation, Chaos, and War in Ireland. — Considerable agitation in favor of independence had existed prior to the war in Ireland, India, and Egypt, as well as in the Union of South Africa and the Philippines. In these countries, movements, greatly augmented by the war, now aimed at national independence.

The Irish Home Rule Bill of 1914 was suspended until after the war, and in 1920 was repealed. Meanwhile, a violent independence movement arose throughout Ireland, except in Ulster.[1] Sinn Fein (shĭn fān) was the Celtic name[2] of this crusade. Complete separation of Ireland from the British Empire was the program of the Sinn Feiners. Much disorder marked the

agitation. Under De Valera (vȧ-lā′rä) and the Dail Eireann (däl′ âr′ĭn), as the irregular Irish parliament was called, the "Irish Republic" endeavored from 1916 to 1921 to maintain a separate government, supported by the great majority of Irish Catholics. But the Protestant North violently opposed the movement.

Meanwhile, the British government proclaimed martial law, and sought to suppress the republican insurrectionists. Until

Galloway

ROYAL AVENUE, BELFAST

Belfast is the capital of North Ireland.

July, 1921, South Ireland was in a state of chaos and irregular warfare. Acts of violence against government officials were met by ugly reprisals on the part of the British military forces. There was extreme bitterness of feeling, and even in America people were disposed to take sides aggressively according to their sympathies with one party or the other.

1. Why not in Ulster too? 2. Why do they use a Celtic name?

Ulster Accepts Home Rule. — As a move toward conciliation, the Lloyd George government in 1920 passed a new Irish Home Rule bill, offering to North Ireland and South Ireland separately a generous measure of local self-government, with separate parliaments and separate cabinet systems. Irish representation in the parliament at London was to continue, but on a reduced basis.[1] Ulster gladly accepted the arrangement offered, and is now governing herself in accordance with it.

The Sinn Feiners, however, spurned the offer, and insisted upon an independent and undivided Irish Republic. So the guerilla war in South Ireland continued with great disorder and bloodshed until July, 1921, when a truce was declared in the hope of reaching a settlement. A conference was held at London between Lloyd George and some of the more moderate Sinn Feiners, led by Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins.

1. Why was it reduced?

Irish Free State instead of Sinn Fein Republic. — At the conference a settlement was worked out in the form of a treaty between Great Britain and South Ireland, later ratified by both parliaments. This new plan gave to South Ireland the status of a dominion in the "community of nations known as the British Empire,"[1] with a government patterned closely after that of Canada. The Irish Free State is the name of this newest British democracy. Ulster was given an opportunity to join the Free State, but declined, and continued under the Home Rule Act of 1920. Both Ulster and the Free State, it is interesting to note, are required to maintain absolute equality and freedom of all religions.[2]

Upon the completion of these arrangements, Great Britain turned over to the new Irish Free State the government of long-distracted South Ireland. But peace and order were not yet established, because a radical minority led by De Valera still insisted upon complete severance from England. These "die-hard" republicans now started civil war against the new Free State. In the midst of the confusion, President Griffith died, and his successor, Collins, was ambushed and killed while

fighting the rebels (1922). In the death of Griffith and Collins, South Ireland lost two of her ablest statesmen.

But these leaders had not labored in vain. Under a new president, William Cosgrave, the efforts of the Free State to suppress the rebellion continued. Finally, in 1923, De Valera and his republican followers yielded, and peace at last reigned in Ireland. Thus the vexatious and hoary Irish problem seems to have been solved by the statesmanship of Lloyd George, Griffith, and Collins.

1. Why is the British Empire called "community of nations"? 2. Why?

India Aspires to Self-Government. — Since the establishment in 1886 of an unofficial Indian National Congress as a means of expressing Indian sentiment, a nationalistic movement has been growing in India. Stirred by unpopular and dictatorial acts of Lord Curzon (kûr′zŏn), the viceroy, from 1906 onward the cry for self-government grew more and more insistent.

The native leaders insisted that their countrymen were fully qualified for self-government; that they were a race of high capacity and ancient culture; that some of the native states of India, notably Mysore (mī-sōr′) and Baro′da, were already better governed than the provinces directly under British rule; and that the modern Indians were the only great, highly cultured people of the world held under the rule of a foreign race.

During the war, India furnished a large number of soldiers and some half billion dollars for the cause of the Allies. Although given a nominal place at the peace conference as a nation, India did not gain self-government as rapidly as desired. Moreover, after the war stern repressive measures were used against agitators by the British authorities in India. The result was an increased demand for either self-government or independence.

India's Remarkable Leader, Gandhi. — A remarkable new leader of the Indian nationalistic movement now appeared, Mohandas Gandhi (gȧnd′hē), a well-educated Hindu of high caste. He was a small, unhealthy man, weighing less than one hundred pounds. Yet in spite of his frailty he had a marvelous grip upon the educated middle classes in India because

of the purity of his character and the sincerity, unselfishness, and gentleness of his life. Gandhi's program was one of passive resistance or peaceful boycott of all things British — refusal to vote at elections for the new Indian assembly authorized in 1919, refusal to buy British goods, and refusal to associate with British residents. Gandhi urged the dissatisfied Indians to use no violence, to sink their own distinctions of religion and of caste, and, by these passive measures, lead the British to grant complete self-government, or Swaraj (swȧ-räj′), as Indians call it.

Wide World Photos

GANDHI LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF A MEMORIAL HOSPITAL IN CALCUTTA

Although the British government, represented by Lord Reading (rĕd′ĭng), as viceroy, was committed to progressive development toward self-government for the Indians, it evidently wished to set its own pace. In March, 1922, the nationalist party was weakened by the temporary imprisonment of its leader, and later by internal differences. But the desire for independence again united them. A radical program was adopted in January, 1930, including nonpayment of taxes and boycotting of all British authority. Mass attacks in force were made upon salt warehouses. Gandhi and other leaders were imprisoned and in May serious conflicts, with much bloodshed, took place between nationalists and British troops.

Egypt Gets Independence, with Exceptions. — In December, 1914, when the participation of Turkey in the war threatened the control of the Suez Canal, Great Britain announced the final annexation of Egypt to the British Empire. But a nationalist agitation, based on the old cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians," had already existed in the country for some years.

Shortly after the war, Lord Milner, the colonial secretary in the British cabinet, went to Egypt as head of a commission to study the situation and to find a way of removing the discontent. In 1920 he reported to parliament in favor of the Egyptian separatists. Said he, "We hold that in fact, as well as in theory, Egypt should be governed by Egyptians," and "an attempt to govern the country in the teeth of a hostile people is a difficult and disgraceful task."

An agreement was, therefore, worked out by which Egypt was to be recognized as an independent constitutional monarchy. Great Britain, however, was to keep a garrison in Egypt for the protection of the canal and the Cape-to-Cairo Railroad.[1] She was also to protect the country against external attacks, to advise Egypt in her foreign relations and in matters of finance, and to safeguard the rights of foreign residents.[2] In 1923 the Egyptians elected their first parliament under the new constitution. Since that time disputes have arisen over the British reserved rights in Egypt, but in November, 1926, the prime minister of the country expressed satisfaction that the understanding between Britain and Egypt was daily improving.

1. What do you know about this railroad? 2. Compare our control over Cuba with England's over Egypt.

Nationalism in the Union of South Africa. — The nationalist movement in the Union of South Africa showed itself in a formidable rebellion against the entrance of the commonwealth into the World War in 1914. General Botha, the premier, supported by the loyal Boer and British citizens, suppressed the uprising, however, and then the Union did effective work in conquering German Southwest Africa and East Africa. Even after the war the disaffected element was strong enough to make

separation from the empire the issue in the election of 1920. The victory of General Smuts, the famous Boer leader and conqueror of German East Africa, in this election was regarded as deciding that the Union of South Africa would voluntarily remain in the British Empire, although Smuts was defeated by opposition parties in the election of 1924.

Filipinos Keep Asking for Independence. — The American colonial empire, as well as the British, felt after the war the force of renewed nationalistic sentiment. Ever since the United States took over the Philippines, many of the native leaders have been eager to see the Americans withdraw. Nor were they satisfied with the great degree of self-government and the pledge of ultimate independence contained in the Philippine Government Act of 1916. In July, 1923, the entire cabinet of Governor Leonard Wood resigned as a protest against certain of his acts, and a resolution was unanimously adopted by the Philippine legislature, calling for immediate independence for the islands.

Thereafter for some time the Philippine leaders continued agitation for independence and against the administration of General Wood. In the spring of 1927 the two houses of the legislature passed a bill over Governor Wood's veto, providing for a plebiscite throughout the islands on the question of immediate independence. The bill was finally vetoed by President Coolidge in April on the ground that the islands were not yet qualified to manage their own affairs.

Kemal Pasha Revives Turkey. — When the Allies in 1920 made peace with Turkey by the Treaty of Sèvres (sâ′vr'), the world applauded what appeared to be the extinction of Turkey as a real power in the Near East. By the treaty Turkey lost Arabia and Armenia; Mesopotamia and Palestine were mandated [1] to Great Britain, and Syria to France. Smyrna and the surrounding country were to be under Greek control awaiting a plebiscite. Thrace was to go to Greece, while Constantinople and the Zone of the Straits were to be internationalized under the nominal rule of the sultan. Thus Turkey had shrunk to the caliber of a small Asiatic nation.

But a new nationalistic movement swept over Turkey. In Mustapha Kemal (kā-mäl′) Pasha the Turkish patriots found a young and virile leader. In appearance he is tall and fair like a Swede, rather than a Turk. As an intelligent advocate of a liberalized Turkey, he gathered strong support. Establishing a new capital far inland at Angora in Asia Minor, and backed by a resolute army, Kemal repudiated the Treaty of Sèvres, defied the sultan at Constantinople, and menaced the Greeks, who were eager to assert control over Asia Minor.

1. Define "mandated."

Galloway

KEMAL PASHA, PRESIDENT OF TURKEY

Turkey Regains her Prestige. — A war followed between the Greeks and Kemal's new government. The Allies took opposite sides, France and Italy giving their moral support to Kemal while England favored the Greeks. The latter made a drive to within fifty miles of Angora. Then Kemal, in a vigorous campaign in the fall of 1922, utterly routed the Greek invaders and thrust them out of Asia Minor. This victory was followed by the deposition of the sultan, and the whole Turkish nation was thereby brought under the rule of the new republican government at Angora.

When Kemal advanced to seize Constantinople a clash seemed imminent with the British forces guarding the Straits. The Allies, however, at last drew together and forced the Turks to agree to a peace conference at Lausanne, in Switzerland. The sessions of this conference were long and stormy, but in July, 1923, a treaty was finally signed, recognizing the new Turkish

state, but with important modifications of its old-time boundaries. Turkey was given full sovereignty over Constantinople, the Zone of the Straits, eastern Thrace, and all of Asia Minor, but surrendered her authority over all territory beyond these limits. Greeks were to be removed from Turkey and Turks from Greek territory, while the waterway between the Ægean and the Black Sea was to be kept free for the ships of all nations. Thus Turkey under the Kemalists recovered her place of importance as ruler of Constantinople and Asia Minor, though her old supremacy over Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine was lost.

The New Parliament Building of the Turkish Republic at Angora

Turkey Adopts Western Ideas. — The Turkish nationalists are attempting to strengthen their new republic by adopting the habits and customs of western Europe. In addition to establishing a parliamentary form of government they have adopted a modern system of law borrowed from the laws of Switzerland, Italy, and Germany. They have legally abolished slavery and polygamy and have freed women from the seclusion of the harem. They are trying to force both men and women to wear western styles of clothing. Education is being promoted, a new university has been founded at Constantinople, and, in 1928,

the Latin alphabet was substituted for the peculiar Turkish alphabets hitherto used to write the various Turkish dialects. Thus a most interesting attempt is being made in the Near East to substitute modern ways of life and thought for the centuries-old despotism and stagnation of Oriental life.

Russia under the Bolsheviki

"Red" Régime in Russia Causes Alarm Outside. — After the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Russia took no more part in the World War against Germany, and had no share in making the general peace treaties. The Bolshevik authorities displayed an aggressive, crusading attitude toward the outside world, aiming to extend afar the supposed blessings of the Russian brand of extreme socialism. For this reason most outside nations were either cold or hostile toward soviet Russia. The Bolshevik government was for some time denied official and legal recognition by other nations. Indeed, as late as 1927, Russia was still an outlaw among the nations in the official opinion of the United States, because of her revolutionary aims toward other governments, and because of her failure to protect the lives and property of foreigners, as stated by Secretary Hughes in August, 1923. Between 1922 and 1925, however, the other leading powers — Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan — all recognized the soviet government, but Great Britain again broke off diplomatic relations in May, 1927.

Bolshevism in Russia an Inverted Régime. — Meanwhile, within soviet Russia the radical principles of the Bolsheviki were being applied energetically. Reacting from the czarist régime which bitterly oppressed the masses, the new masters of Russia sought desperately to set up an inverted social order. Everything was to yield to the dominance of the workingman. Property, both real and personal, including that of foreigners, was confiscated and socialized.

Labor in the socialized industries and on public works was conscripted — no class or profession being exempt. When the crops of the peasants were likewise requisitioned at govern-

ment prices, the peasants naturally quit raising anything for sale. Scarcity of food and of other necessities became acute. Under these conditions farming as well as manufacturing declined, and the industrial life of the nation was well-nigh extinguished.

Not a Real Democracy. — Politically, there was no effort to learn the wishes of the whole people or to establish a real democratic government. The local soviets of laborers and soldiers were represented in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which, in turn, chose the central executive committee to supervise the working of the government. This executive committee appointed the council of people's commissaries, eighteen in number, of which Lenin was president, until his death in 1924, and Trotsky for a time was commissary of war.

While all citizens engaged in productive labor were entitled to vote for the local soviets, yet the elections were a sham. By a complicated system of indirect elections, the actual rulers of the state were far removed from popular control, and they were thus not directly responsible to any one. The entire system was dominated by the aggressive revolutionary leaders at Moscow, the new capital, who frequently nominated the candidates and by terrorist methods secured their election.

To maintain itself in power, the soviet government was utterly intolerant of opposition, just as was the first French Republic in the midst of its famous Reign of Terror; and the Bolsheviki, in their methods of repression, much resembled the men of 1793 and 1794 in France. Although there was supposed to be complete personal liberty in Russia, yet freedom of speech and of the press existed only for upholders of the soviet system.

Persons suspected of counter-revolutionary aims were dealt with rigorously. The fact that a man had been an employer of labor, a capitalist, a bourgeois, or an intellectual, caused him to be suspected of hostility to the revolution.[1] Executions and deportations of unwelcome persons, especially during the first three or four years of the revolution, were shockingly frequent. How many victims there were it is difficult to say because of the

meagerness of exact information coming from Russia since 1917. In 1922 a Paris newspaper, claiming to quote an official soviet report, stated that the number of persons executed had been over 1,750,000, almost half being peasants, and over 15,000 being doctors and teachers. This seems impossible of belief. Yet it is certain that the Bolshevik leaders were ruthless in the war against their opponents.

1. Who were dealt with as suspects in France in 1793 and 1794?

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.). — By military force and political agitation the Bolsheviki — soon taking the name Communists — extended the soviet system of organization throughout Siberia, into Central Asia (Turkestan), and in the Caucasus region east of the Black Sea, until, in addition to European Russia, they had control over one third of the continent of Asia. To govern a population of 139,000,000 people scattered over such an area required a new type of constitution. This was seen in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which was put into effect in 1924. Five soviet republics in Europe and Asia were linked to the main Russian system at Moscow. A general congress of soviets composed of representatives from these republics and also from a number of autonomous districts within Russia is the supreme legislative body for the entire union. But actual power resides in the various committees and commissaries, all under the stern discipline of the Communist party leaders.

Russian Stamp
Under the Communist régime.

The Methods and Power of the Communist Party. — The soviet system, whether in the union, in the individual republics, or in the autonomous districts, is a very complicated affair which would scarcely function at all if it did not have some directing force. This force exists in the Communist party, composed of

a few hundred thousands out of the millions of voters. The party determines in its caucuses upon the policies, foreign and domestic, of the state. It selects the editors of the authorized newspapers. It sends out its agents to influence the local soviets. Its members make up a special military force which is used by the political authorities to crush opposition at home, or to inculcate revolutionary doctrines in other countries.

Evidence of the attempts of the Russian Communist party to overthrow other governments has been found a plenty. Through a University of Oriental Nationalities in Moscow it trains young people to stir up trouble in the existing colonies and states in Asia; a work which has been especially successful in China. It has its agents in every continent, and in 1927 brought down upon itself the antagonism of England, one of the first western states to recognize soviet Russia. On June 14, 1927, even the German foreign minister, Dr. Stresemann, stated that he had frequently cautioned the Russians against their Communist propaganda, and expressed the belief that it interfered with the establishment of friendly relations with other countries. The Russian government cannot hope to gain international confidence so long as the Soviet Union is used as a cloak for socialist revolution throughout the world.

Bolshevism Continues in Modified Form. — For many years the Bolshevist system continued, although its economic theories greatly impoverished the land, and although its boasted democracy is merely a substitution of the tyranny of the few for the tyranny of the czars. In 1921, however, the government substituted a food tax for the seizure of the peasants' crops. Later it also modified its system of public management and ownership of factories by giving leases to individuals and associations to operate many industrial plants. But, beginning in 1928, a reversion to extreme communism was apparent. Opponents were killed or exiled and the class of middlemen obliterated. Immense communal farms were established to take the place of the small peasant holdings, and the communistic experiment appeared in 1929 to be more thoroughgoing than ever before.

RUSSIA IN 1914 AND 1926

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300

REFERENCE

Seceding States

Finland
Poland
Esthonia
Latvia
Lithuania

1914 Boundary of Russia where it differs from 1926, shown thus:

Republics Federated with Russia:

White Russia
Ukraine
Armenia
Georgia
Azerbaijan
} Transcaucasia
Turcoman Republic

Other Republics and Territories Colored Separately are Parts of Russia.

Those indicated by numbers are:

1. Votiak Territory
2. Mari Territory
3. Chuvash Republic
4. German Republic of the Volga
5. Dagestan Republic
6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, -- Various Territories in Northern Caucasia
9. Mountain Republic

Radicalism Gives Place to Conservatism

Early Radical Successes. — The close of the World War saw the old governing classes discredited in most of the countries of Europe. It was felt that their mismanagement of affairs had been the cause of the ruin and destruction of the past four years. Consequently, at the conclusion of peace, a wave of radicalism spread over Europe that at first drove the older leaders from power and replaced them by men of socialistic ideas. In Germany not only was the monarchy overthrown, but a socialist republic was even established with a saddle-maker, Ebert, as its first president. In Great Britain the Labor party came into power for the first time in 1923 with Ramsay MacDonald as prime minister, and undertook to direct British policy in the interests of the laboring men. In the same year a coalition of the socialist and radical parties in France forced the resignation of the president, Millerand, while the socialist Herriot (âr-ryō′) succeeded the conservative Poincaré as premier. In Italy, too, for several years after the war the extreme socialist leaders gained great power.

Reasons for Conservative Reaction. — The success of the more radical elements in western Europe was brief. Many causes contributed to discredit them in the eyes of the majority of the people. The restoration of normal conditions after the war was an extremely difficult matter and proved an impossible task in the hands of inexperienced officials drawn from the common people. To meet the interest payments on the gigantic war debts and to pay the rising expenses of government, most countries issued vast amounts of paper currency which sank steadily in value. The German mark, for instance, became completely worthless, while the French franc and the Italian lira shrank to less than one fifth of their original values. England succeeded in maintaining the value of her currency, but was confronted by the loss of much of her foreign commerce and by widespread unemployment of laborers, more than 2,000,000 men being out of work for a long period. The lack of success of the new democ-

racies in dealing with such conditions caused a reaction of sentiment in favor of the older theories of government.

The chief cause for the distrust of radicalism, however, was the fear of Bolshevism. From the western point of view the Russian experiment in communism appeared a gigantic failure, and the people were alarmed at the Russian determination to carry their war against private property into every corner of the world. A conservative reaction, therefore, set in which drove from power many even of the more moderate socialists and restored the influence and authority of the middle and upper classes in most states.

The Fascist Revolution in Italy. — In Italy the Bolshevik propaganda had by 1921 succeeded in undermining the government to such an extent that all business was brought to a standstill. By a system of organized violence the radical leaders terrorized the timid officials and intimidated the police. They seized the railroads, interfered with the mails, and organized constant strikes in the factories in the hope of ruining the employers and forcing them to hand over the factories to the workmen. For a time it looked as if a " dictatorship of the proletariat " would be established after the pattern of Russia. The violence of the radical agitators, however, led to an equally violent reaction among their opponents, under the leadership of a remarkable man, Benito Mussolini (bā-nē′tō mo͞os-sō-lē′nē). His followers were known as Fascisti (fä-shē′stē) and were given a regular military organization. They were well-armed, wore black shirts as a uniform, and were placed under a rigid discipline with orders to attack the Bolshevik element in every community. In the civil war which followed, the Fascisti overthrew the radical element, who, as a last resort, ordered a general strike of all the workmen of Italy on August 1, 1922. Mussolini gave the government officials forty-eight hours to suppress the strike; and when they feared to act, the Fascisti took matters into their own hands, smashed the strike, and forced the workmen to resume work. Then, in October, 1922, the Black Shirts from all parts of Italy marched upon Rome and seized control of affairs.

The king was allowed to retain his crown, but Mussolini became dictator and absolute ruler of Italy under the official title of premier, though he was universally spoken of as "il Duce" (ēl dōō′chă), or "the Leader."

So far, the Fascist régime in Italy has repudiated the democratic theory of government. It is an absolutism and, though claiming to be managed *for* the people, it is not controlled *by* the

Mussolini, Dictator of Italy

people. The place of the old Italian parliament has been taken by a new body based upon a novel principle of representation. Instead of being elected by geographical districts, the members are chosen from special groups, such as teachers, bankers, trade unions, and employers. Even within these groups the Fascist party controls the nomination of candidates and their election.

Under Mussolini Italy has shown herself domineering in her

foreign relations. Much to the alarm of other nations, she seems to be adopting a deliberate policy of expansion and to be arming herself with a view to future wars. This may be seen from Mussolini's speech of May 26, 1927, when he said: "It is a fundamental duty to perfect our armed forces. We must at a certain time be able to mobilize 5,000,000 men. We must be able to arm them. We must fortify our navy and make our air force so strong and numerous that its roaring motors will drown all other sounds, its shadows hide the sun over Italian soil."

A noteworthy accomplishment of Mussolini has been the settlement of the controversy which for fifty-nine years existed between the papacy and the kingdom of Italy. By the terms of a treaty signed on February 11, 1929, the pope recognized the kingdom of Italy with Rome as its capital. In return for this, the Fascist government conceded the full sovereignty of the papacy over the "City of the Vatican," a small district including St. Peter's and the Vatican buildings and gardens. The Italian state further agreed that the teaching of religion should be compulsory in all elementary and secondary schools; that canon, or church, law should be enforced throughout the country; and that the sum of $87,500,000 should be paid as a settlement of all papal claims against the kingdom.

Conservative Reaction in Other Countries. — In no other country has reaction against radical ideas gone so far as in Italy. Such ideas have, nevertheless, lost ground throughout central and western Europe. On the death of the socialist president of Germany, Herr Ebert, in 1925, the people elected as his successor General von Hindenburg, the most popular military figure of the war. While he was loyal to the new republic, his sympathies were with the upper classes who formerly ruled Germany. In Great Britain the Labor government lasted scarcely a year and was replaced in 1924 by a Conservative ministry under Premier Baldwin; but it was again restored to power with MacDonald as prime minister in 1929. The socialist ministry in France gave place in 1926 to a cabinet headed by the stanch nationalist Poincaré.

The Washington Arms Conference of 1921

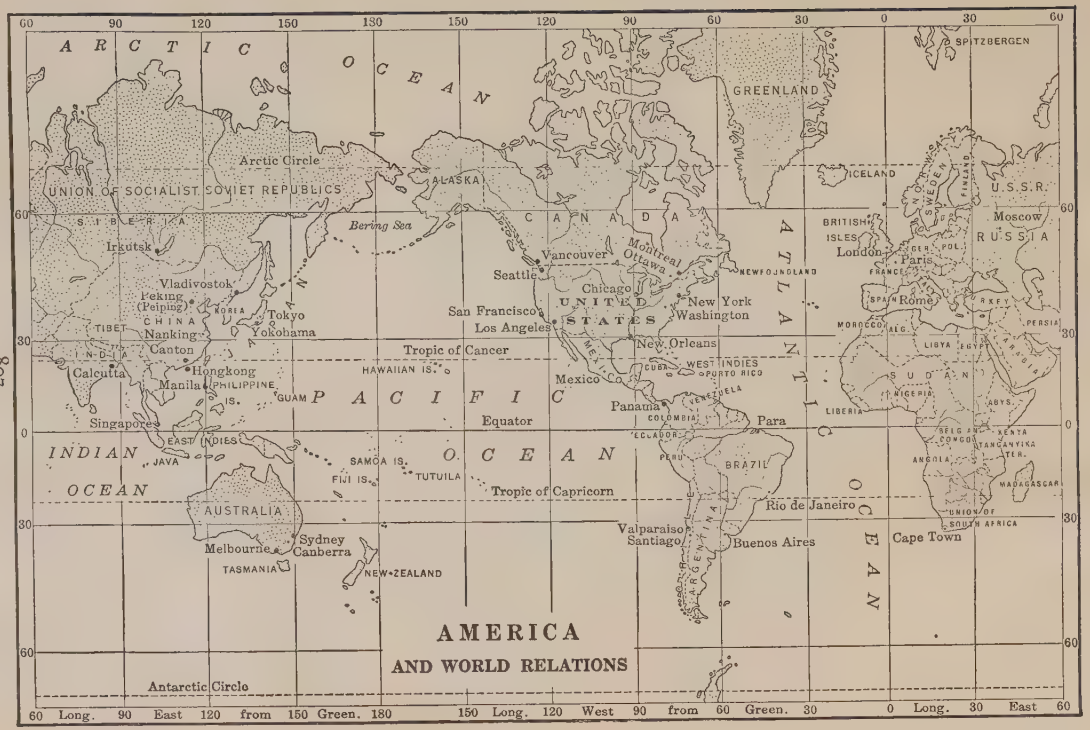
Differences between America and Japan. — Not only had the war destroyed the naval power of Germany, but it had also greatly stimulated the building of warships by America, England, and Japan. With the return of peace, each of these powers was committed to an elaborate program of naval construction. Suddenly it was realized that a new naval race was on — Japan and the United States especially vying with each other in the number and power of their warships.

This naval competition between the United States and Japan was especially dangerous since misunderstanding and suspicion already existed on both sides. Japan had never ceased to resent the treatment of the 111,000 Japanese immigrants among us. Our ownership of the Philippines, too, seemed a menace to Japan.

Other points of irritation existed in the Pacific and the Far East. Japan was generally credited with being imperialistic, bent upon building up by force a great empire in the Pacific islands and in China. Color was lent to this suspicion by the annexation of Korea in 1910 and by the agreement forced upon China in 1915 which seemed to place her under the guardianship of Japan. Then at the Paris Conference of 1919 Japan insisted that the former German concessions in the Shantung Peninsula should be granted fully to her, with only an oral understanding binding her to return the region to China. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was unpopular in America,[1] and was likewise offensive to the British dominions, which saw in it a possible menace to their policy of admitting only white immigrants.[2]

1. Why was it unpopular? 2. What dominions are meant?

The Naval Race is Called Off. — In 1921 President Harding invited Great Britain, Japan, and the six other nations most interested in the Far East to join the United States in a conference at Washington to consider the limitation of naval armaments and the situation threatening the peace of the Orient. For Great Britain, Lloyd George very cordially accepted, as did also Japan, then led by a Liberal premier, Hara. The other nations


ARCTIC OCEAN
Arctic Circle
UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS
SIBERIA
Irkutsk
Bering Sea
ALASKA
CANADA
Vancouver
Seattle
Montreal
Ottawa
Chicago
UNITED STATES
San Francisco
Los Angeles
New York
Washington
NEWFOUNDLAND
GREENLAND
SPITZBERGEN
ICELAND
U.S.S.R.
Moscow
RUSSIA
BRITISH ISLES
London
Paris
FRANCE
SPAIN
Rome
TURKEY
PERSIA
MOROCCO
ALG.
LIBYA
EGYPT
ARABIA
SUDAN
NIGERIA
ABYS.
LIBERIA
BELG. CONGO
KENYA
TANGANYIKA TER.
ANGOLA
MADAGASCAR
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Cape Town
Vladivostok
Peking (Peiping)
CHINA
KOREA
Tokyo
Yokohama
TIBET
Nanking
Canton
INDIA
Calcutta
Hongkong
Manila
PHILIPPINE IS.
GUAM
HAWAIIAN IS.
Tropic of Cancer
Mexico
CUBA
WEST INDIES
PUERTO RICO
New Orleans
Panama
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA
Para
ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
Rio de Janeiro
Equator
Singapore
EAST INDIES
JAVA
INDIAN OCEAN
SAMOA IS.
FIJI IS.
TUTUILA
Tropic of Capricorn
AUSTRALIA
Sydney
Canberra
Melbourne
TASMANIA
NEW ZEALAND
Valparaiso
Santiago
Buenos Aires
ARGENTINA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Antarctic Circle
AMERICA
AND WORLD RELATIONS
60 Long. 90 East 120 from 150 Green. 180 150 Long. 120 West 90 from 60 Green. 30 0 Long. 30 East 60

represented were France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, and China. The sessions began on November 12, 1921. Secretary Hughes, as chairman of the conference and as spokesman for America, presented a very definite program of naval limitations which thrilled the world by its frankness and courage.

After ten weeks of thorough discussion, the Hughes plan, slightly modified, was adopted by the five maritime powers, Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, and the United States. A naval holiday for ten years in the building of capital ships was to put an end to international rivalry. In total tonnage of major warships, Great Britain and the United States were to have equal strength, while Japan was to have three fifths the strength of either of these. Thus was established the famous 5–5–3 naval ratio for these three countries. France and Italy were each to rank a bit more than half as strong as Japan. The three leading powers promptly ratified the treaty for carrying out these agreements, and by August, 1923, all five had ratified.

The Results of Naval Disarmament. — Most dramatic was the execution of the provisions of this naval limitation treaty, when noted battleships were given over to be scrapped, when vessels contracted for remained unfinished, and when shipyards were closed for lack of work. Yet the agreement left much undone. It did not limit the size or number of submarines; it placed no restrictions on any craft under 10,000 tons; and although it did limit the size and total tonnage of aircraft carriers it placed no other check upon aërial warfare. Thus the treaty, while restricting the size, armament, and number of battleships and heavy cruisers, actually encouraged greater competition in the building of smaller vessels, of submarines, and of airplanes.

A Plan to Keep the Pacific Peaceful. — A second agreement made at the Washington Conference to remove suspicion was known as the Four Power Pacific Treaty between America, Great Britain, Japan, and France. This treaty bound the four powers not to attempt "land-grabbing" from one another in the Pacific. In case of threatened friction between any two over conflicting interests, all four were to confer to adjust the matter.

A conference was likewise to be held in case the interests of one of the four in the Far East should be threatened by some outside power. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance came to an end upon the ratification of this Pacific Treaty in August, 1923.

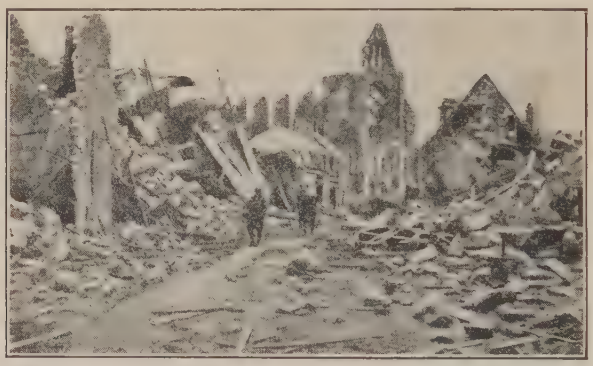
THE ONLY WAY TO DISARM
An American cartoon, 1921.

Efforts to Safeguard China. — All of the nine powers represented in the conference joined in an important agreement concerning China, at that time torn and distracted by civil war. The powers all agreed to maintain in China the "open door."[1] None of the powers was to take any more land from China, or to gain control over her government, or to establish any new spheres of special influence, or to acquire any more leased ports.

By a special agreement Japan promised to return to China the former German territory in the Shantung peninsula.

1. Who first made this principle famous? How?

Why the Washington Conference was Notable. — All together, the Washington Conference was one of the most fruitful congresses in recent history. It was marked throughout by a spirit of fair play and of confidence by each nation in the justice and chivalry of the others. A definite stop was put to the ruinous competition in the building of sea giants. China was safeguarded against outside intrusion in her time of internal breakdown. It was clearly demonstrated that nations are capable of reaching a high plane of right dealing and idealism through the coöperation of men of reason and good will.



The Village and Abbey of Longpont, France, in 1918

The conference, moreover, removed the attitude of mutual suspicion and distrust which was then threatening the friendly relations of the United States and Japan. Shortly afterward Japan carried out her agreement by returning in 1922 the Shantung Peninsula to China. She also silenced European and American criticism by withdrawing her troops from eastern Siberia, which she had been occupying since the war.

Trying to Make the Treaty of Versailles Work

The Reparation Problem Proves Knotty. — The territorial changes provided for in the peace treaties were fairly well carried out except in the case of Turkey,[1] but the other articles of the

treaties were more difficult to enforce. The efforts to collect from Germany reparations for the destruction of the lives and property of civilians proved the greatest task of all.

The Interallied Reparation Commission under the Treaty of Versailles was to fix the amount of the German debt to the Allies and to supervise its collection. After careful study, the commission set 132,000,000,000 gold marks [2] as the amount Germany was to pay, and arranged a plan of payment extending through thirty-six years. From the signing of the treaty in 1919, Germany had been making some payments on account, partly

The Village and Abbey of Longpont, France, in 1926

in gold and partly in kind — coal, cattle, lumber, etc. — all grudgingly and slowly. Meanwhile, at a conference during 1920, the premiers of the Allied countries decided upon the basis of distribution of the expected reparations. France was to receive 52%; England, 22%; Belgium, 8%; Italy, 10%; Serbia, 5%; and others, 3%. Because of the special ruthlessness of the devastations in Belgium, that country was to get her share first.[3]

But progressively the German payments dwindled. This was in the face of the fact that Belgium and France were restoring the devastated areas at their own expense — by means of heavy taxes and additions to their own national debts. The Allies,

acting through successive conferences of their premiers, as well as through the Reparation Commission, repeatedly warned and threatened Germany. All this time the German lands west of the Rhine, together with the strategic crossings of the Rhine [4] at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mainz, were occupied by the Allies. This occupation, for fifteen years, had been authorized by the treaty of Versailles, Germany paying the cost of occupation.[5]

To impress upon Germany the seriousness of the delay in

THE HARBOR AT HAMBURG, GERMANY

This picture was taken after the World War, and shows the resumption of active commerce.

payments, the Allies, early in 1921, occupied three more cities east of the Rhine, and threatened to enter also the rich industrial region of the Ruhr Valley unless Germany would accept the plan of payments proposed by the Reparation Commission. This Germany finally agreed to do, but did not long continue paying as scheduled. Instead, she constantly kept asking for postponements and protesting inability to pay; while her own national finances and her own paper currency went to ruin.

The situation grew steadily worse, until finally Germany ceased her payments, and early in 1923 was declared by the Reparation Commission to be utterly in default.

1. Why not in the case of Turkey? 2. How many dollars would that be? 3. Was the United States to share in the reparations? Give reasons. 4. What does "strategic crossings" mean? 5. What was the purpose of this occupation?

France and Belgium Occupy the Ruhr Valley. — In spite of English objections, France and Belgium thereupon sent their armies into the Ruhr Valley. This region, east of the Rhine, was the very heart of the industrial life of Germany, with its rich coal mines and its great centers of iron and steel manufacture.

In disapproval of the occupation of the Ruhr, the United States forthwith called home from Coblenz the small American army which had been stationed there since the armistice of November, 1918.

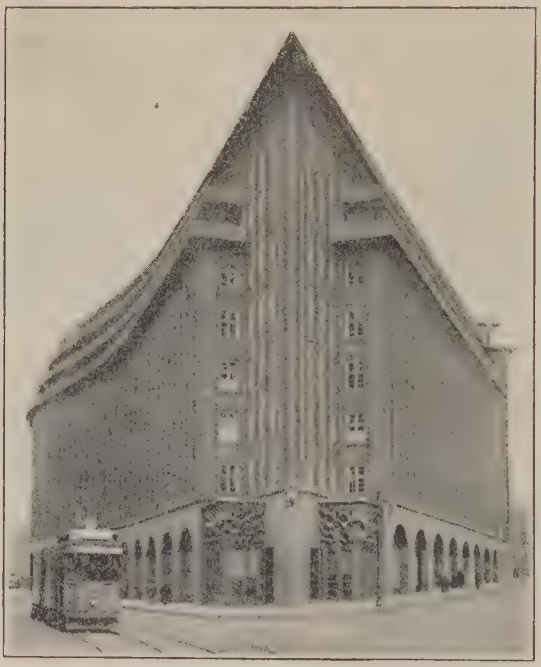
In occupying the Ruhr Valley the French maintained that their aim was not annexation. All that they desired, they announced, was to be able to collect taxes from German industry, to force the delivery of coal due under the treaty, and to hold a sort of mortgage on Germany's business life until she was willing to meet her obligations squarely. But Germany declared the occupation a violation of the treaty, resisting for months, largely passively, the authority of the French officers, and continued to print more paper money until it became utterly worthless.

The Dawes Report Points the Way Out. — Gradually the pressure of France and Belgium began to tell upon Germany. In 1923 Germany ceased resistance in the Ruhr and showed a willingness to reach an adjustment. Then, early in 1924, an international commission of financial experts, headed by Charles G. Dawes, an American, made a thorough study of the situation and presented a notable report which seemed to point the way out of the tangle.

The commission reported that Germany was able to pay reparations which by 1928 ought to reach a standard rate of 2,500,000,000 gold marks yearly. How this could be done, how business prosperity could be restored in Germany, and how

a sound national currency could be reëstablished, the report pointed out so fairly that Germany, as well as the creditor nations, announced a readiness to try the Dawes plan, and in a conference at London (1924) agreed upon the way it should be worked out.

Within a few months Germany had established a new sound currency in place of the vanished mark and was making her



Wide World Photos

CHILE HOUSE, HAMBURG, A MODERN GERMAN SKYSCRAPER

required reparation payments. In August, 1925, France and Belgium evacuated the Ruhr district, as agreed. For four years Germany met the required payments fully and punctually. Then, in 1929, a more liberal schedule of payment was provided for by an international conference headed by an American, Owen D. Young, for whom the plan was named.

France and Germany Settle their Differences. — The most encouraging sign of future peace in Europe was the set of agreements reached by France, Germany, and other powers in a conference held at Locarno, Switzerland, in October, 1925, under the leadership of Briand of France and Stresemann of Germany, the foreign secretaries of the two countries. France, Belgium, and Germany agreed that the Rhineland boundaries as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles should be inviolable; that they would never invade one another's territory, and never again resort to war against each other. Any differences whatever arising between them were to be settled by arbitration. Great Britain and Italy agreed to act as guarantors of this treaty, that is, their influence and force would be used against any one of the three nations which should be found to be in the wrong. Special arbitration treaties were also entered into between Germany on one side and Belgium, France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, individually, on the other. And France also signed treaties with the two last-named states, guaranteeing them security from attack by Germany. On the part of Germany the acceptance of the Locarno treaties was conditioned upon her receiving a permanent seat in the Council of the League of Nations. Accordingly, on September 10, 1926, the German delegates took their place beside the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, as entitled to permanent seats in the Council; while the elective seats were increased to nine, making the total Council membership fourteen.

The Locarno pacts mark the greatest advance toward universal European peace since 1918. They took the Rhineland countries (Alsace-Lorraine) out of the realm of international dispute; they guaranteed the major force of western Europe on the side of right against an aggressor; they brought security in place of fear and dread; they adopted the principle of international arbitration; and, for Germany, they brought an end of isolation and an honorable place in the European councils. Well might the whole civilized world rejoice in this project for banishing war.

Interallied Debts Cause Ill Feeling. — During the World War England and the United States, and in a much less degree France, were able to furnish munitions, military supplies, and food for the use of the other combatants allied against Germany. Even after the armistice of November, 1918, very considerable quantities of goods were advanced to the weaker Allied nations and even to some of the enemy countries to aid in restoring their normal industrial life. Such supplies usually were not given outright to the other nation, but were represented by debts which, it was believed, might be paid off after victory was gained.

Expressed in dollars, the sum of these debts was enormous. Great Britain's advances to her allies amounted to over ten billion dollars; the American loans equaled about the same figure; and, in the latter case, by 1927 these debts represented over half of our national debt. Could such huge debts ever be paid? Was it just that peoples which had suffered so severely during the actual fighting should be saddled with the repayment of money advanced to them by the richer countries?

Naturally the European states would have been willing to cancel all such debts among themselves if the United States would cancel the large sums owed to her by the various countries. All would benefit by such an arrangement except the United States, which owed no one. To such proposals the American Congress has turned a deaf ear. It has held that the debts are legally payable to us, and if they are not paid by the debtors they must be met by taxes on the American people to provide for the Liberty Loans when they fall due. Consequently the American government insists that the debts be recognized and some arrangement for payment be arrived at. Up to January, 1930, settlements had been made by Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, France, Poland, and a number of the lesser states. France, of the great debtors, was the last state to make definite provision for what she owed the United States. In arranging for the payment of the debts the American World War Foreign Debt Commission has applied the principle of considering the capacity to pay of each debtor nation. The payments have been spread

out over sixty-two years, the interest rates have been reduced, and the terms have varied with the economic resources of the several countries. If Germany continues payments to the Allies under the Dawes-Young plan, if the European countries maintain peace among themselves, if their industries and trade continue to develop, — under such favorable circumstances, it may be possible to carry out the terms of the debt settlements.

Wide World Photos

ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN SESSION, 1926

The League of Nations at Work. — The members of the League of Nations numbered on January 1, 1930, fifty-four, and only three major states of the world were not included in its membership — the United States, Brazil, and Russia. During ten years the league has been busy with many matters growing out of the peace treaties. It has settled problems of disputed boundaries which might otherwise have brought on war. It has carried out the provisions of the treaties by supervising plebiscites in a number of regions whereby the inhabitants might vote upon their affiliation with one country or another. It has established its own government in the Saar district and assists in the government of the independent city of Danzig;

and it has some jurisdiction over 30,000,000 persons of minority races in various countries, and over the inhabitants in the regions mandated by the peace treaties. The elaborate provisions of those treaties have placed a great burden upon the league.

The League Works to Prevent War. — The carrying out of the terms of the peace treaties is only a temporary part of the league's activity. The authors of the league covenant hoped that the main work of the organization would be to prevent all war in the future. They wished to bring about a general disarmament and to establish a will for peace. Undoubtedly the league has helped to promote a feeling of national security among the nations, but it has had, as yet, little influence in reducing armaments, which are still nearly as great as in 1913.

Although it has failed in direct measures for disarmament, yet the league has discouraged war by its policy of publicity. Diplomacy has been made more open, the meetings of the Council and Assembly of the league are closely observed and reported to the entire world, and the publication of all treaties between league members prevents the fear of secret alliances.

In six or eight cases, notably in controversies between Sweden and Finland, between Greece and Bulgaria, and in 1928 between Bolivia and Paraguay, the league has definitely represented the organized public opinion of the world and has prevented actual warfare by its impartial actions.

The World Court to Settle Disputes among Nations. — If war was to be abolished some other method of deciding conflicts among nations had to be found, and this was provided for in the league covenant by sections relating to arbitration and to the judicial settlement of controversies. Out of these provisions has grown the World Court or "Permanent Court of International Justice," established under the auspices of the League of Nations, but not controlled by it. The court was organized in 1922 with eleven judges, one of whom, John Bassett Moore, was an American. It is a continuous body like our Supreme Court, ready at any time to try international cases of a legal nature. Its first case was decided in 1923, and in five years it passed

judgment in twenty cases, some of which if not settled peaceably might have caused serious international trouble.

The United States had been vitally interested in the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 and it was active for many years in obtaining arbitration treaties with other nations. So, too, Americans like William H. Taft, Elihu Root, John Bassett Moore, and James Brown Scott had been at work for years in promoting a permanent international tribunal, and our citizens

P & A Photos

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A view taken during the first sitting after the Council was enlarged to a membership of fourteen.

had even had a share in outlining the organization of the new World Court. Yet the United States has not joined the other powers who promise to submit their differences to that court. In January, 1926, the United States Senate agreed to the court plan but accompanied its acceptance with five reservations designed to protect American rights and to prevent our being drawn into obligations respecting the European states. These reservations were not satisfactory to the other nations and therefore the entrance of the United States into the World Court organization may be indefinitely delayed. In this case, as in the matter of joining the League of Nations, a large number of Americans felt

that we must not surrender the advantages of our political and geographical separation from Europe.

The Kellogg Treaty, 1928. — The American sentiment in favor of the peaceful settlement of international differences found expression in a treaty proposed by the United States to other countries in the spring of 1928. This "Kellogg pact," named after the American Secretary of State, is a very brief statement of general principles. As signed at Paris, August 27, 1928, by representatives of fifteen nations, the treaty condemns recourse to war in the solution of international controversies; renounces war as an instrument of national policy; and promises that the parties to the treaty shall seek the settlement of international differences solely by pacific means. The treaty was duly ratified and was formally proclaimed in effect in July, 1929. Nearly all the nations of the world have joined in this treaty.

The London Conference, 1930. — Following a visit of Prime Minister MacDonald to President Hoover in the fall of 1929, a conference upon naval disarmament met in London, January–April, 1930. While it was not so successful as its friends had hoped, yet some progress toward limitation of navies was made. It is estimated that if the resulting London treaty is ratified, the navies of Great Britain, Japan, and the United States will be, all together, 560,000 tons smaller in 1936 than if no such agreement were made. Limitations were placed upon the number and armament of war vessels under 10,000 tons, which were not regulated at all at the Washington Conference (see page 808), and upon the size and tonnage of submarines. France and Italy, although represented at the London Conference, could not agree upon their relative naval strength. Yet the conference accomplished some good. It stopped naval competition among the three great maritime powers by placing definite limitations upon all kinds of fighting ships; it made submarine activity in war time more humane by adopting rules for the saving of lives of noncombatants; and it gave another illustration of the settlement of international differences without recourse to war.

The League Promotes International Coöperation. — In many ways the League of Nations has encouraged coöperative undertakings among nations and individuals. In the field of public health it has had remarkable successes, by noting the existence of epidemic diseases, by checking their spread from the point of origin, and by studying means for their prevention. By the interchange of health officers of various countries it has placed the experience of each at the disposal of others. The league, too, has been studying means for the international control of the trade in opium and similar drugs.

Much other humanitarian work has been directed by the league, of which perhaps the most notable was the return to Greece of more than a million refugees from Asia Minor, who were settled in useful occupations within Greek territory. Hundreds of thousands of other refugees — Bulgarians, Poles, Turks, Armenians, and others — have been distributed in regions where they may work happily side by side with the people of their own nationality.

All forms of international activity are fostered by the league, whether among individuals, organizations, or nations. A bulletin published quarterly by the league describes some 360 such organizations, many of which are of a scientific or charitable character. At Geneva, the seat of the league activities, there now center a great many of those coöperative enterprises which tend to bind the world together. In such undertakings Americans are joining with those from Europe, Africa, and Asia in promoting an era of better feeling and in advancing the well-being of the world.

Problem and Reference Work

1. Work out carefully a list of similarities between the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution.
2. Reread Chapter XI. Then prepare a list of important nationalist movements since 1815 which have succeeded.
3. What are the chief things which the war taught the civilized world?
4. Why do the various allied nations owe the United States large sums of money? What arrangements for repayment have been made?

5. Tell the class the story of N. Lenin, finding your own material. (He died in February, 1924.)

6. Read more about Griffith and Collins of the Irish Free State. Use the *Youth's Companion* of Sept. 21, 1922, p. 534, and other magazine articles.

7. For a treatment of Gandhi's character and aims look up magazine articles since 1922.

8. Find a treatment of New Turkey in the *Outlook* of Aug. 8, 1923.

9. Read more about Mussolini and Fascism. Use Buell, *Europe: A History of Ten Years*, or magazine articles.

10. On Soviet Russia read Chapter 10 in Gibbons's *Europe Since 1918*.

11. For the Fascisti revolution in Italy use Chapter 18 of Gibbons.

12. On the Russian Revolution of 1917 read Chapters 35 and 36 in Olgin's *Soul of the Russian Revolution*.

13. Read a Socialist's criticism of Soviet democracy, in Chapter 4 of Spargo's *Greatest Failure in All History*.

14. In the same book read how Bolshevism affected the Russian peasants, Chapters 5 and 6; how it controlled industry, Chapters 8–10.

15. Learn about Japan's famous twenty-one demands upon China in 1915. Use Treat's *Japan and the United States*, Chapter 11; or Kawakami's *Japan in World Politics*, pp. 185 ff.

16. On the problem of Japanese in the United States read Chapter 13 in Treat's *Japan and the United States*.

Reading List

Buell, R. L., *Europe: A History of Ten Years* (1928). Helpful summaries.

Gibbons, H. A., *Europe Since 1918*. Useful, but sketchy and pessimistic.

Earle, E. M., *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railroad*. Not elementary. Ch. 11 treats well Turkey in the war and afterward.

Olgin, M. J., *The Soul of the Russian Revolution* (1917). Sympathetic toward the revolutionists.

Spargo, John, *Bolshevism* (1919); *The Greatest Failure in All History* (1920). Hostile criticisms of Bolshevism by an American Socialist.

Treat, P. T., *Japan and the United States* (1921). Clear and fair-minded.

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Gibbs, Philip, *Ten Years After* (1926).

Kelsey, R. W., *Internationalism and the United States* (1930). A useful pamphlet.

McColl, G. B., *Summary of Current International Events, 1919–1929*.

Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th edition.

The monthly summaries in *Current History* are valuable, as are also many of the pamphlets of the Foreign Policy Association (New York).

INDEX

Diacritic marks: ā as in *late*; å as in *senate*; ă as in *fat*; ä as in *far*; å as in *last*; â as in *care*; ă as in *account*; ȧ as in *sofa*; ē as in *me*; ê as in *return*; ĕ as in *met, berry*; ē as in *over, term*; ĕ as in *patent*; ī as in *ice*; ĭ as in *tin*; ĸ, German *ch*; ɴ the French nasal; ō as in *note*; ô as in *obey*; ŏ as in *not*; ô as in *for*; o͞o as in *food*; o͝o as in *good*; o͝o as in *connect*; ū as in *tune*; ů as in *unite*; ŭ as in *nut*; û as in *fur*; ü, French *u*; ŭ as in *circus*; th as in *them*.

Abbot, 67
Abdul Hamid (äb'do͝ol hȧ-mēd') II, 718, 719
Abyssinia, 403
Absolute government, or Autocracy, in ancient times, 6, 18; of church, in feudal age, 33; in France, 76–77, 105–108, 220–221, 365, 425; in England, 88–89, 92–96; dominates Europe, 103–105, 309–316; in Prussia, 110–112, 413; in Russia, 113–115, 508–509, 523, 528; in French and Spanish colonies, 135, 136, 139; decay of, 146–150, 167; of Metternich, 308, 334; in Germany, 313, 406–411, 444–450, 542; in Europe after 1815, 314–316; threatened, 332, 336; effect of revolutions of 1848 upon, 355; in Italy, 385–386, (under Mussolini) 804–805; in Japanese government, 655; in Latin America of colonial times, 667, 668. *See also* Despotism.
Acadia (ȧ-kā'dĭ-ȧ), ceded, 116
Acre (ä'kēr), capture of, 36
Acrop'olis, 8
Aden (ä'dĕn), 636
Adriano'ple, in Balkan Wars, 722, 723
Ægean (ē-jē'ăn) Islands, 722
Ægean Sea, 11, 513
Æne'id, 16
Æschylus (ĕs'kĭ-lŭs), Greek dramatist, 8
Afghanistan', 508, 636
Africa, coast explored by Portugal, 55; Portuguese colonies, 125, 137, 700; French in, 369, 686, 689–694; German colonies in, 457, 701; kidnaping of negroes in, 570; European partition of, 571, 685–704; missionaries in, 573–574; British in, 600, 618–625, 686–687, 694–698, 703; Belgians in, 687–688; Italian colonies in, 700. Pictures, 621, 622, 690, 691, 692, 695, 696, 697. Map, in 1914, 684
Agadir (ä-gä-dēr'), Germans at, 718
Agriculture, beginnings of, 4–5; among early peoples, 6; medieval type, 29, 38, 42, 243; in France, 156, 441; in England, 243, 244, 266–267, 465; on the Continent, 274–277; specialized, 275; scientific, 276–277; in Germany, 280; in Italy, 396; in Ireland, 497, 500; in Russia, 525, 526, 798; improvements in implements of, 564; in Australia, 613; in the Philippines, 642–643; in feudal Japan, 645; in Latin America, 676; in Serbia, 737. Pictures, 32, 291, 442, 608
Airplanes, 562–564; for passenger service, 590; used for postal service, 590; in World War, 751. Map, European routes, 591. Pictures, 564, 565, 590
Aisne (ān) Valley, 755, 772
Aix-la-Chapelle (ĕks-lȧ-shȧ-pĕl'), Charlemagne's tomb, picture, 28
Alabama dispute, 486
Alba'nia, 403, 722–724, 737, 754
Albert I, king of Belgium, 688, 773
Albigensians (ăl-bĭ-jĕn'sĭ-ănz), 64
Alexander the Great, 11, 12; as Napoleon's ideal, 215, 220
Alexander I, of Russia, 508, 509, 233, 314
Alexander II, of Russia, 508, 510, 513, 523, 524
Alexander III, of Russia, 508, 524
Algeciras (ăl-jē-sē'rȧs) Conference, 716–717
Alge'ria, 441, 597, 689–691. Pictures, 689, 690, 691.
Algiers (ăl-jērz'), 369, 441. Pictures, 689, 690
Alhambra, picture, 26
Allenby, General, 768. Picture, 768
Allies in World War, 749
Alsace (ăl-säs'), annexed to France, 77; cotton industry in, 277. Picture, Alsatian girls, 729
Alsace-Lorraine, German, 380, 428, 445, 451; French, 774, 777, 815
Amalfi (ä-mäl'fē), picture, 382
Amazon River, explored, 124
America, colonies in, 85, 125–145, 203, 665; manufacturing in, 290–292; emigration to, 356; woman suffrage in, 550, 551; reopens Japan's door, 646–648; enters World War, 763–765, 771, 772; in Peace Conference, 775; differences with Japan, 806. Picture, American soldiers arriving in France, 764. *See also* United States.

American Civil War, 296; and Napoleon III, 375–376; and England, 480, 484; effect on shipping, 593
American Revolution, 140–144; France in, 150, 160; stirs France, 162; influence on Latin America, 669
American World War Foreign Debt Commission, 816
Anæsthetics, use of, 558, 560
Anarchists, 335, 523-524
Andor'ra, 534
Angles, settle in Britain, 25
Anglican Church, 72–73, 80, 83, 94; in Ireland, 497, 499
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan', 600
Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 635, 753, 806, 809
Anglo-Saxons, 27
Ango'la, 700
Ango'ra, Turkey, 795. Picture, 796
Animals, domestic, 244–245, 261
Annam (ăn-năm'), 640
Anthony, Susan B., picture, 550
Antiseptics, use of, 560
Appian Way, picture, 19
Aqueducts, Roman, 18; picture, 19
Arabi Pasha (ä-rä'bē pä-shä'), 628
Arabia, Turkey loses, 794
Arabs, rise of, 12; conquests of, 27
Aragon (ăr'ă-gŏn), kingdom of, 47
Arbitration, industrial, 614, 617
Arbitration, international, 486, 678, 715–716, 815
Arch, Roman, 18, 20, 57
Arch of Constantine, picture, 20
Arch of Triumph in Paris, picture, 374
Architecture, Greek, 8, 21; Renaissance, 57, 59, 62. Pictures, 4, 9, 20, 26, 30, 35, 41, 83, 107, 113, 176, 217, 312, 384, 409, 419, 512, 715, 717, 738, 814
Arco'la, Napoleon at, picture, 212
Argentina, 671, 674, 675, 676; emigration from Italy to, 404; slavery abolished in, 571
Argonne (ăr-gŏn') Forest, 773
Aristocracy, of Roman state, 13–14; feudal, 32; breaking the power of, in England, 468–474
Ar'istotle, Greek philosopher, 8, 666
Arkwright, Richard, 252, 253, 274
Armada, Spanish, defeat of, 84–86
Armaments, 727, 730; limitation of, 736, 780, 806–808
Arme'nia, 515, 794
Armistice, of 1918, 774, 816
Armor, pictures, 46, 645
Art, early, 4–6; Greek, 8, 12, 21; preserved by Church, 21; Renaissance, 52, 57, 62; French, 106, 200, 220, 443; advance during nineteenth century, 578. Pictures, 2, 58
Arthur, King, 241
Asia, Portugal's claims in, 125; expansion of Russia, 521–523, 633–634; other European claims and influence, 634–663. Map, in 1914, 638–639
As'quith, Herbert, 491, 504, 577, 736
Assembly, popular, in Athens, 10; at Rome, 14; in English colonies, 136; French National, 168–169, 427; in Germany, 445, 786; Russian, 528, 529; effect of elected legislative, 535; in Australia, 611; Indian, 626. Pictures, 395, 404, 432
Assembly of the Notables, 163–164
Assignats (ăs'ĭg-năts; Fr. pron. ä-sē-nyä'), 178
Associations Act, in France, 439
Assuan Dam, picture, 629
Assyr'ia, 6; picture of archers, 5
Astronomy, 9, 55, 556–558
Athens, and Athenians, 10, 21
Atlantic cable, 288
Atomic theory of matter, 557
Attila, leader of Huns, picture, 24
Auckland, street in, picture, 617
Augus'tus, emperor, 14, 16, 19–20
Aure'lius, Marcus, emperor, 14
Ausgleich (ous'glīĸ), 543
Aus'terlitz, battle, 217; Column, 217
Australia, Commonwealth of, 610–616; explored and settled by English, 125; penal settlement in, 144, 610; woman suffrage in, 550, 551; geographical characteristics, 613; people of, 613, 615–616; compared with New Zealand, 616; gains Pacific islands, 777
Austria, under the Hapsburgs, 49, 103, 109–110, 116; attacked by Prussia, 118; seizes part of Poland, 121, 304, 312–313; war with France, 194, 211, 217, 229, 235; rise of national spirit, 232, 305; rule of, in Italy, 303, 311–312, 316, 353–354, 384–387; supports Metternich's policies, 309; joins alliance against France, 309–310; position in German federation, 313; joins Holy Alliance, 314; opposes revolts in Italy and Spain, 320–321; different races in, 346–347, 544; Revolution of 1848 in, 346–349, 391; in Austro-Sardinian War, 372, 373, 398; hinders German union, 409, 411; rivalry with Prussia, 410; in war against Denmark, 417; in Seven Weeks' War, 418; alliance with Germany, 457, 691, 706–707; voting in, 547, 548, 551; serfs freed in, 570; alliance with Germany and Italy, 691; conflict with Serbia, 722–724, 736–740; in World War, 740, 749, 758, 773, 777; becomes republic, 786, 787. *See also* Austria-Hungary

Austria-Hungary, population of, 289; nationalism in, 304; reforms in, 347–348; government, 534, 535, 543, 545; military system of, 714; annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 520, 721, 737. Map, showing races, 544. *See also* Austria
Austrian Succession, War of, 118
Austro-Sardinian War, 373, 398
Autocracy, *see* Absolute government, and Despotism
Automo'biles, 562–564, 589. Pictures, 553, 563, 590

B

Babylo'nia, 6
Bach (bäĸ), 667
Bacteria, 558, 559
Baden (bä'dĕn), 407, 419, 421, 445. Picture, barn in, 406
"Balance of power," 116, 118, 309
Baldwin, Premier, 805
Balfour (băl'fo͝or), Arthur, 489
Ba!kan (bôl'kăn) question, 513–521
Balkan states, rule of Turkey in, 304; freed from Turkey, 517–518; illiteracy in, 568; crisis in, 718–724. Cartoon, 724. Map, in 1914, 720
Balkan Wars, 722–723, 737. Maps, 723
Balloons, picture, 164
Baluchistan', 636
Bank of England, 594
Baptists, 88, 92
Barbarians, invasions of, 24–26
Barbarism, 2
Barbed wire entanglements, picture, 751
Barings, financiers, 594
Baro'da, native state, 791
Barricades in Paris, 344; picture, 343
Basil'icas, Roman, 59
Bastille (bȧs-tēl'), fall of, 184–185; picture, 185. Bastille Day, 185
Battle of the Nations, 235; monument, 297
Battles, new kinds, in World War, 749–750
Batum (bȧ-to͝om'), 517
Bava'ria, 313, 378, 407; aids Prussia against France, 419, 421; in German Empire, 445. Pictures, 409, 419
Bea'consfield, Earl of, *see* Disraeli
Beatty (bē'tĭ), Admiral, 760
"Bed of justice" at Versailles, 151
Beethoven (bā'tō-vĕn), 667
Bel'fast, 497. Picture, 789
Belfort (bĕl-fôr'), fortress, 380, 745
Belgian refugees, picture, 747
Belgium, ceded to Austria, 116; effects of French Revolution in, 204; economic growth, 279, 280; railroads, 285, 288–289; under Dutch rule, 313, 326–327; gains independence, 327–328; neutrality guaranteed, 328, 741; government, 534, 545; voting in, 547, 548; education, 566, 568; social insurance, 578; African colony of, 687–688; in World War, 742, 745, 746; occupies Ruhr Valley, 813, 814
Belgrade (bĕl-grād'), 719; picture, 737
Bell, Alexander Graham, inventor, 587; picture, 587
Belleau Wood, battle, 772
Beller'ophon, Napoleon on, picture, 237
"Benevolent Despots," 120
Berlin', Napoleon in, 217; in Revolution of 1848, 349, 351. Pictures, 111, 447, 455
Berlin, Congress of, 457, 517–520. Picture, 519
Berlin Decree, of Napoleon, 229
Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad, 719; picture, 719
Bern, House of Parliament, picture, 538
Bernhardi (bĕrn-här'dē), General, 731
Bes'semer, Sir Henry, 258, 562
Bessemer process, 258, 280, 281, 562. Picture, 562
Bethmann-Hollweg (bāt'män-hōl'vȧk), German chancellor, 742. Picture, 742
Bhutan (bo͞o-tän'), 636
Bible, study of, 61, 66; translated by Luther, 71; King James version, 86
Bicameral legislature, 545
"Big Berthas," 752
"Big Five," 311, 775, 780
"Big Four," 311, 775; picture, 776
Bill of Rights, 96; quotation from, 101
Biology, ally of health, 558–560
Bishops, 34, 66
Bismarck, Otto von, early career, 412, 413; war with France, 377–379, 420–421, 428; alliance with Italy, 401–403; policy, 412, 413, 417, 421, 423, 450, 455, 457; as empire-builder, 411–413; "blood and iron" speech, 413, 423; consummates German union, 420–421; German Empire under leadership of, 444–460, 730, 731; accomplishments of, 449–450; quarrel with Catholic Church, 451–452; crusade against socialism, 452–454; state socialism, 454–456, 491; promotes industry, 456, 712; builds colonial empire, 456–457, 701; breaks with William II, 458–459, 708; makes alliances against France, 706–707; tricks Russia, 707. Pictures: 412, 429; memorial to, 451; cartoon, 459
"Black Friars," 64
"Black Mountain," 518
Black Sea, 513, 516, 520
Black Shirts, 803–804
Blaine, James G., 678

Blanc (blăN), Louis, 342
"Blood and iron" policy of Bismarck, 413, 423, 444, 450, 743
Blücher (blü'kĕr), at Waterloo, 238
Boats, *see* Ships
Boers (bōōrz), 618; friction with British, 618–620; "Great Trek," 619; Boer War, 620–624. Picture, trench, 623
Bohe'mia, rise of, 49; under Austria, 49, 110, 347–349, 410; part of Czechoslovakia, 776, 787, 788
Bois de Boulogne (bwä-dĕ-bōō-lôn'y'), Avenue of, picture, 435
Bokha'ra, 521
Bol'ivar, Simon, 669, 671; statue, 671
Boliv'ia, 669, 674; picture, 674
Bologna (bō-lōn'yä), University of, 37
Bolsheviki (bōl-shĕv-ē-kē'), 766, 797–800
Bolshevism, in Russia, 797–798, 800
Bonaparte (bō'nȧ-pärt), Caroline, 218
Bonaparte, Jerome, 218
Bonaparte, Joseph, 218, 226, 232, 669
Bonaparte, Louis, 218
Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon, *see* Napoleon III
Bonaparte, Lucien, 214
Bonaparte, Napoleon, *see* Napoleon
Books, *see* Printing
Bordeaux (bôr-dō'), 199, 428, 746
Bos'nia, 520; under Austria-Hungary, 520, 721, 737; in Yugoslavia, 777
Bossuet (bō-sü-ĕ'), preacher, 104
Boston Harbor, picture, 143
Botany Bay, 144
Botha (bō'tä), Boer leader, 623, 624, 793
Botticelli (bŏt-tē-chĕl'lē), painting, 58
Boulton (bōl'tŭn), machinist, 246
Bourbons (bōōr'bŭnz), 76, 105, 431; end of monarchy of, 190, 425; restoration of, 310, 311, 425
Bourgeoisie (bōōr-zhwȧ-zē'), 152, 173–181, 334, 336, 364
Boxers, in China, 660
Boycott, 792
Brandenburg, 109–111
Brazil, colony of Portugal, 125, 668; immigrants, 404, 457, 671, 674; slavery abolished, 571; revolutions, 669, 670, 672; recent development, 676; in World War, 754
Brest-Litovsk (brĕst'lyĕ-tôfsk'), Treaty of, 767, 797
Briand (brē-äN'), 437, 439, 815
Bridges, 258; pictures, 312, 673, 697
Bridgewater Canal, 262
Bright, John, 468, 477, 480
Brindley, engineer, 262
British East India Company, 625, 626, 658
British Empire, 571, 597–631; foundations, 119; maritime power, 239; strengthened at Congress of Vienna, 314; extension urged by Disraeli, 484; evolution of, 630–631; in World War, 749. Map, 606–607. *See also* Great Britain
British North America Act of 1867, 603
Browning, Mrs., poet, 468
Brunswick, Duke of, 190
Brussels, 327; picture, 327
Bubon'ic plague, 676
Bucharest (bōō-kȧ-rĕst'), Treaty of, 723
Buddhism, 627, 644, 646, 657
Buenos Aires (bwā'nōs ī'rās), 675, 676. Picture, 675
Bukovina (bōō-kō-vē'nä), 777
Bulgaria, massacres in, 515; wins independence, 518, 520; in Balkan Wars, 722–723; in World War, 749, 754, 773.
Bulgarians, invasions of, 25–26
Bundesrath (bōōn'dĕs-rät), 420, 445–447, 448, 542
Burgundians, settle in Gaul, 25
Burma, 636
Burns, poet, 554
"Bush," of Australia, 615
Byron, poet, 323, 468
Byzan'tine architecture, picture, 512

C

Cabinet system, in England and Great Britain, 96–101, 505, 535–537; restored by American Revolution, 100; in Holland, 357; in Italy, 396, 402–403, 407; in France, 433–434, 540; influence of British, 535–537, 747; advantages of, 536–537; in Hungary, 545; in British dominions, 602–605, 612–613, 624
Cables, ocean, 588; picture, laying, 579
Cabral (kä-bräl'), explorer, 123
Cæsar, Julius, 14; as Napoleon's ideal, 215
Cahiers (kȧ-yā'), 171
Calonne (kȧ-lôn'), statesman, 163
Calvin, John, 68, 71–73. Picture, 67
Cameron, African explorations of, 686
Cameroon (kăm-ēr-ōōn'), 702
Camouflage, picture, 762
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 491
Campo For'mio, Peace of, 211
Canada, 601–610; acquired by Great Britain, 139; granted self-government, 474; woman suffrage in, 551; federal nation, 603–604; people, 608–610; relations with United States, 609–610; civilization of, 665
Canal Zone, 682
Canals, 262; Suez and Panama, 583–585. Pictures, 312, 585, 680
Canapville (kȧ-nȧp-vēl'), manor house, picture, 154

Canberra (kăn'bĕr-ȧ), government buildings, picture, 615
Canning, George, 321, 670
Cantigny (käN-tē-nyē'), battle of, 771; picture, 771
Canton', city of, 658
Can'ton, Swiss, 356, 537
Cape Colony, 618, 623
Cape of Good Hope, 55, 314, 618
Cape-to-Cairo Railroad, 793; pictures, 695, 697
Cape Town, 618; picture, 703
Cape Trafal'gar, 227
Capitalism, 254–255, 256, 267, 336
Carbonari (kär-bō-nä'rē), 317, 320, 387–388, 398
Carlsbad (kärls'bät) Decrees, 317, 320
Carnot (kär-nō'), French leader, 199
Car'thage, overthrown by Rome, 13
Cartier (kär-tyā'), explorations of, 131
Cartoons, pictures, 167, 227, 269, 284, 300, 365, 370, 401, 459, 485, 489, 531, 705, 708, 724, 809
Cartwright, Edmund, inventor, 253
Caruso, 667
Casement, Sir Roger, 688
Castile (kăs-tēl'), kingdom of, 47
Castles, pictures, 30, 31, 103, 462
Catechism, Napoleon adds to, 224, 239
Cathedrals, of Italian Renaissance, 59; pictures, 28, 35, 372, 501, 668
Catherine the Great, of Russia, 517
"Catholic Association," 499
Catholic Church, in Middle Ages, 16–17; Philip II as champion of, 77–78; strengthened by Jesuits, 79; in French and Spanish colonies, 135; Bismarck quarrels with, 451–452; missions, 573, 646, 658; in Latin America, 667. *See also* Church
Catholic Emancipation Act, 329, 470, 499
Catholic Reformation, 75–80
Cattle, 613, 676
Cavaliers, 90
Cavour (kȧ-vo͝or'), early life, 395, 412; prime minister, 396–401, 407; in Congress of Paris, 397. Picture, 394
Censorship, 183, 385, 454, 513, 569, 654.
Center, party name, 192, 434–435
Central America, 129, 321, 672. Picture, cutting mahogany in, 672
Central Asia, Russians in, 521–522
Central Powers, in World War, 678, 749. Map, sway at its height, 759
Ceylon', 314, 630, 636
Chamber of Deputies, French, 539; picture, 431
Chamber of Deputies, Italian, 541; picture, 395
Chamberlain, Joseph, 489, 490
Chambord (shäN-bôr'), Count of, 431–432
Chancellor, German, 446, 447, 448, 450–451, 542
Chancellor of the Exchequer, 492
Charcoal, use of, 280, 291; picture, 257
"Charcoal Burners," *see* Carbonari
Charlemagne (shär'lĕ-mān), emperor, 27–28, 47; picture of casket, 28
Charles V, emperor, 70, 71, 77
Charles I, of England, 88–91; execution, 91, 93, 355. Picture, 91
Charles II, of England, 93–94
Charles X, of France, 315, 325–326; takes Algeria, 689–690
Charles III, of Spain, 120
Charles Albert, of Sardinia-Piedmont, 391, 394, 396
Chartist movement, 478–479, 480
Château-Thierry (shä-tō-tyĕ-rē'), 772
Chemistry, progress in, 556–558
Chiang Kai-Shek (chĕ-äng' kī-shĕk'), 663
Child labor, spinning, 245, 251; under factory system, 255, 256; regulation of, 454, 475–476, 576. Picture, 256
Children, rights of, 566. *See* Education and Child labor
Chile (chĕ'lā), 674, 675
Chile House, Hamburg, picture, 814
China, civilization of, 3, 656–657; early trade with, 124, 125; industrial progress in, 292; naval war against, 369; Russian concessions in, 523, 633; missionaries in, 573, 574; opened to commerce, 635, 646; war with Japan, 651–652; spheres of influence, 653; Japan's arbitrary treatment, 653–654; war with Great Britain, 658; under foreign influence, 659–663; republics, 660–663; in World War, 754; influence of Soviet Russia, 800; efforts to safeguard, 809, 810
Chinese, culture of, 3, 52, 53, 54, 657; exclusion of, 625
Chocolate, 134
Cholet (shō-lĕ'), combat in, picture, 193
Chopin (shō-păN'), 667
Christians, persecution by Roman emperors; 20; conquests in Spain, 47; under Turkish rule, 322, 515, 516; in India, 627
Church, 20–21; in feudal age, 32–33; property, 34, 63–65, 74, 222; reforms in, 34, 36, 37; at time of Renaissance, 51; Protestant Revolt, 65, 67–69; England's revolt against, 72–73; in France, 152, 178–179, 200–201, 341, 437–440; in Italian affairs, 402. Pictures, 35, 370, 512
Church of England, 72–73, 89; in American colonies, 136

Churchill, 736
Cities, of Roman Empire, 21–22; disappear during Dark Ages, 29; Italian, 37, 61; modern industrial, 258, 261, 270; growth of, 289–291, 305, 465; British self-governing, 474–475; in Australia, 615; in Latin America, 676–677
City-states, ancient, 10–11, 12
Civil Code, 222–223
"Civil constitution of the Clergy," adopted, 179
Civil rights, guaranteed by European constitutions, 545–546
Civil service, 486
Civilization, early, 1–7; Greek, 7–12, 21; Roman, 12–22; influence of Christian Church, 20–21; during Dark Ages, 28–29; effect of crusades, 36–37; effect of Renaissance and Reformation, 51; carried to New World, 123–145, 665–683; Christian, 572, 574; motives for expansion of, 599; of India, 627; early Japanese, 644; of China, 657; origins of American, 666–667
Clarkson, Thomas, 470, 571
Classes of society, among early peoples, 5–6; in feudal times, 31–33; rise of merchants, 39; in growth of cities, 42; in France, before Revolution, 150, 152–158; as outgrowth of factory system, 254–255; new industrial and commercial, 267–268; effect of education, 336–337, 338; in England, 463, 464, 468, 485–486; representation of, 547–548
Clay, Henry, champions Greeks, 323
Clemenceau (klā-män-sō'), Georges, 437, 774, 776. Picture, 776
Clergy, in Middle Ages, 28, 32–33, 34; in France, 152, 169, 170, 176, 177
Clerical Party, 364, 372, 375, 437–439
Clermont, 264, 290
Clive, in India, 119–120, 625
Cloth, manufacture of, 38, 249, 250–254. Pictures, 242, 250
Clo'vis, Frankish chieftain, 27
Coal, 244, 257–258, 260, 279–283, 291, 292, 465, 813
Coalition cabinets, 403
Coalitions, against Napoleon, 217
Cob'den, Richard, British leader, 477
Coblenz (kō'blĕnts), 774, 812
Cochin' China, 369, 441, 640, 641
Cochrane (kŏk'rān), Admiral, 323
Code, of Justin'ian, 17
Codes of Napoleon, 222–223, 232, 238, 272
Coeducation, 566
Coffee, 134, 676
Coke, 258, 280, 291
Cologne (kō-lōn'), occupation of, 774, 812. Pictures: cathedral, 35; Bismarck memorial, 451
Collins, Michael, 790, 791
Colom'bia, 669; and Panama, 680
Colonies, Phœnician, 7; Greek, 11; English and British, 86, 125, 131, 133–145, 329, 569, 597–631, 694–699 (*see* British Empire); French, 76, 119, 131, 135, 137–139, 441, 640, 689–694; Dutch, 86, 130, 133, 571, 599, 618, 641–643, 685; Portuguese, 125, 128, 130, 131, 700; Spanish, 125, 128–130, 133, 135, 144, 301, 321–322, 667–668; European, 133–136, 597–598; new policies, 133; government, 135; trade limited, 135; abolition of slavery, 200, 474, 475, 571; Italian, 403, 700–701; German, 456–457, 701–702, 769, 777; modern race for, 597–599; Boer, 619–620; in the Americas, 665; Belgian, 687–688
Columbus, Christopher, 56, 62, 123, 125
Combes (kôNb), French leader, 437, 439
Commerce, beginnings of, 4–7; Roman, 16, 22; during Middle Ages, 29, 49–50, 261; revived by crusades, 36–37; new age of, 38–42; effect of crusades, 39; effect on feudalism, 43; colonial, 125, 129–133, 142–143, 667–668; new age in, 133; new goods introduced, 133–134; of England attacked by Napoleon, 228–231; expansion of, 261, 266, 305; German Zollverein, 411; modern world, 579, 582, 590–595; China opened to, 635, 659; Indian, 635–636; Japanese, 644, 646, 650. Pictures, 54, 128, 132, 230, 812. *See also* Trade and Travel
Committees, in French Revolution, 195, 196
Commons, House of, 98–100, 464–466. Picture, 488. *See also* Parliament
Commonwealth, England, 92
Commonwealth of Australia, 612. *See* Australia
"Commune" (kŏm'ūn) of Paris, 430
Communists, 334–336; international organizations, 595; Russian, 799–800
Compass, mariners', invented, 62
Compensation Act, workmen's, 491
Concor'dat, the, 222, 437, 439
Confederation, German, 313, 407–408
Confederation of the Rhine, 218
Confucianism, 644, 657. Picture, temple, 658
Congo Free State, 687–688
Congregationalists, 88
Congress of Berlin, 457, 517–520. Picture, 519
Congress of Paris, 370, 397, 748. Picture, 371

Congress of Vienna, 310–314, 571
Conservatism, after World War, 802–805
Conservative party, 301, 479, 483; climax of imperialism under, 489–490; opposes home rule, 501–502
Con'stance, council at, 65
Con'stantine, emperor, 20
Constantinople, capital of Roman Empire, 26; resists Mohammedans, 27; in fifteenth century, 56; captured by Turks, 112; coveted by Russia, 507–508. Picture, Pera Bridge, 516
Constitutional monarchy, 531–534
Constitutions, English, 92, 96, 97, 535; French, 179–181, 201, 202, 221, 345, 360, 432–433, 539; Spanish (of 1812), 320; Belgian, 327; in Sardinia-Piedmont, 354, 357, 541; after Revolution of 1848, 356–357, 391; Prussian, 356, 408; German, 420, 444, 542, 785; Europe learns to make, 531–535; Swiss, 537; Italian, 541; Austrian, 543; of British dominions, 603, 612, 624; of Japan, 650, 651. Cartoon, 531
"Continental System," 228–233, 271, 273
Convention, in France, 200–203
Cook, Capt. James, 125, 144, 610, 616
Coolidge, President, 794
Coper'nicus, 55, 62, 556, 666
Copper, 593, 594, 760. Picture, mine in Australia, 513
Cordelier (kôr-dē-lēr') Club, 182
Corn Laws, repeal of, 266, 476–477
Coronado (kō-rō-nä'thō), explorer, 124
Corporations, business, 272, 456
Cor'tes, in Mexico, 124, 129
Corvée (kôr-vā'), 156, 163
Cos'grave, William, 791
Cossacks, Russian, 234, 521
Costa Rica, 675
Costume, *see* Dress
Cottage system of production, 250–251, 254
Cotton, 134, 251–254, 649
Cotton gin, invention of, 254
Council of the League of Nations, 780, 815. Picture, 819
Councils, Church: at Con'stance, 65; at Pisa, 65; at Worms, 70; of Trent, 75; Vatican, 451–452
Count, 31, 45
Counter Reformation, 69, 75–80
Coup d'état (kōō-dā-tä'), 214, 366
Courts, Roman, 16, 22; feudal, 29, 43, 177; national, 45; church, 65; Inquisition, 78; French, 155, 177, 196, 198; German, 445, 450–451; Japanese, 648; consular, in China, 662. Picture, Revolutionary tribunal, 197
Crafts, in Dark Ages, 28–29; guilds, 39–41, 243; in Germany, 280
Crank mill, picture, 248
Cre'oles, 667
Crete, Turkey relinquishes, 722
Crimean (krī-mē'ăn) War, 369–370
Croatia (krō-ā' shĭ-ă), 721, 777
Cro'ats, in Austria-Hungary, 304, 544
Cromer, Lord, 629
Crompton, Samuel, inventor, 253
Crom'well, Oliver, 90–93; picture, 93
Crusades, results of, 36–37, 39
Cuba, schools in, 567; republic, 672, 679–680; in World War, 754
Culture, American, derived from Europe, 666–667
Curie (kü-rē'), Mr. and Mrs., 565
Curzon (kûr'zŏn), Lord, 791
Cushing (kŏŏsh'ĭng), Caleb, 659
Customs Union, in Germany, 281, 411
Cuxhaven (cŏŏks-hä'fĕn), 760
Cyprus (sī'prŭs), 520
Czar (zär), title adopted, 112
Czechoslovakia (chĕĸ-ō-slō-vä'kĭ-ă), republic, 777, 787, 788; woman suffrage, 551. Picture, stamp, 787
Czechs (chĕks), 110, 304, 347, 776, 788

D

Da Gama (dä gä'mä), Vasco, 55–56
Dahomey (dä-hō'mā), 693
Dail Eireann (däl-âr'ĭn), 789
Daimios (dī'myōz), 645
Daimler (dīm'lĕr), inventor, 563
Dakar (dà-kär'), 693
Dalny, 522
Danton (dăN-tôN'), 183, 192, 195, 199
Danu'bian principalities, 518
Danzig (dän'tsĭĸ), free city, 551 817,
Dark Ages, 28–29
Dark Continent, 124. *See* Africa
Dar'win, Charles, scientist, 560, 666
Dauphin (dô'fĭn), the, picture, 187
Da Vinci (dä vēn'chē), Leonardo, 57, 58
Davy, Sir Humphrey, inventor, 260
Dawes, Charles G., 813
Dawes Plan, 813–814, 817
Deák, Francis (dā'äk), 543
De Brazza (dā brät'sä), explorer, 686
Debts, interallied, 815–817
Declaration of the Rights of Man, 177–178, 206, 267, 534
De Forest, inventor, 589
Delcassé (dĕl-kà-sā'), 710, 728
De Lesseps', Ferdinand, 583, 584, 627
Delhi (dĕl'ê), Council House at, 626
Democracy, among Greeks, 10–11, 21; Rousseau champions, 158; in France, 183, 204, 300, 433–440, 539–540; widened by Industrial Revolution, 270; influence of, 293, 300–304; ignored by Congress of Vienna, 312;

progress after Revolution of 1848, 355; in Germany, 446, 454; in Great Britain, 462–505, 548; Europe advances towards, 531–552; in Switzerland, 537–539; woman suffrage, 549–551; extended by World War, 551, 784–787; Canadian, 604–605, 609; in Australia, 614–615; Filipinos learn, 643; in Latin America, 671. Picture, political meeting in Switzerland, facing 534
Demos'thenes, Greek orator, 8
Denmark, kingdom of, 49; adopts Lutheranism, 71; under Napoleon, 218, 231; farming in, 275; government, 356, 357, 534, 535; war with Prussia, 377, 415, 417; loses Schleswig and Holstein, 417; voting in, 547, 551; education, 568
Deputies, *see* Chamber
Deputies on Mission, 198
Dervishes, 693
De So'to, explorations of, 124
Despotism, of Roman governors, 13; of Cromwell's government, 92; of Napoleon's decrees, 229–231; restored by Congress of Vienna, 309–314; after 1815, 314–316; plotted against through secret societies, 316–317; Spain and Italy revolt against, 320–321; in Turkey, 322; in Russian Poland, 326; hatred of, becomes universal, 332; in Italy, 387; in Russia, 523; of Turkish government, 721. *See also* Absolute government
De Valera (vâ-lā'rä), 789, 790, 791
Dewey, Admiral, 642, 713
Dey (dā), 689
Diamonds, in Kimberley, 619
Diaz (dē'äs), Porfirio, dictator, 682
Diaz (dē'äts), General, 769, 773
Dickens, Charles, 481–482, 554–555; picture, 481
Diderot (dēd-rō'), 160; picture, 159
Diet of German Confederation, 313, 408
Directory, French, 202, 203, 207
Disarmament, 806–809, 818; cartoon, 809
Discovery, age of, 55–56; map showing early voyages of, 126–127; scientific discoveries, 556–565
Disraeli (dĭz-rā'lĭ), Benjamin, British leader, 457, 482–484, 486–487; purchases Suez Canal stock, 487, 628, 635; at Congress of Berlin, 710–711. Picture, 483
Divine right of kings, opposed by Puritans, 87–89; upheld by James II, 95; by Tories, 97; by Continental rulers, 103–104, 120, 311–314, 349–351, 458–459, 732–733; rejected, 96, 103, 531–533
Dix, Dorothea, reformer, 572
Dobrudja (dō'brōō-jà) province, 723
Doges (dōj'ĕz), Palace of, picture, 384
Dome, in architecture, 59
Domin'ican Republic, 672, 679
Domin'icans, 64
Dominions, British, 600
Doughboys, 771
Drake, E. L., 565
Drake, Sir Francis, 84, 125, 131
Dresden (drĕz'dĕn), battle of, 749
Dress, pictures: Russian peasant, 115; Hungarian peasant costume, 332; Paris fashions of 1853, 368; Egyptian costume, 628; Alsatian dress, 729
Dreyfus (drā-füs') Affair, 435–437
Dropping the Pilot, cartoon, 459
Dual Alliance, 708, 710
Dub'lin, picture, 503
Duce, il (ēl dōō'chā), 804
Du Chaillu (dü shà-yü'), explorer, 686
Dugouts, picture, 755
Duke, 31, 45
Duma (dōō'mä), 528, 529, 764; picture, 766
Dur'ham, Lord, 602, 603
Duryea (dûr-yā'), Charles, 553, 563
Dutch, win independence, 78, 80; naval supremacy, 86; commerce, 130–131, 145. *See also* Holland
Dutch East India Company, 618, 641
Dutch East Indies, 130, 641
"Dynastic Wars," 116

E

East Africa, British, 695–696; German, 701, 769
East India Company, 131, 139, 251, 625, 626, 658
East Indies, 85, 125; Dutch, 130, 641
East Prussia, Russians in, 747
Eastern Empire, overthrown, 27
Ebert (ā'bĕrt), Friedrich, German president, 786, 802, 805. Picture, 786
Economics, "Economists," 160
Ec'uador, 669, 672, 674, 676
Ed'ison, inventor, 565
Education, in Middle Ages, 28, 37–38, 43; stimulated by printing, 52–53; Renaissance, 59–62; Jesuits' activities, 75; ideas of Rousseau, 158; in France, 200, 223–224, 336–337, 346, 442; neglected in factory system, 256; in Prussia, 336, 337; popular, 336–338, 566–570; in Italy, 397, 403; in England, 486; in Russia, 512, 513; of women, 549; scientific, 556; uneven pace in, 567; Australia and New Zealand, 616; in India, 627; in Philippines, 643; in Japan, 648, 654–655; in China, 660; in modern Turkey, 796. Pictures, 60, 317, 568

Edward VI, of England, 73
Edward VII, of England, 710, 713
E'gypt, early, 3, 4–6, 11, 27, 241–242; conquest by Napoleon, 213–214, 220; and Turkey, 324, 630, 718; British control, 627–630, 698–699, 709; independence, 793
Egyptian Sudan, 693
Elba (ĕl'bȧ), Napoleon sent to, 236
Elections, in ancient Rome, 13–14; in Poland, 120; in France, 169–170, 190, 221, 360, 539, 540; in England, 465–466; in Switzerland, 539, in Italy, 541–542. Pictures, 99, 345, 467, facing 534
Electricity, 248, 565, 649, 650
Elgin (ĕl'gĭn), Lord, 602
Elizabeth, of England, 73, 83–87, 131
Elizabeth, of Russia, 119
Elizabe'than period, 83–87
Embar'go, American, 273
"Emigrants," French, 181
Emigration, from Ireland, 356, 500, 526, 546; from Germany, 457, 598; from Japan, 655–656; of Boers, 619
Encyclopedia, 158, 160
Engine, steam, 246, 247, 249, 260; internal combustion, 562–564
Engineering, Roman, 18, 22
England, in Hundred Years' War, 45; feudal, 46–47; growth of monarchy, 65; revolt against papacy, 72–73; Elizabethan period, 83–87; war with Spain, 84–86; civil war, 90–91; commonwealth, 91; Revolution of 1688, 95–96; attacks French colonies, 118, 119; explorations, 124–125; colonies, 125, 131, 144 (*see* Great Britain); struggle with Napoleon, 226–231; trade, 230–231, 243–244, 593; Industrial Revolution, 243, 244, 248–271; coal and iron, 244, 257–259; applied science, 249; canals, 262; railroads, 264–265; leads in industry, 265; increased population in, 267, 289; guards industrial secrets, 273–274; international policy, 328; reforms, 328–330; refuge for liberals, 356; geographical position, 383, 463; in 1815, 463–468; breaking the power of aristocracy, 468–474; social reforms, 474–477; free trade, 477, 592; education, 486, 566; safeguards her workers, 491–492; relations with Ireland, 497–505; labor unions, 576–577; supremacy in world commerce, 593; influence in Asia, 634–636; helps Latin America gain independence, 670–671; relations with France, 709, 710; new friends and foes, 710–714; enters World War, 742. *See also* Great Britain, London, etc.
English language, origin of, 17
Entente Cordiale (äN-tänt' kôr-dyȧl'), 692, 693, 710: Russia joins, 711
"Enterprise," picture, 563
Erasmus (ē-răz'mŭs), Dutch scholar, 61, 66–68. Picture, 67
Er'icsson, John, inventor, 264
Eritrea (ā-rē-trē'ä), 700
Es'sen, iron works at, picture, 448–449
"Estates," French, 152
Estho'nia, 767, 787, 551
Ether, use of, 560
Eugenie (û-zhā-nē'), 584; picture, 367
Euphrates (û-frā'tēz) River, 3–5
Euripides (û-rĭp'ĭ-dēz), dramatist, 8
Europe, maps: in 1453, 44; in 1648, 81; in 1789, 174–175; war district of, 1788 to 1815, 188; under Napoleon's sway, 225; industrial resources, 286–287; in 1815, 318–319; in 1789, 532; airplane routes, 591; in 1914, 734–735; in 1920, 533; peoples and languages, 782–783
Ev'ans, Oliver, inventor, 264. Picture of steamboat, 263
Evolution, theory of, 560–561
Explorations, during Renaissance, 51–52; by Portugal, 55; of Vasco da Gama, 55–56, 62; of Magellan, 56, 62; of Columbus, 56, 62, 123; of Sir Francis Drake, 84; Hakluyt's accounts of, 86; in America, 124; of De Soto, 124; of Coronado, 124; by English, 124–125; by French, 131; by Russia, 521; of Captain Cook, 610; in Africa, 686, 687. Map of world, 126–127
Extra-territoriality, 662

F

Factory laws, 256, 475, 575–576
Factory system, rise of, 243, 247, 253, 254–260; results of, 265–266; development of, 268, 271; in America, 273, 290; in France, 277, 278; in Germany, 279; in Belgium, 279; evils of, 333, 465
Famine, caused by potato blight, 276, 340; in Ireland, 500, 502
"Farmers-general," 150
Farming, *see* Agriculture
Fascisti (fä-shē'stē), 803, 804
Fasho'da, 709
Favre (fȧ'vr'), 429; picture, 429
Federal state, defined, 604
Federations: Latin League, 13; of German states, 313, 444; in Switzerland, 356; Canada, 603; Australia, 612; in Latin America, 672
Ferdinand, king of Naples, 320
Ferdinand VII, of Spain, 311, 316, 670
Ferry (fĕ-rē'), Jules, 692

Feudal Age, 29–38; feudal customs, 155
Feudalism, origin of, 29; authority of lords under, 42–43; decline of, 42, 51, 54; end of, 167, 204, 243, 298–299, 356, 383; in Japan, 645–648
Fez, 718
Fief, 43
Field, Cyrus W., 588
Filipinos, 567, 599, 794
Fillmore, President, 646
Finland, 313, 550, 767, 788
Firearms, first use of, 54
Fitch, John, inventor, 262
Flanders, 755; picture, 32
Flax, 253, 441
Florida, ceded to Great Britain, 139
Flying shuttle, invention of, 251–252
Foch (fōsh), 770, 772, 773, 774. Picture, 773
Food, exports and imports, 133–134, 591, 614; effect of Industrial Revolution, 261, 266–267, 275–276
Formo'sa, island, ceded to Japan, 652
Fort George in 1740, picture, 137
Four Power Pacific Treaty, 808–809
Fourier (fōō-rē-ā'), social reformer, 335
"Fourteen Points," 775
"Fourth estate," 570
Fox, Charles James, quoted, 189
France, in Middle Ages, 45–46; religious wars, 75–77; colonies, 76, 119, 131, 135, 137–139, 369, 441, 640, 689–694; annexes Alsace, 77; absolute government, 103–108; under Louis XIV, 105–108, 115–116; loses colonies, 108, 116, 139; under Louis XVI, 120; struggle with Great Britain, 137–139; on eve of Revolution, 146–165; and American Revolution, 150, 162; Revolution, 168–208 (*see* French Revolution); drafts a constitution, 179–180; becomes republic, 190, 191; attempts to reform Europe, 192, 194; ruled by Directory, 202, 203, 207; reforms attempted, 200–203; under Napoleon, 211–239; Industrial Revolution, 271, 274–280, 283, 285; railroads, 285, 288; nationalism, 303, 554; in 1815, 309–310; despotism restored, 315; aids Greece, 323; Revolution of 1830, 325–326; socialist agitation, 335; education, 336–337, 346, 442; Second Republic, 341–345, 359–365; Second Empire, 365–380; Crimean War, 370; war with Austria, 372; war with Germany, 377–379, 413, 417, 420–421; loses Alsace and Lorraine, 379; withdraws garrison from Rome, 402; revolutions, 425–426; Third Republic, 428–443; war of Communards, 430; constitution of 1875, 432–435; Dreyfus Affair, 435–437; alliance between church and state, 437–439; military system, 440–441, 443, 714, 728–729; in 1914, 442–443; a centralized republic, 539–540; unions in, 577; social insurance in, 578; starts Suez canal, 584; in Egypt, 628; alliance with Great Britain and Russia, 634, 692, 693, 736; in Asia, 640–641; concession in China, 659, 660; in Africa, 685, 689–694; Bismarck against, 706–707; and her neighbors, 708–710; in Morocco, 716; in World War, 740 745–749, 770–771; in Peace Conference, 775; occupies Ruhr Valley, 813, 814; adjustment with Germany, 815. Map, modern France, 438. *See also* Paris, etc.
Franchise, *see* Voting, and Elections
Francis Ferdinand, murder of, 738
Francis Joseph, of Austria, 349, 721, 738. Picture, 339
Francis'cans, 64
Franco-Prussian War, 378–380, 728
Frank'fort, annexed to Prussia, 418
Frankfort, Treaty of, 379–380, 428
Frankfort Parliament, 351, 352
Franklin, Benjamin, 160, 165, 248
Franks, in Gaul, 25, 27
Frederick the Great, of Prussia, 118, 120, 121; wars of, 137. Picture, 119
Frederick William IV, of Prussia, 349, 351, 352
Free speech, 316, 329, 569
Free trade, adoption of, in Great Britain, 474, 477, 592
Freedom, in Renaissance, 61, 62
French, General, 746
French Equatorial Africa, 686, 694
French Revolution, effect on Great Britain, 101; beginnings of, 168–173; stages in, 173, 181–187; attitude of other nations towards, 187, 189–190; felt in America, 202–203; results of, 203–204, 207, 271–272, 293, 308, 425; influence, on Latin America, 669
French West Africa, 693–694
Friars, 64–65, 68
Friedland (frēd'länt), battle of, 217; picture, 219
Fry, Elizabeth, reformer, 572
Fukien (fōō'kĭ-ĕn'), 653, 662
Fulton, Robert, inventor, 264, 290

G

Gabelle (gȧ-bel'), tax in France, 156
Galicia (gȧ-lĭsh'ĭ-ȧ), Poland, 777
Galile'o, Italian scientist, 55, 62
Gallipoli (găl-lē'pō-lē) Pen., 754, 759
Gambet'ta, Léon, 428, 433, 438
Games, among Greeks, 9–10; among Puritans, 92

Gandhi (gänd'hē), 791–792. Picture, 792
Gardens, in France, picture, 153
Garibaldi (gä-rē-bäl'dē), Italian leader, 391–395; marriage, 392; character, 392–393; defender of Italian liberty, 393–395; 400–401. Picture, 392
Gatun (gä-tōōn') Locks, picture, 680
General Security, Committee of, 196
Genet (zhē-nĕ'), envoy, 203
Gene'va, 71, 821; conference at, 748. Picture, League of Nations building, 784
"Gentleman's agreement," 655
Geography, knowledge of, 123–125
Geology, 558
George I, of England, 98
George II, 99
George III, 99–100, 464, 471; policy towards American colonies, 141
George IV, 464, 472
George, David Lloyd, Liberal leader, 491, 492, 494, 577, 625, 736, 774, 776, 790, 791, 806. Picture, 776
Germ theory of disease, 559, 560
German Confederation, 313, 317; Austria's part in, 410, 418
German East Africa, 457, 769, 777
German Empire, under Bismarck, 421, 423, 444–460. Map, states of, 445. *See* Germany
German Republic, 774
German Southwest Africa, 696, 769, 777
Germans, in Napoleon's army, 233; nationalism of, 294; attain independence and self-government, 297; in Austria, 304, 346–347; attempt union, 351; in Schleswig and Holstein, 415; in Hungary, 777; in South America, 674
Germany, disunited, 48, 80, 109, 271, 280, 406–411; and new learning, 66; in Thirty Years' War, 77, 78–80; after Treaty of Westphalia, 80, 109; and Napoleon, 217–218, 223, 230–232, 238; farming in, 274–276; Industrial Revolution, 278–283; improved transportation, 283, 285; railroads, 288; population, 289, 443, 598; nationalism, 299, 303, 305, 577; after 1815, 309, 313, 315; secret societies in, 316–317; Revolution of 1848, 337–340, 349–352, 354, 356; attempted union, 351, 354; war with France, 378–380, 420–423; acquires Alsace-Lorraine, 380, 423; Bismarck unites, 406–423; Prussian leadership, 418–419; proclaimed as empire, 421, 423; colonies, 456–457, 599, 612, 693, 701–702; under Bismarck's leadership, 444–460; courts, 445, 451; Austrian alliance, 457; under William II, 459–460; social insurance, 577; enters field of world commerce, 593; concessions in China, 659; Monroe Doctrine enforced against, 678, 679; alliance with Austria and Italy, 691; opposes France, over Morocco, 693, 716; and her neighbors, 705–707; unfriendliness with Great Britain, 712–713; increases standing army, 724; treatment of Alsace-Lorraine, 729–730; demands place in the sun, 730–736; challenges Britain's naval power, 733, 736; in World War, 739–743, 745–763, 767–777; collapse of her allies, 773–774; losses, 777; becomes a republic, 785–786, 802; cabinet system in, 787; adjustment with France, 815; admitted to League of Nations, 815. Map, unification of, 416. *See also* Baden, Bavaria, Berlin, etc.
Gibral'tar, 116, 630
Girondists (jĭ-rŏn'dĭsts), 191, 196, 198
Gladstone (glăd'stŭn), William E., 482–483, 485–489; colonial policy, 483, 620; notable reforms, 485–488; home rule policy, 489, 496, 499, 501; labor policy, 576–577. Pictures, 482, 488, 489
Glasgow, University of, 246
Glass, early use of, 6; scientific use, 55
Goethals (gō'thălz), Colonel, 584
Gold, basis of Spanish colonization, 129, 130; in Australia, 611, 613; in the Transvaal, 620
Goodyear, inventor, 291
Gordon, General, in Sudan, 698
Gorgas (gôr'găs), sanitary expert, 676
Gothic architecture, picture, 35
Government, Greek, 10–11; Roman, 12–14, 16–18; feudal, 29, 42–43; in England, 88–89, 95–100, 535–537; absolute, 103–104 (*see* Absolute government); colonial, 135–136, 140–141, 667; ideas of Montesquieu, 158; ideas of Adam Smith, 268; ideas of Metternich, 309; socialistic ideas, 334–335; anarchistic ideas, 335; in France, 425–427, 432–434, 539–540; in Germany, 444–447, 785–786; Russia, 511–512, 798–800; European systems of constitutional, 533–545; in Switzerland, 537–539; federal form, 604; of British dominions, 604–605, 611–613, 617, 624, 626–627, 790; of Japan, 650–651, 655. *See also* Absolute government
Government ownership of railroads, 285, 288, 289; in New Zealand, 617; in Japan, 649
Grana'da, Moors expelled from, 48
Grand Army, of Napoleon, 233
"Gray Friars," 64

Great Britain, kingdom formed, 98; colonies, 133–145, 329, 569, 597–631, 694–699, 703 (*see* British Empire); wars with France, 137, 194, 226, 235, 273, 309; loses American colonies, 140; railroads, 288, 289; manufacturing, 292 (*see* England); democracy, 304, 328–330, 462–463, 474, 485, 488, 495, 548, 551, 787; opposes Holy Alliance, 314, 328; aids Greece, 323, 328; aids Belgium, 328; naval war against China, 369, 658; in Crimean War, 370; growth of democracy in, 462–505, 548; champion of free trade, 477; cabinet system of, 505, 535–537; attitude toward Russian expansion, 516; woman suffrage, 551, 787; freedom of press, 569; labor laws, 575; trade-unionism, 576–577; social insurance, 577; postal service, 586; telegraph, 587; submarine cables, 588; commerce, 593; empire, 597–631; in India, 625–627; control in Egypt, 627–630, 698, 709, 793; alliance with France, 634, 692, 693, 736; alliance with Japan, 635, 753, 806, 809; concessions in China, 659, 660; African colonies, 685, 694–699; unfriendliness with Germany, 712–713; at beginning of World War, 741; in Peace Conference, 775; mandates, 794; relations with Soviet Russia, 797; in Arms Conference, 806–809. *See also* England, and British Empire

Greece, ancient, 7–12; legal system, 223; wins independence, 321–325, 518; government, 534, 545; in Balkan Wars, 722, 723; in Smyrna, 794; war with Turkey, 795

Greek Catholic Church, 80, 112

Greek Christians, 323, 573

Greek language, survival of, 56; in Renaissance, 59–61, 66

Greeks, civilization of, 7–12, 21; as traders and colonizers, 11–12; revolt against Turks, 322–323; modern, 324–325

Grévy (grā-vē′), Jules, 433

Grey, Sir Edward, 711, 736, 740. Picture, 741

Griffith, Arthur, 790, 791

Guayaquil (gwī-ä-kēl′), 676–677

Guiana (gē-ä′nȧ), 137, 145, 630, 672, 693

Guild Hall, Stratford-on-Avon, 41

Guilds, 39–41; privileges of, 155; abolished in France, 177; disappearance of, 243, 272

Guillotine, 192, 196, 206. Picture, 196

Guizot (gē-zō′), 341, 342, 346

Gunpowder, use of, 52; invention of, 54

Gusta′vus Adol′phus, of Sweden, 79

Gutenberg (gōō′tĕn-bĕrĸ), John, 52

H

Habeas Corpus (hā′bē-ȧs kôr′pŭs), 94

Hague (hāg), Conferences, 715, 716, 730, 748, 819. Picture, peace palace, 715

Hague Tribunal, 715, 740, 748

Haig, General, 770, 773. Picture, 773

Haiti (hā′tĭ), 672, 679

Ham′burg, 445; pictures, 812, 814

Hampden, John, Puritan leader, 90

Hankow (hăn′kō′), steel plant, 661

Hanoi (hä-noi′), picture, 640

Han′over, 313, 407; annexed, 418

Hapsburgs, 105, 110, 118, 119, 515, 785; Austria under, 109–110, 409

Hara (hä′rä), Japanese premier, 806

Hardenberg (här′dĕn-bĕrĸ), 235

Harding, President, 806

Har′greaves, James, inventor, 252, 253

Harris, Townsend, 647, 655

Harvesting, 564; pictures, 241, 608

Har′vey, English scientist, 248

Havana (hȧ-văn′ȧ), 675

Hawaii (hä-wī′ē), and Hawaiian (hä-wī′yăn) Islands, discovered, 125; missionaries in, 572, 574

Haynes, American inventor, 563

Headdress, picture, 166

Helgoland (hĕl′gō-lănt), 712, 760, 778

He′lium, 556, 558

Hel′las, 10, 12. *See also* Greece

Hemp, 441; picture, 642

Henry IV (Henry of Navarre), 76, 106

Henry VIII, of England, 72

Heresy, 64–65; Jesuits struggle against, 75; attempts to suppress, 78

Herod′otus, Greek historian, 8

Herriot (âr-ryō′) French premier, 802

Herzegovina (hĕr-tsĕ-gō-vē′nä), 520, 521, 737, 777

Hesse (hĕs), 407, 418, 445

Hesse-Darmstadt, 419, 421

Hill, Sir Rowland, 586

Hindenburg, General, 758, 786, 805

Hindenburg line, 773

Hindus, 627. Picture, temple, 637

History, dawn of, 1–2; Greek contribution to modern, 8

Hohenzollern (hō-ĕn-tsōl′ĕrn) family, 111, 119, 378, 732. Pictures, 103, 458, 732

Holland, or the Netherlands, Dutch, independence, 78, 80; colonies, 86, 130, 133, 144, 571, 599, 618, 641–643, 685; war with France, 119, 194, 217; under Napoleon, 218, 230–231; legal system, 223; economic development, 262, 275, 280; new kingdom, 313; Belgium annexed to, 313, 326–327; government, 356, 357, 534, 545; voting in, 547, 551; education, 568; social insurance in, 578. *See also* Dutch

Holstein (hōl'shtīn), 415, 417, 418
Holy Alliance, 314, 320–330
Holy Land, crusades to, 36–37
Holy Roman Empire, 27–28, 109
Home Rule, Irish, 488–489, 496, 500–504, 788–791. Pictures, 488, 489
Homer, Greek poet, 8
Homes, pictures, 30, 31, 103, 154, 176
Honduras (hŏn-dōō'rȧs), 672
Hongkong, 630, 658–659
Horace, poet, 16
House of Commons, *see* Commons
Housing problem, after Industrial Revolution, 255, 289–290
Howe, inventor, 291
Hughes, Secretary, 797, 808
Hu'guenots, 72, 75–76, 80; policy of Richelieu towards, 77; supported by English, 85; policy of Louis XIV towards, 106, 108; leave France, 108
"Humanism," and Humanists, 60, 67
Humanitarians, 468
Hundred Years' War, 45; second, 709; picture, 46
Hungarians, 25–26, 354
Hungary, rise of, 49; under Turks, 49, 513, 515; under Austria, 110, 349, 410, 509; Magyars in, 110, 346–347; Revolution of 1848, 346–348, 354, 357, 570; home rule, 543; voting in, 548, 551; after World War, 777, 787. Picture, peasant costumes, 332. *See also* Austria-Hungary
Huns, picture, 24
Hux'ley, Thomas, 560

I

Iceland, woman suffrage in, 551
Il'iad, 8, 59
Illiteracy, in Italy, 403; in Europe, 567–568; in India, 627; in Egypt, 629; in Latin America, 671
Immigration, to America, 356, 500, 526, 546; to Canada, 601–602, 608; to Australia, 611; to Transvaal, 620; to Latin America, 671, 674
Imperial Conference of 1926, 600, 630
Imperialism, French, 206–207, 239, 380, 692; British, 483, 486–490, 600, 625, 630; Japanese, 653; modern, 597, 599, 702–703
Implements, improvements in, 564
India, civilization, 3; French colonies, 118, 119; early trade, 124, 125, 131, 243–244; population, 128, 625; struggle between French and British, 136, 137, 139; Queen Victoria, empress, 487; missionaries in, 573, 574; mutiny, 625–626; in British Empire, 625–627, 634–637; aspires to self-government, 791–792. Pictures, 251, 568, 626, 635, 637
Individualism, development, 61, 62, 74
Indo-China, 573, 640–641, 662
Indulgences, 69–70
Industrial resources, maps, 259, 286
Industrial Revolution, 241–291; in England, 243, 244, 248–270; changes wrought by, 243, 255, 265–270; produces modern factory, 254–255; effects upon modern life, 269–270, 289–290, 293, 305, 332–333, 465, 575, 706; in France, 271, 274–280, 283, 285; in United States, 273, 290–291, 666; in Germany, 278–283; social changes as result of, 289–290; in Japan, 292, 593, 649–650; effect on Russia, 526, 529
Industry, in Middle Ages, 33, 38–43; slow development in Central Europe, 48; under Peter the Great, 104; sugar raising, 134, 276; cotton, 134, 251–254; in England, 243, 244, 248–270, 635–636; iron and coal, 244, 257–258, 260; women and children in, 245, 251, 255, 475–476, 549; revolutionized by steam engine, 246–248; textile, 250–254, 278–279; stimulates transportation, 261; Adam Smith's principles, 267–268; social distinctions in, 269–270; American, 273–274, 290; in France, 277–278, 280, 440, 441–442; in Germany, 278–279, 281–282, 454–455, 457, 460, 712–713; in Russia, 282–283, 523, 524, 526, 708, 797–798; in Italy, 403, 404; markets needed for modern, 598; in Australia, 613–614; Latin American, 671; during World War, 750. Pictures: frontispiece, 32, 33, 52, 53, 241, 242, 245, 250, 256, 257, 272, 278, 333, 562, 635, 661, 672, 696
Initiative, 539
Inoculation, to prevent smallpox, 249
Inquisition, of Philip II, 78
Insurance, industrial, 454–455; national, 491; social, 577–578
Interallied Reparations Commission, 778, 811–813
International law, 746–749, 761
International Postal Union, 587
"Intolerable Acts," 143
Inventions, by early peoples, 6; of printing, 52–53; mariners' compass, 53; gunpowder, 54; clocks, 55; microscope, 55; telescope, 55; effect on modern life, 241–243; turbine water wheel, 246; steam engine, 246, 249; modern machines, 249–250; cotton-spinning machines, 251–254; safety lamp, 260; steamboat, 262–264; screw propeller, 264; in America, 291
Iraq (ē-räk'), 600, 636

Ireland, population, 289, 465; emigration from, 356; Catholicism, 470; home rule for, 488–489, 630, 788–791; relations with England, 497–505
Irish Free State, 551, 630, 788–791
Iron, increased use, 6, 244; revolution in the iron industry, 257–258, 260; in ship construction, 264, 583; in Belgium, 279; in France, 279–280, 380, 442; in Germany, 281, 292; in the United States, 291, 292; in England, 292; in China, 654, 656. Pictures, 448–449, 661
"Iron Chancellor," 444, *see* Bismarck
"Iron Horse," 264–265, 283, 307
"Ironsides," 90
Irrigation, early use of, 5; in India, 627; in Egypt, 629
Isabella, marriage to Ferdinand, 47
Islam, 27
Is'tria, 754, 777
"Ita'lia Irreden'ta," 403, 754, 777
Italians, a new race, 27; creative artists, 56; leaders in Renaissance, 61; in Austria-Hungary, 304. *See* Italy
Italo-Turkish War, 722
Italy, under control of Rome, 13; in medieval commerce, 45; under popes and emperors, 48–49; in Renaissance, 56–57, 59–61; under Austria, 116, 303, 311–312, 315, 316, 353–354; under Napoleon, 211, 213, 217–218, 222, 231, 235, 236; legal system, 223; disunited, 271, 383–385; industrial conditions, 282; railroads, 288; nationalism in, 294, 299, 353, 403, 554; despotism in, 315, 316; secret societies, 317, 387; revolts against despotism, 320–321; effects of July Revolution in, 326; Revolution of 1848, 353–356; unification of, 383–405, 406–407, 421, 423, 706; obstacles to union, 386–387; work of Mazzini, 388, 391; Garibaldi, 391–394, 400; Cavour, 394–401; in Congress of Paris, 397–398; problems and progress, 402–405; in Triple Alliance, 457, 691, 707; colonies, 403, 520, 700–701; government, 534, 541–542; voting, 547, 548; unions, 577; social insurance, 578; increase of population, 598; war with Turkey, 700, 722; friendly with France, 710; military system, 714; in World War, 749, 754, 768–769, 773; in Peace Conference, 775; Fascist revolution, 803–805. Picture, southern coast of, 382. Map, unification, 399
Ito (ē'tō), Japanese statesman, 650, 651
Ivory, 124, 687, 688, 699; picture, loading, in British East Africa, 696
Ivory Coast, 693

J

Jacobin (jăk'ō-bĭn) Club, and Jacobins, 182–183, 189–192; pictures, 183, 201
James I, of England, 88–89
James II, of England, 94–95
Jameson (jām'sŭn) raid, 621
Japan, 643–656; early trade with, 124, 125; legal system, 223; industrial progress, 292, 593, 649–650; war with Russia, 522, 523, 526, 652–653; schools, 567, 648, 654–655; missionaries, 573, 646; alliance with Great Britain, 635, 753, 806, 809; religion, 644, 645, 646; reopens doors, 646–648; government, 650–651; relations with China, 651–654; of to-day, 654–655; contacts with United States, 655–656, 806; in World War, 749, 752–753, 769, 777; in Peace Conference, 775. Pictures, 568, 645, 647, 649, 650, 651, 655
Ja'va, 641
Jefferson, Thomas, 177–178, 189
Jel'licoe, Admiral, 760
Jena (yā'nä), battle of, 217, 235
Jen'ner, scientist, 249
Jeru'salem, 36, 769. Picture, 768
Jesuits (jĕz'ū-ĭts), 75; in Germany, 79, 452; in Japan, 646; in China, 657
Jesus, founder of Christianity, 19–20
Jews, in France, 436; Great Britain, 495; Russia, 528, 529; Palestine, 636
Joan (jōn) of Arc, 45
Joffre (zhŏ'fr'), General, 746; picture ,773
Johannesburg (yō-hän'ĕs-bûrg), 620; picture, 621
Joseph II, of Austria, 120
Joseph, of Spain, 218, 226, 232–233, 669
Josephine, wife of Napoleon, 211, 221
"July Revolution," 325; spread of, 326
"June Days," 344, 359–360, 426
Junker (yōōng'kĕr), 460
Jury system, 223, 354, 666
Jut'land, battle of, 760

K

Kaf'fir raids, 619
Kaiser (kī'zĕr) of Germany, 447–448
Kamchat'ka, 234
Kamerun (kăm-ĕr-ōōn'), 457, 694, 701, 769, 777
Kay, John, inventor, 251–252
Kellogg treaty, 820.
Kemal (kā-mäl') Pasha, revives Turkey, 794–795. Picture, 795
Ken'ya, 600, 630, 695
Khartum (kär-tōōm'), 698, 699, 709; picture, 695
Khedive (kĕ-dēv'), 628, 698
Kiaochow (kyou'chō'), 659, 753
Kiel (kēl), 760; picture, 714

Kiel Canal, 584–585
Kim'berley, mines, 619–620
Kings, under feudalism, 43; power of, 43, 45; relation to church, 67; under cabinet system, 100
Kings'ley, author, 481
Kipling, Rudyard, writings, 490, 599; selection from *Recessional*, 505
Kitch'ener, General, 623, 698–699, 709
Knights of Columbus, war work, 764
Knox, John, reforms of, 72
Königgrätz (kû-nĭĸ-grĕts'), battle, 418
Kore'a, under Japan, 644, 651–652, 653
Kosciusko (kŏs-ĭ-ŭs'kō), 121
Kossuth (kŏsh'ŏŏt), Louis, 348, 349, 357; pictures, 348, 350
Krem'lin of Moscow, picture, 113
Kruger (krü'gēr), Paul, 619, 621, 623
Krupp Iron Works, 281, 456
"Kultur" (kŏŏl-tōōr'), 730–731
Kulturkampf (kŏŏl-tōōr'kämpf), 452
Kuomingtang, 663
Kurland (kōōr'lănd), 767
Kwangchow (kwäng'chō), 660
Kyoto (kyō'tō), 645; picture, 568

L

Labor, early, 6; of medieval peasants, 33; in England, 243, 254–260, 491–492; effect of Industrial Revolution, 243, 254–260, 269, 292; changed by inventions, 251–252; child, 255, 256, 475–476, 576; laws regulating, 268; in France, 271, 365, 368, 375; in Belgium, 279; problems of, 290, 332–333; in England, 340, 469; Bismarck's policy, 454–456; improvement in conditions of, 575; woman, 476, 576; in Australia, 614; in New Zealand, 617; conscription, in Russia, 797
Labor party, 491, 802
Labor-saving devices, 291
Labor unions, 575, 577
Lafayette (lä-fā-yĕt'), 162, 173, 178, 186, 325
La Hogue, battle of, picture, 117
Laissez faire (lĕ'sā fâr'), 267–268
Lamartine (lâ-mâr-tēn'), 342
Land, of the church, 33, 63, 65, 152, 178–179; in France, 200, 204, 206, 223; in Ireland, 497–498, 501–502; in Russia, 511, 525
Land purchase acts, 502
Landlords, feudal, 29; Irish, 497, 498
Language, Greek, 12, 59, 67–68, 322; Latin, 17–18, 22, 37, 38, 59–60, 61, 62, 67–68; origin of modern, 17; English, 17; French, 17, 451; Italian, 17, 338; Spanish, 17, 129; Dutch, 326, 623; German, 338, 451; in India, 627. Map, European, 782–783
La Salle (lä-säl'), explorations of, 131
Latin America, republics created in, 168; gains independence, 321–322, 328, 667–671; conditions to-day in, 667–682; religion of, 667; peoples of, 674–676; finances in, 677–678; part in World War, 678; feelings towards United States, 682–683
Latin language, 17–18, 22; in Middle Ages, 37, 38; revival of, 59–62
Latin League, 13
Lat'via, 551, 787
Laud (lôd), Archbishop, 89
Lausanne (lō-zăn'), conference at, 795
Law, English, 17, 470; Roman, 17, 18, 22, 38; Codes of Napoleon, 222–223, 232, 298–299; factory, 475, 575–576
"Law of maximum," 198
League of Nations, 600, 636, 777, 778, 780, 786, 817–818. Pictures: assembly of, 817; enlarged council of, 819
Leeds, 258
"Left," party name, 434–435. *See also* Mountain
Legion of Honor, 224–225
Legitimists, 431
Leipzig (līp'sĭk), "Battle of the Nations" at, 235. Pictures: French soldiers searching for British goods in, 230; battle monument at, 297
Len'in, Nicholas, 766, 798
Leo X, Pope, 69–70
Leon'idas, 323
Leopold II, king of Belgium, 687, 694
"Lese majesty," principle of, 546
Levant' routes, 515, 718
Levas'sor, French inventor, 563
Leviathan (lē-vī'ă-thăn), 580
Liaotung (lĕ-ou-tōōng'), 652
Liberal party, in England, 479, 488–489, 624; in Germany, 316–317, 413–415
Liberal-Unionists, 489
Liberalism, 336, 338, 356, 364
Liberation, War of, 235, 313
Liberty Bonds, 764
Libya (lĭb'ĭ-ă), 700
Lick Observatory, picture, 557
Limited monarchy, 531–537
Lincoln, President, 376
Lindbergh, Captain Charles A., 564; picture, 565
Linen, 277, 279; picture, 333
Linnæ'us, scientist, 248
Lis'ter, Joseph, surgeon, 559, 560
Literature, Greek, 8, 12, 21; Roman, 16, 22; Latin, 18, 21; during Renaissance, 53, 59–60; English, 84, 86–87, 480–482, 489–490; French, 106, 158, 160, 443
Lithua'nia, 551, 787
Livingstone, David, 573, 686–687, 695
Livo'nia, 768

Liv'y, historian, 16
Lloyd George, *see* George
Local government, in England, 466; in Russia, 511–512; of France, 540
Locar'no, conference at, 815
Locke, 667
Locomotive, steam, 247, 264–265, 346; first in America, 290. Picture, 285
Lollards, 65
Lom'bards, settle in Italy, 25
Lom'bardy, 353–354, 384, 398
Lombardy-Venetia, 316, 348
London, banking center, 594; bombed, 752. Pictures, 83, 301, 467, 493, 501
London, Treaty of, 722
Long Parliament, 90, 91
Longpont (lôN-pôN'), pictures, 810, 811
Loom, power, invented, 253
Lords, feudal, 29, 31, 42–43
Lords, House of, composition of, 464, 465, 466; reform of, 494–495; Irish members, 498. Picture, 473
Lorraine (lô-rān'), 380, 423, 427. Picture, fortress at Metz in, 728. *See also* Alsace-Lorraine
Louis (lōō'ĭ) XIII, of France, 76, 106
Louis XIV, 76–77, 80, 105–108; palace, 106, 107; wars of, 115–116
Louis XV, 104, 108, 148
Louis XVI, autocracy of, 120; character, 148; reign, 163, 172, 185–187; death, 192. Pictures, 177, 187
Louis XVIII, 310, 311, 315, 670
Louis Napoleon. *See* Napoleon III
Louis Philippe (fē-lēp'), reign of, 325–326, 341–342; abdication, 342
Louisiana, 220, 369
Loyalists, 144, 602
Loyola (lô-yō'lä), 68, 75; picture, 67
Lü'beck, in German Empire, 445
Ludendorff (lōō'dĕn-dôrf), 769, 770, 772
Lüle-Burgas (lü'lĕ-bōōr-gäs'), 722
Lusita'nia, sinking of, 762
Luther, Martin, 68–72; picture, 67
Lutherans, 71, 79
Lützen (lüt'sĕn), battle of, 79
Lux'emburg, 534; invasion of, 745
Lyell (lī'ĕl), Sir Charles, geologist, 558
Lys (lēs) River, 770

M

Macau'lay, 554, 571
Macdonald, Sir John A., 603
MacDonald, Ramsay, 802, 805
Macedo'nia, 722, 723
Machinery, inventions of, 249–250; in English textile industry, 250–254; in Germany, 281; in America, 290; opposition to introduction of, 306; new age of, 332–333
Mac'kensen, General, 758
MacMahon (mȧk-mȧ-ôN'), 431, 433
Madagas'car, French colony, 441, 694
"Made in Germany," 460
Madrid', 232, 316, 569
Madura (mȧd'ŏŏ-rȧ), temple, picture, 637
Mafe'king, Boer trenches, picture, 623
Magellan, explorer, 56, 62, 123
Magen'ta, battle of, 373
Magna Charta, 89
Magyars (mŏd'yŏrz), in Hungary, 49, 110, 304, 346–347, 349, 545, 777
Mahdi, in the Sudan, 698
Mahogany cutting, picture, 672
Mail, 582–583. *See* Postal service
Mainz (mīnts), 774, 812
Majestic, radio room, picture, 589
Maju'ba Hill, battle of, 620
Malay' peninsula, 636
Man'chester, 254
Manchu'ria, and Russia, 522, 634; and Japan, 644, 652; and China, 656, 662
Mandate, 600, 636, 779, 794
Manhood suffrage, 495, 542, 547, 548. *See* Voting
Manor, feudal, 29; manor house, 154
Manufacturing, in Dark Ages, 29; stimulated by crusades, 37; development in towns, 39; prohibited in colonies, 135, 251–258; in France, 155, 220, 231, 275, 277, 292, 368, 442; control by craft guilds, 243; in England, 243, 250–254, 265, 292, 329, 477, 484; in America, 273, 276, 277, 290, 291, 292; in homes, 278, 279; in Belgium, 279; in Germany, 280–281, 292, 411, 456, 460; in Italy, 396–397; increase in, 305; in Ireland, 497, 500; Great Britain as leader in, 505, 713; in Russia, 526, 798; importance of steel in, 562; tariffs as protection for, 592; demand for raw materials, 598; in Australia, 613, 614; in Japan, 649; in China, 660. Pictures, 52, 242, 250–253, 278, 333, 562, 635. *See also* Industry and Industrial Revolution
Marat (mȧ-rȧ'), 183, 192, 195, 199
Mar'athon, battle of, 11
Marchand (mȧr-shäN'), 709
Marco Polo, travels of, 55
Marco'ni, inventor, 589, 666
Marcus Aure'lius, emperor, 14
Maren'go, battle of, 217
Maria Theresa (mȧ-rī'ȧ tĕ-rē'sȧ), empress, 118, 121, 148
Marie Antoinette, 148, 196; picture, 187
Mariners' compass, invented, 53
Marne, battles, 745–746, 754, 769, 772
Marseillaise (mär-sĕ-lāz'), 194, 708
Marseille (mȧr-sâ'y'), revolt of, 199 picture, battalion from, 191
Marx, Karl, 336, 667; picture, 339

Mary, Queen of Scots, 84, 88
Mary, wife of William of Orange, 95
Masaryk (mä'sà-rēk), Thomas, 787
Masonic lodges, in Italy, 317
Massachusetts, opposes England, 143
Mat'oppo Hills, monument at, 622
Mazu'rian Lakes, battle of, 758
Mazzini (mät-sē'nē), 340, 388, 389, 391; picture, 339
Maximil'ian, German emperor, picture, 60
Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, 376, 377, 679
McAdam, road builder, 262
McCormack, John, 667
McCormick, Cyrus, inventor, 291, 564
Measuring, early systems of, 6
Meck'lenburg, 445
Merchants, medieval, 39, 40–41, 43; pictures, 33, 54
Mesopota'mia, 3–6, 11, 636, 768, 794
Metal work, new tools for, 249–250
Metric system, introduced, 200
Metternich (mĕt'ĕr-nĭĸ), Prince, reactionary leader, 300, 308–310; advises Carlsbad Decrees, 317, 320–321; exile of, 346, 347. Picture, 339
Metz, fortress, 379; pictures, 728, 773
Meuse (mûz) river, 755; picture, dugouts near, 755
Mexico, conquest of, 124; failure of Napoleon III in, 369, 376–377; slavery abolished in, 571; financial difficulties, 677; America declines to pacify, 682.
Michael, becomes czar, 112–113
Michelangelo (mī-kĕl-ăn'jĕ-lō), 57, 667. Picture, work of, 390
Microscope, 55, 558
Middle Ages, religious belief in, 16–17; church, 21; Europe in, 24–38, 561
"Midsummer Night's Dream," picture of performance of, 87
Mil'an, 61, 384; picture, 372
Milan decree, of Napoleon, 229
Military equipment, pictures, 55, 119, 343, 698, 751, 752, 757
Militarism, Prussian, 112, 413–415; England free from, 244; in Austria, 348–349; in Italy, 403; German, 423, 449, 730, 731; in Japan, 648; cause of World War, 714–716, 727
Military systems: Prussian, 235, 440, 450; French, 440–441, 443, 540; German, 444, 460, 730; in England, 463; Japanese, 644–645, 648
Millerand (mēl-räN'), 437, 802
Mil'ner, Lord, 793
Mil'tenberg, picture, 419
Minimum wages, 492, 614, 617
Mining, 244, 258–260, 279–280, 613; pictures, 256, 260, 613
Mir (mēr), 511, 525
Mirabeau (mē-rà-bō'), 172, 173, 186
Missionaries, Christian, 369, 572–574, 599, 646, 657–659, 686, 703
Mode'na, duchy of, 384–385, 387, 399
Moham'med, religious teacher, 26–27
Mohammedans, conquests, 26–27, 36, 47; crusades against, 36–37. *See also* Ottoman Empire
Moltke (môlt'kĕ), von, General, 418
Mona Lisa (mō'nà lē'sà), painting, 58
Monarchists, French party, 364, 431
Monarchy, growth of, 65; limited, 531–537. *See also* Absolute government
Monastir (mŏn-ăs-tēr'), 722
Mongo'lia, 653, 656, 662
Mongolians (Mongols), invade Russia, 49, 112
Monks, 68, 70; in France, 439. *See also* Friars
Monroe, President, 321, 322, 670
Monroe Doctrine, 321–322, 376, 670, 678–679, 682
Mont Cenis (môN sē-nē'), 397
Montene'gro, independent, 518, 534, 722; in World War, 753, 758; in Yugoslavia, 777, 788
Montesquieu (mŏn-tĕs-kū'), 158, 179, 669; picture, 159
Montevid'eo, 675
Montgolfier (mŏnt-gŏl'fĭ-ēr) balloon, picture, 164
Monuments, pictures, 293, 301, 302, 451, 622
Moore, John Bassett, 818, 819
Mora'via, 347, 776, 788
More, Sir Thomas, 61
Morgans, financiers, 594
Moors, in Spain, 47, 48
Moroc'co, and France, 692–693, 710, 716–718. Picture, 717
Morse, Samuel F. B., inventor, 291, 587
Morton, Wm. T. G., 560
Mos'cow, 112, 288, 522, 798, 800; burning of, 234; uprisings in, 528. Pictures, 113, 512
Moslems, 36, 636. *See* Mohammedans
Mott, Lucretia, picture, 550
Mount Hamilton, Observatory, picture, 557
"Mountain," French party, 192, 198
Mowers, 564
Mozambique (mō-zăm-bēk'), 700
Mt. Morgan, mines, picture, 613
Mukden (mo͝ok-dĕn'), battle of, 750
Mule, spinning, 253; picture, 253
Munich (mū'nĭk), town hall, picture, 409
Mussolini, Benito (bā-nē'tō mo͝os-sō-lē'nē), 803–805; picture, 804
Mutsuhito (mo͝ot-so͝o-hē'tō), 648
Mysore (mī-sōr'), 791

N

Nanking', Treaty of, 658
Nantes (nänts), Edict of, 76, 77, 80; canceled, 106
Naples, kingdom, 218, 385, 387, 400–401. *See also* Two Sicilies
Napo'leon Bo'naparte, early life, 208–209; character, 209–210, 231, 238; during the Revolution, 202, 210; early military career, 210, 211, 213; campaign in Italy, 211, 213, 217; Egyptian campaign, 213–214; seizes power over France, 214; first consul, 214, 221; military genius, 215–216, 226–227, 238; far-flung power, 218, 220, 225; as statesman and emperor, 220–226; treaty with pope, 222; codes, 222–223, 232; educational system, 223–224, 337; founds Legion of Honor, 224–225; additions to catechism, 224, 239; attitude towards conquered peoples, 226; lack of naval training, 226–227; struggle with England, 226–231, 328; attacks English commerce, 228–231; change in character with advancing power, 231; war in Spanish Peninsula, 232; Russian campaign, 232–235; defeated at Leipzig, 235; abdicates, 236; at Elba, 236, 311; defeated at Waterloo, 238; encourages sugar beet industry, 276; spreads nationalism, 298–300; influence upon Italy, 383; influence on Latin America, 669. Pictures: 209, 212, 219, 227, 232, 237; tomb of, 299; memorial procession for, 361. Map, Napoleon's sway at its height, 225
Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon), early life, 362–363; becomes president of France, 345, 359, 363–365; character, 363, 366–368, 372; reasons for election, 363–365; in his greatness, 365–373; becomes emperor, 366–368; attitude towards Russia, 369; as leader of Europe, 370, 372; aids Italians, 372–373, 398, 399; fails to aid Poland, 375; in American Civil War, 375–376; in Mexico, 376–377; clashes with Bismarck, 377–378, 417, 419; Franco-Prussian War, 378–380, 420–421; fall of, 380, 406, 421, 426, 427; defender of the papacy, 393, 402; conquers Cochin China, 640. Picture, 367
Napoleonic Legend, 239, 361–362, 365
Nas'sau, annexed to Prussia, 418
Natal', 597, 620, 623, 624
National Assembly, French, 172, 181, 185–186, 430–431
National debts, 150, 784
Nationalism, 293–300; early growth, 65–66; in England, 86; in France, 204; in Prussia, 231, 235; in Spain, 231; in Austria, 232, 410; in Germany, 232, 406, 411; aroused by Napoleon's tyranny, 239; meaning and influence, in modern history, 294–305; how expressed, 295–296; results, 297–298; origin, 298; after 1815, 300–305, 355; in Italy, 383, 387, 388, 403, 805; aroused by French Revolution, 406, 706; in Ireland, 497, 499; in Turkey, 515; promotes colonization, 598; in India, 627; in China, 663; frenzied, 726; in the ascendancy, 787–797
Navarino (nä-vä-rē'nō), battle of, 324; picture, 324
Navigation, 7, 37, 53, 242
Navigation Acts, 135, 142, 329, 500, 603
Navy, British, 84, 220, 227, 228, 239; 490, 727; French, 226–227; German, 460, 713–714, 733, 736, 778. Pictures: French, 117, 213, 228, 711; English, 228, 726; German, 714
Neck'er, French minister, 163
Negroes, 570, 674
Nelson, Admiral, 214, 227; picture, monument to, 301
Nepal (nĕ-pôl'), 636
Netherlands, importance in medieval commerce, 45; Calvinism in, 72; under Philip II, 77, 78
Netherlands, Austrian, 218
Netherlands, Dutch, *see* Holland
New Am'sterdam, founded, 131
New Bruns'wick, 603
Newcomen (nū-kŭm'ĕn), inventor, 246
New England, settled by Pilgrims, 89
Newfoundland (nū'fŭnd-lănd), 116, 600, 601, 604, 630
New France, 133, 135
New Granada (grä-nä'dä), 672
"New Learning," 59, 66, 553
New Netherland, 133
New Spain, 133
New South Wales, 610, 611, 614
Newspapers: in France, 183–184, 220; influence of, 346; development of, 567, 569–570. *See also* Press
New Sweden, 133
New'ton, 556, 666
New York, founded, 131; opposes England, 143. Pictures, 137, facing 774
New Zealand, 616–618, 125, 551, 597; gains Pacific islands, 769, 777
Ney (nā), Marshal, 216
Nicara'gua, 679
Nice (nēs), 373
Nicholas I, of Russia, 288, 323, 369, 508, 509
Nicholas II, 508, 528, 530, 634, 764

Nigeria (nī-jē'-rĭ-ȧ) 697, 600, 695
Ni'hilists, 523–524
Nile, Battle of the, 214
Nile River, 3–5, 698; picture, Assuan Dam, 629
Nizhni-Novgorod (nyĭzh'nyĕ nôv'gŏ-rŏt), picture, fair at, 525
Nobles, in early society, 6; Roman, 14; feudal, 31–34, 37, 42; in France, 45, 152–155, 169, 170, 176, 178, 200, 309, 315; in Germany, 48, 408; in Russia, 113; in Poland, 120; Japanese, 648
Nogi (nō'gē), General, 653
"No Man's Land," 749
Nonconformists, 94
Nonjurors, 179, 190, 196, 208
Norsemen, 25, 112
North, Lord, prime minister, 100
North America, explorations, 123; in Seven Years' War, 137. Map, 138. *See also* America, and Colonies
North Carolina, opposes England, 143
North German Confederation, 419, 421
North German Lloyd Steamship Company, 456
Norway, kingdom of, 49; adopts Lutheranism, 71; ruled by Sweden, 313; government, 534, 545; voting in, 547, 550; shipping interests, 593
Notre Dame (nō'tr' dȧm'), cathedral, 221; picture, 427
Nova Scotia, 131, 601
Nuns, 70; forced to leave France, 439
Nu'remberg, picture, 109
Nuremberg-Fürth railroad, picture, 307
Nyasa (nyä'sä), lake of, 686, 695
Nyasaland, 695

O

O'Connell, Daniel, Irish leader, 470, 499
Odes'sa, 517
Od'yssey, 8, 22, 59
Oil, 565, 656, 760
Old age pensions, 491, 578
Old Régime, in France, 165, 173, 203, 204, 206, 207
Oldenburg (ōl'dĕn-bo͝orĸ), 445
Olym'pic, 580
Olympic Games, 9–10
Omdurman (ŏm-do͝or-män'), battle of, 698
Ontario, 603
"Open door" policy, 662, 663, 688, 809
Opium War, 658
Orange Free State, 619–620, 623, 624
Orders in council, 229, 273
Origin of Species, by Darwin, 560
Orlan'do, premier, 774; picture, 776
Or'leanists, 431, 432
Orsini (ôr-sē'nē), 398
Osaka (ō'zä-kä), 649; picture, 655
Ostend', 285
Ot'tawa, 603. Picture, Canadian Parliament Building, 605
Otto, German emperor, 28
Otto, king of Greece, 324
Ot'toman Empire, 370. Map, decline of, 514
Outer Mongo'lia, 662
Ov'id, poet, 16
Owen, Robert, reformer, 335
Oxford University, 37
Oxygen, discovered, 248

P

Pacifists, 714
Paderewski (pȧ-dĕ-rĕf'skē), 667
Pagoda, picture, 655
Painting, Italian, 57; during Renaissance, 62; in Palace at Versailles, 106. Pictures, 58, 390
Palaces, 57; built by Louis XIV, 106. Pictures, 26, 107, 327, 384, 487, 507, 527, 651
Palestine, in Middle Ages, 27, 36; modern, 600, 630, 631, 794, 796
Panama, 672, 679–682
Panama Canal, 584; picture, 680
Pan-American Union, 678, 683
Pan-American Building, picture, 678
Pan-Germanists, 731
Panics, financial, of 1847, 340–341
Panpipes, picture, 674
Pan-Serbians, 722, 738
Pan-Slav movement, 516
Papacy, *see* Pope
Papal Guarantees, Law of, 402
Papal States, relations with France, 218, 222, 372; after Congress of Vienna, 312, 385; keep Italy divided, 353, 386–387; revolts in, 387, 398; taken by Victor Emmanuel, 400–402
Paper, 52, 53
Papy'rus, 6
Paris, intellectual center, 45; during Revolution, 181–183; riots, 190–191, 342; street fighting, 191, 199, 342; rebuilt during rule of Napoleon III, 368; siege of, 379, 421, 428; center of revolutions, 426; fights France in civil war, 429–430; capital of France, 430; in World War, 746, 752. Pictures: street fighting, 191, 343; Column of Austerlitz, 217; street railway, 283; Napoleon's tomb, 299; processions, 344, 361; Triumphal Arch, 374; airplane view, 427; Avenue Bois de Boulogne, 435
Paris, Congress of, 370, 397, 748; picture, 371
Paris, Count of, 431
Paris, Peace Conference, 774, 806
Paris, Treaty of, 601
Paris, University of, 37

Parker, Sir Gilbert, quoted, 615
Parkes (pärks), Sir Henry, 612
Parliament (pär'lĭ-mĕnt), English and British, struggle with kings for power, 88–89; Long Parliament, 90, 91; under Cromwell, 92; after Restoration, 93; and Charles II, 94; and James II, 94; and William and Mary, 95; under Bill of Rights, 96; supremacy of, 97, 103; reform of, 301, 330, 464–466, 474–477, 495. Pictures, 91, 493. *See also* Commons
Parliaments, other: Frankfort, 351–352; Italian, 401, 402, 804; Prussian, 408, 414; North German, 420; Canadian, 604; Australian, 612; Irish, 789. Pictures of parliament buildings: Frankfort, 352; Swiss, 538; Austrian, 543; Canadian, 605; Cape Town, 703; Turkish, 796
Par'ma, duchy of, 384–385, 387
Par'nell, Charles, Irish leader, 500
Par'thenon, 8; picture, 9
Parties, *see* Political parties
Pasteur (pȧs-tûr'), Louis, scientist, 559, 560, 666; picture, 559
Patrimony of St. Peter, 385. *See* Papal States
Patriotism, and nationalism, 294
Pawtuck'et, picture of Slater's mill, 274
Peace Conference (1919), 774–781
Peace Palace, picture, 715
Peasants, medieval, 29, 33, 42; French, 152–157, 173, 176, 181, 200; Egyptian, 629; Russian, 104, 282–283, 521, 524–526; Irish, 498, 499, 502. Pictures, 32, 115, 332, 442. *See also* Serfdom
Pe'dro, of Brazil, 670
Pedro II, of Brazil, 672
Peel, Robert, British leader, 470, 477
Peking', 660. Picture, temple, 658
Peloponne'sian War, 11
Peninsular War, 233
Pension system, Australian, 615
Pensions, Old Age, 491, 578
Peons, 675, 676
People's Charter, 478
Pera (pā'rȧ), picture, 516
Pericles (pĕr'ĭ-klēz), Greek leader, 80
Permanent Court of International Justice, 818
Perry, Commodore Matthew, 646–647, 655. Picture, 647
Pershing, General John J., 771, 773; picture, 773
Persia, 11, 634, 636
Persian Empire, conquered, 11
Peru, 124, 129, 669, 673, 674, 675
Pétain (pā-tăN'), General, 770, 773; picture, 773
Peter the Great, of Russia, 104, 113–115
Petition of Right, 89, 546
Petrarch (pē'trärk), poet, 59–60
Petroleum, 565, 591, 593, 594
Pharsa'lus, battle of, 14
Phid'ias, Greek sculptor, 8, 667
Philanthropy, modern, 571–572
Philhellen'ic societies, 323
Philip of Macedon (măs'ē-dŏn), 11
Philip II, of Spain, 77–78, 104, 130; attacks England, 84–86
Philip V, of Spain, 116
Philippines, schools in, 567; American control, 642–643, 656; agitation for independence, 788, 794
Phillips, Wendell, 571
Philosophy, Greek, 8, 12, 21; French, 158, 160, 162; German, 411
Phœnicians (fē-nĭsh'ănz), 6–7
Physics, progress in, 556–558
Piave (pyä'vā) River, battle, 769
Pied'mont, invaded by Napoleon, 211; and Napoleon III, 373; revolts in, 320, 387; after 1815, 384, 389; government, 389, 394, 395; under Cavour, 396–397; annexations in Italian unification, 399–400, 406
Pilgrims, come to America, 88
Pill'nitz, declaration of, 189
Pin'dar, Greek poet, 8
Pineapple Church, picture, 512
Pisa (pē'sä), council at, 65
Pitt, William, the elder, 119
Pitt, William, the younger, 165
Pius IX, Pope, 389
Pizarro (pĭ-zär'rō) brothers, 129
Plain, French party, 198
Plas'sey, battle of, 120, 625
Pla'to, philosopher, 8, 323, 666
Pleb'iscites, in France, 214, 221, 366; in Italy, 401, 407; after World War, 777, 817
Pogroms', 528, 529
Poincaré (pwăN-kȧ-rā'), French leader, 728, 739, 741, 802, 805
Poitiers (pwȧ-tyā'), knights in combat, picture, 46
Poland, rise of, 49; partition, 120–121, 304; grand duchy of Warsaw, 218; nationalism, 294, 451, 499, 554, 788; re-partition, 312–313; revolts, 326, 346, 375, 415, 521; loses self-government, 509; woman suffrage, 551; restored as a republic, 767, 776, 777, 787. Map, partition of, 121
Political parties, English and British, 96–97, 471, 479, 489, 491; French, 191–192, 198, 363–365, 433–435; German, 452, 454
Poll tax, 156
Polo, Marco, travels of, 55
Pompadour (pôN-pȧ-dōōr'), Madame de, 108

Pompey, Roman leader, 14
Pope, head of church, 34, 66; proclaims crusade, 36; struggle with emperors, 48; during Renaissance, 68–70; Napoleon's treaty with, 222; ruler of Papal States, 312, 353, 354, 372, 386–387, 400, 402; doctrine of infallibility, 451–452; treaty with Italy, 805. Picture, private chapel, 390
Population, affected by Industrial Revolution, 255, 266, 267, 289; effect on emigration, 598
Port Arthur, 522, 634, 652, 653
Porto Rico, schools in, 567
Portsmouth, peace of, 653
Portugal, kingdom of, 47; explorations, 55, 123, 646, 657; province of Spain, 85; colonies, 125, 130, 137, 685, 700; decline of, 133; under Napoleon, 217–218, 231, 233, 669–671; British army in, 233; government, 534, 545; illiteracy, 567; in World War, 754
Post Boy, picture, 261
Postal service, 582, 586–587, 590, 627, 649–650; pictures, 586, 590
Potatoes, 275–276, 340, 500
Pottery, early, 6
Power, kinds of, 244–245, 246
Prague (prāg), capital, 777
Prague, Treaty of, 418
Premier, 99, 536. *See* Cabinet
Preparedness, military, 714–715, 727
Presbyterians, 88, 90, 92, 497
Press, in France, 315, 325, 366, 375; in England, 329; influence of, 346, 534, 569, 570; in Austria-Hungary, 347; in Germany, 351, 450; in Russia, 513, 523; in Japan, 654. *See also* Newspapers
Preto'ria, Palace of Justice, picture, 487
Priestley, scientist, 248, 249
Priests, 6, 34, 37
Prime minister, 99, 536. *See* Cabinet
Printing, 52–53, 60–62, 249; aids in circulation of books, 68; used in China, 657. Pictures, 53, 569
Prisons, improvement of, 572
Privateering, outlawed, 748
Protective tariff, *see* Tariff
Protectorates, 636, 641, 653, 679, 682, 691, 700, 718
Protestant Reformation, 65, 67–69, 71–74
Protestants, 71; wars against, 75–80; countries becoming, 80; in Switzerland, 356; in Ireland, 497, 503, 789; missions of, 573
Protozo'a, 559
Provinces, Roman, 13, 14
Prussia, despotism in, 103; early importance, 110–112, 119; in Seven Years' War, 118; partitions of Poland, 121, 312–313; alliance with Austria against France, 194; war with Napoleon, 229, 235; rise of national spirit in, 231; railroads, 288–289; after 1814, 309–310, 312, 313; in Holy Alliance, 314, 320; education, 336–338, 567; Revolution of 1848, 356, 357; war with Denmark, 377; war with France, 377–380; rival of Austria, 401, 410; leader of Germany, 406, 418–420; government, 407, 408, 412; Bismarck's plans for, 413; war with Austria, 418; military system, 440; in German Empire, 444, 445, 542; voting in, 547, 548. *See also* Germany
Public debts, 677, 778, 815–817
Public Safety, Committee of, 195, 198
Punjab (pŭn-jäb'), 636
Puritans, 72, 87–92, 666
Pym, John, Puritan leader, 90
Pyramids, Battle of the, 213

Q

Quad'ruple Alliance, 309–310, 314
Quakers, 92
Quebec', 603, 608; picture, 601
Queensland, 611
Quinine, 134

R

Races, 26, 27; as basis for national feeling, 294; in Austria, 346–349, (map) 544; in United States and Canada, 665; in Latin America, 674
Radet'sky, General, 348
Radicalism, in France, 181–187, 365; in Europe, 316; in Austria and Germany, 338; in England, 468–469; in Russia, 523–524; gives place to conservatism, 802–805
Radio, 579, 589; picture, 589
Radium, 558, 565
Railroads, 264–265, 280–285; opposition to, 269, 284, 306; government ownership, 285, 288–289, 614–615; in America, 290; change social conditions, 334; extension in France, 368, 442; Trans-Siberian, 522–523, 634; in Africa, 693, 696–697. Pictures: 264, 265, 282, 283, 284, 285, 307, 522, 695, 696, 697, 719; cartoons against, 269, 284
Ra'leigh, Sir Walter, 84, 86
Ranke (räng'kĕ), Leopold von, 556
Raphael (răf'ā-ĕl), painter, 57, 58, 667
Reading (rĕd'ĭng), Lord, 792
Realism and romanticism, 554–555
Reapers, 564; pictures, 241, 291
Re Bomba (rā bōm'bä), 354
Recessional, by Kipling, 505
Reciprocity, 610

Red Cross, 595, 748, 764, 765; picture of parade, facing 774
"Red" régime, in Russia, 797
Referendum, 214, 366, 539
Reform, church, 34, 64–68, 75
Reform, social, 334–338, 474–477, 491–494, 575–576, 614–615, 617
Reform Act of 1832, 330, 472, 473–474, 477–478, 482, 495, 548
Reform Act of 1867, 485–486, 548
Reform Act of 1884, 487–488, 548
Reformation, Catholic, 75
Reformation, Protestant, 65, 67–69, 71–74. *See also* Protestants
"Reich" (rīk), 785
Reichsrat (rīĸs'rät), 786
Reichstag (rīĸs'täĸ), 420, 445, 446–447, 454, 542, 786; pictures, 447, 453
Reign of Terror, 195–200, 207, 329
Reims (rēmz), 772
Religion, during Middle Ages, 16–17, 32–33; Christianity, 19–21, *see* Church, Catholic, Protestant, etc.; of Mohammed, 26–27; wars over, 77, 78–80; in Turkey, 515; freedom of, 546; and scientific theories, 560–561; in India, 627; in Japan, 646, 655; in China, 657–658
Renaissance (rĕn-ĕ-säNs'), 51–66; extent, 56; results, 62. Paintings, 58
Reparations, German, 778, 810–813
Representative government, in England, 88–89, 95; in colonies, 136, 140; in France, 164–165, 179–180; in Sardinia-Piedmont, 357; in Russia, 511–512; in America, 666. *See also* Cabinet, and Parliament
"Republic of St. Mark," 348
Republics: Roman, 14; French, 173, 342, 380, 425, 539–540; Swiss, 356, 357, 537–539; Latin American, 672–673; German, 785–786
"Resurrection" (Risorgimento), in Italy, 338, 396
Revolutions: Puritan, 87–93; of 1688, 95–96; American, 140–141, 143–144; French, 168–204, *see* French Revolution; Industrial, 241–291, *see* Industrial Revolution; of 1830, 325–330; of 1848, 332–357; Russian, 526–528, 764–766; Japanese, 650; Chinese, 660; Turkish, 719, 721–722; Fascist, in Italy, 803–805
Revolutionary Tribunal, 196–198; picture, 197
Rhodes, Cecil, 621; monument to, 622
Rhodesia (rō-dē'zhĭ-ă), 551, 600, 621, 630, 696
Rialto, picture, 312
Rice, 134
Richelieu (rē-shē-lyû'), Cardinal, 76, 77, 79; absolutism of, 105–106, 167
Right, political party, 434–435
Rights, winning of individual, 545–551
Ring Street, Vienna, picture, 543
Rio de Janeiro (rē'ō dā zhŭ-nā'rō), 675, 676; picture, 677
Risorgimento (rē-sōr-jē-měn'tō), 338, 396
Riviera (rē-vyä'rä), French, 210
Roads, Roman, 18, 19; modern, 262, 265, 283, 442
Roberts, Lord, 623
Robespierre (rō-bĕs-pyâr'), 183, 192, 195, 196, 199
Rochefort (rŏsh-fôr'), picture, 132
Rockefeller Foundation, 574, 676
"Rocket," picture, 265
Roller skating, cartoon, 365
Romagna (rō-män'yä), 373, 385, 399
Roman Catholic Church. *See* Catholic Church
Roman Empire, 16–20; decay and fall of, 21, 24, 27; in the East, 26. Map, 15
Roman Law, 17, 18; studied in Middle Ages, 38
Romance languages, 17
Romanov (rō-mä'nŏf) family, 112–113
Romans, character, 18; civilization, 21–22
Romanticism, 554
Rome, rise of, 12–13; attitude towards conquered peoples, 13; civil wars, 14; empire, 16–21; language, 17–18; law, 17, 18, 38; religious capital, 63; Garibaldi in, 393; becomes part of united Italy, 400–402. Pictures, 20, 302, 390, 404
Röntgen (rûnt'gĕn), scientist, 565
Roosevelt (rōz'ē-vĕlt), President, 653, 655, 679, 682, 717
Root, Elihu, 819
Rothschilds, financiers, 594
Rotten boroughs, 330, 473
Roundheads, 90
Rousseau (rōō-sō'), philosopher, 158, 668; picture, 159
Rubber, 291, 593, 594, 687, 688, 760
Ruhr (rōōr) Valley, 281; Allies occupy, 812–813
Ruma'nia, gains independence, 518; government, 534; voting in, 547, 548, 551; nationalism, 554; in Second Balkan War, 723; in World War, 754, 758, 777
Rumanians, 17, 304, 347
Rumsey, James, inventor, 262
Russell, Lord John, 472
Russia, early, 49, 103, 112; in Seven Years' War, 118, 119; takes part of Poland, 121, 304, 312–313; contest with Napoleon, 215, 217, 231–235; industrial conditions, 282–283, 289, 292; railroads, 288; Polish revolts,

326, 346, 375, 415, 521; after 1814, 309–310, 313; attitude towards Greece, 323; in Crimean War, 369–370, 509; alliance with Prussia, 413, 415; war with Turkey, 487, 517, 520–521; Russian Empire, main account, 507–530; attitude towards Balkans, 516, 718; expansion across Asia, 521–523, 633–634; war with Japan, 522, 523, 526, 652–653; government, 508–509, 534; illiteracy, 568; alliance with Great Britain and France, 634, 708–709, 711, 736; Bismarck's policy towards, 706–707; military system, 714; in World War, 740, 747, 758; revolution of 1917, 764, 766; withdrawal from war, 766–768; peace with Germany, 767; under the Bolsheviki, 797–800, 551. Pictures: 113, 115, 507, 508, 522, 525, 527; French retreat, 234; cartoon, 705; Duma, 766; stamp, 799. Map, 801
Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, 766

S

Saar (zär) district, 777, 817
Sacrament, church, 68
Sadowa (sä'dŏ-vä), battle of, 418, 706, 749
Safety lamp, invention of, 260
St. Basil's (bäz'ĭl) Church, picture, 512
St. Dom'inic, 64
St. Francis, 64
St. Gotthard (gŏth'ärd) tunnel, 397
St. Hele'na, island, 236, 238, 362
St. Mihiel (săN mē-yĕl'), battle at, 773
St. Paul's Cathedral, 59; picture, 501
St. Peter, Patrimony of, 385. *See* Papal States
St. Peter's Cathedral, at Rome, 59, 70
St. Petersburg, 104, 114, 288, 524; pictures, palaces, 507, 527
Saint-Simon, 335
Sakhalin (sä-kä-lēn'), 653
Sal'amis, battle of, 11
Salisbury (sôlz'bĕr-ĭ), Lord, 489
Salt tax, in France, 156, 177
Salvation Army, war relief work, 764
Samurai (sä'mŏŏ-rī), in Japan, 645
Sanitation, problem of, 289, 290; in World War, 752
San Marino (sän mä-rē'nō), 534
San Martin, José de (hō-sā' dā sän mär-tēn'), 669
Santiago (sän-tē-ä'gō), Chile, 675
Sappho (săf'ō), poetess, 8
Sarajevo (sä-rä'yä-vŏ), 738; picture, 738
Sardinia-Piedmont, 373, 384; constitution, 353–357, 541
Saskatch'ewan, harvest picture, 608
Savannah crosses Atlantic, 264; picture, 262
Sa'very, inventor, 246
Savoy', House of, 384, 389
Saxons, settle in Britain, 25
Saxony, 312, 313, 407, 445, 548
Scandina'via, 49, 134
Scheer, von, Admiral, 760
Schles'wig, 415, 418
Schleswig-Holstein, plebiscite in, 777
Schools, Roman, 16, 22; founded by churchmen, 37; in the Renaissance, 61; under Napoleon, 223–224; for study of scientific agriculture in France, 442; American public, 666. Pictures, 60, 317, 568. *See also* Education
"Schrecklichkeit" (shrĕk'lĭĸ-kīt), 746
Schurz (shŏŏrts), Carl, 356
Science, Greek, 8, 9; preserved by church, 21; during Renaissance, 52–55; popularized by printing, 53; advancement of, 248–250; in farming, 276–277; age of, 555–561; advances in applied, 561–565; advance, during nineteenth century, 578; international organizations for, 594–595; application to warfare, 750–752
Scotland, 72, 88, 90; united with England, 98
Scott, James Brown, 819
Scott, Sir Walter, 554
Sculpture, 8, 21, 211
Scutari (skōō'tä-rē), 722
Seal cylinder, picture, 7
Secret societies, 316, 387
Sedan', battle of (1870), 379, 427; in World War, 749
Self-government, in Roman Empire, 13, 14; attempted by townsmen, 42; in England, 83–101, 495; in America, 145; Irish struggle for, 496–499, 790; begun in Russia, 511–512; in British dominions, 602, 620, 627; in Philippines, 643; origin of, 666; of Cuba, 680; India aspires to, 791–792
Senate, Roman, 14; French, 432, 540; Italian, 541; Canadian, 604; Australian, 612
Sen'eca Falls, meeting of women at, 549
Senegal (sĕn-ĕ-gôl'), colony, 369, 693
Sep'aratists, 88
Se'poy Mutiny, 625
September massacres, 190, 192
Serbia, wins self-government, 518; government, 534, 551; quarrel with Bulgaria, 723; contest with Austria, 722–724, 736–740; in World War, 740, 743, 758; after the war, 787, 788
Serfdom, medieval, 33, 42; in Russia, 104, 113, 510–511; in Poland, 120; in France, 176–177; in Prussia, 235; effect of French Revolution on, 272; in Austria, 356, 357; end of, 570–571

Sevastopol (sĕ-vàs'tō-pōl), fall of, 509
Seven Weeks' War, 418
Seven Years' War, 118–120, 137, 139
Sèvres (sâ'vr'), Treaty of, 794, 795
Sewing machine, 592
Shaftesbury (shâfts'bĕr-ĭ), Lord, 468
Shakespeare, 87, 666
Shanghai (shăng-hä'ĭ), 659, 662; picture, Chinese refugees at, 663
Shantung (shän'tōōng') Peninsula, 753, 777, 806, 809, 810
Sheep, 611, 613; picture, 611
Sheffield, 258
Shenando'ah, U. S. airship, 556
Sheridan, General, 377
Shimonoseki (shē'mō-nō-sā'kē), Treaty of, 652
Shin'to, 655
Ships, early, 6; Phœnician, 7; improvements in, 53; steamships, 248, 264, 265, 583; first iron, 258; in transatlantic voyages, 264. Pictures, 54, 85, 117, 128, 132, 143, 213, 228, 247, 263, 657, 711, 714, 726, 761, 762
Shogun (shō'gōōn), 645
Shogunate, 645, 648
Siam', 223, 633
Sibe'ria, 292, 521, 799
Siberian Railroad, 522–523, 634; picture, station on, 522
Sicily, 316, 354, 385, 400
"Sick Man of Europe," 516–517
Sieyès (syā-yĕs'), Abbé, pamphlet of, 157
Silesia (sī-lē'shĭ-ȧ), seized, 118, 777
Silk manufacture, 275, 277, 278, 649
Singapore', 636
Sinkiang (sĭn-kyäng'), 656
Sinn Fein (shĭn fān), 788
Sirius, transatlantic voyage of, 264, 583
Sistine Chapel, picture, 390
Slater, Samuel, 274, 290; picture, mill of, 274
Slave trade, 137; abolition, 570–571
Slavery, in early society, 6; abolished in French colonies, 200; in United States, 254; in British colonies, 474, 475, 619; in Turkey, 796; end of, 545, 570–571
Slavic tribes, invasions of, 25–26
Slavo'nia, 721, 777
Slavs (slävz), 80, 110, 347, 788; in Hungary, 545, 548
Sleeping sickness, 695
Slova'kia, 776
Smeaton (smē'tŭn), John, inventor, 258
Smelting, modern, begun, 257–258
Smith, Adam, 267–268, 592, 667
Smuts, General, 623, 624, 769
Smyrna, under Greek control, 794
Social conditions, in Roman Empire, 16, 24, 34; in Middle Ages, 29, 37, 41–42, 51; church influence, 63; in England, 92, 94, 243, 250–255, 265–267; in Russia, 114–115, 526; in France, 146–147, 152, 155, 181–182, 198, 220, 368; change due to Industrial Revolution, 243, 254–255, 265–267; under cottage system, 250–251; improvement in, 289, 561, 570–578; in Latin America, 675–676. Pictures, 32, 87, 149
Social Contract, by Rousseau, 158, 160
Social democracy, in Australia, 614–615
Social insurance, 577–578
Social reform, 334–338, 474–477, 491–494, 575–576, 614–615, 617
Social welfare, advance in, 578
Socialism, 334, 359; aids revolutionary spirit, 336; rejected by French Republic, 342, 344; Bismarck's crusade against, 452–454; state, 454–456; in Russia, 766, 797
Socialists, 334–335, 344, 577; international organizations of, 595
Society of Jesus, 75. *See also* Jesuits
Solferino (sŏl-fĕ-rē'nō), battle, 373, 377
Somaliland (sō-mä'lē-lănd), 700
Somme (sōm), battle of the, 755, 757; second battle, 769–771. Picture, French front line trench in, 750
"Soo" Canal, 585
Sophocles (sŏf'ō-klēz), dramatist, 8
South Africa, 618–625, 696–697; gains self-government, 620
South Africa Company, 621
South America, 123, 125, 137, 667–683
South Australia, 611
Southern Rhodesia, 600, 696
Southwark (sŭth'ĕrk), White Hart Inn, picture, 580
Soviets (sō-vyĕts'), 764, 766, 797–800
Spain, early, 27, 47–49, 65; under Philip II, 77, 78; war with England, 84–86; colonies, 125, 128–130, 133, 135, 144, 301, 321–322, 667–668; decline of, 133; war with Napoleon, 215, 217–218, 232–233; cedes Louisiana to France, 218; under Joseph Bonaparte, 218, 226, 232; rise of national spirit, 231, 300; industrial conditions, 282; railroads, 289; after 1814, 309, 315, 316, 317; attempt to found constitutional government, 320–321; Bismarck intervenes in, 378; government of, 534, 545, 547; illiteracy, 568; war with United States, 642, 679–680, 710, 713; cedes Philippines to United States, 642; interests in Morocco, 717
Spanish-American Revolution, 669
Spanish-American War, 642, 679–680, 710, 713
Spanish Armada, 84–86, 131
Spanish Succession, War of, 116
Spectroscope, invention of, 556

Speech, freedom of, 329, 354, 523, 546
Spencer, Herbert, 560, 667
Spice Islands, 125
Spices, 134, 230
Spinning, in early times, 6; machines for, 252–254, 277–279; in Russia, 283. Pictures, 251, 252, 635
Spirit of Laws, by Montesquieu, 158
"Spoils system," 341
Srinagar (srē-nä-gŭr'), picture, 635
Stagecoaches, 580–581; picture, facing 582
Stamp tax, 142
Stamps, pictures, 787, 799
Stanley, Henry M., explorer, 686–687
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, picture, 550
State socialism, 454–456, 491
States, distinguished from nations, 295
States of the Church, 402. *See also* Papal States
States-general, in France, 164, 168–172; picture, 169
Steam engine, invention of, 246, 249; early use of, 260. Picture of first, 247
Steam motor car, picture, 563
Steamships, 248, 262–264, 265, 334, 583; pictures, 263. *See also* Ships
Steel, 249, 280; age of, 258; Bessemer process, 562; steel plant in China, 661
Stein (shtīn), statesman, 235, 337, 413
Stephenson, George, 264–265, 290
Stockton and Darlington Railway, picture, 264
Stone Age, pictures, 1, 2
Strasbourg (strȧs-bōōr'), 363
Stratford-on-Avon, picture, 41
Street railway in Paris, picture, 283
Stresemann (shtrā'zē-män), Dr., 800, 815
Stuarts, 88; return of, 92–93
Submarine, 752; warfare by, 760–763 Picture, German, 761
Submarine cables, 569
Sudan', 567, 629, 693, 698, 699, 709. Pictures, 685, 695, 699
Suez' Canal, 487, 627–628; picture, 585
Suffrage. *See* Voting, and Elections
Suffragettes, 496
Sugar, 134, 676
Sugar beet, 275–276, 441
Sun Yat Sen, Dr., 660
Surgery, advances in, 559, 560
Swaraj (swȧ-räj'), 792
Sweden, early, 49, 71, 114; relations with Napoleon, 218, 231, 235; loses Finland, 313; rules Norway, 313; government, 534, 545, 551; education, 568
Switzerland, independence, 80; under Napoleon, 217–218; refuge for liberals, 356; government, 356, 357, 537–539; education, 568; social insurance, 578. Pictures: local political meeting, facing 534; House of Parliament, 538
Sydney, Australia, 144; picture, 614
Sy'mington, William, inventor, 264
Syria, 27, 796

T

Taft, William H., 819
Taille (tāl), 153, 156
Tal'leyrand, at Congress of Vienna, 310
Tanganyika (tăn-găn-yē'kä), 695, 702
Tanganyika Lake, 686, 687
Tanks, 751; picture, 751
Tan'nenberg, battle of, 758
Tariff, United States, 274, 456, 610; French, 277, 441; German, 281, 411, 456, 712; protective, 305, 592, 727; in England, 329, 490; Canadian, 603, 610; in Australia, 614; Chinese, 662
Tasma'nia, 611
Taxation, in towns, 42, 43, 45; church, 63, 67, 497; church land exempt from, 65; in England, 89, 92, 96, 477, 492; in Prussia, 111, 408, 414; of American colonies, 139, 141–142; in France, 150, 152–157, 540; in Italy, 386, 403–404; in Russia, 511, 525
Tea, 134, 230, 658
Telegraphs, 587–589
Telephone, 587–589; picture, 587
Telescope, invented, 55
Tel'ford, road builder, 262
Temples, early, 6; Greek, 8, 57, 59. Pictures, 4, 9, 637, 658
Tennyson, 666
Terror, Reign of, 195–200, 207, 329
Teutonic tribes, invasions of, 25; picture, weapons, 25
Thack'eray, 481
Theaters, Puritans' attitude towards, 92; pictures, 87, 161
Theodo'sius, emperor, 20
Thiers (tyâr), 431; picture, 429
Third estate, 152–157, 169–172
Third Republic, in France, 380, 428, 438, 539
Thirty Years' War, 78–80
"Thousand," of Garibaldi, 400
Thrace, 722, 794, 796
Tibet', 636, 662
Ti'gris River, 3
Tigris-Euphrates Valley, 4–5, 719
Til'sit, Treaty of, 233
Tir'pitz, von, Admiral, 713, 736
Tithes, 63, 152, 177, 499
Ti'tusville, oil at, 565
Tobacco, 134, 676
To'go, Admiral, 653
Togo, or Togoland, 457, 701, 769, 777

To'kyo, 649, 655; earthquake at, 656. Pictures, 650, 651
Toleration, religious, 74, 80, 546; in France, 76, 77, 201; in England, 92, 93, 96, 97
Tolstoy', 555
Tonkin', 640
Tools, 6, 249–250
Tories, 96–98, 141, 471, 479; in America, 144, 601–602, 609
Toron'to, 609
Toul (tōōl), fortress of, 745
Tourlaville (tōōr-lȧ-vēl'), Chateau of, picture, 176
Tower mill, picture, 245
Tower of London, picture, 83
Towns, medieval, 38–39, 41–42, 48; factory, 255, 266; government of English, 466
Tractor, 564
Trade, Phœnician, 6–7; Greek, 11; medieval, 33, 36–43; effect of crusades, 36–37; merchant guilds, 40–41; with tropics, 133–134; colonial, 135, 142–144, 667–668; slave, 137, 570–571; English, 243–244, 251, 266, 477, 593; Adam Smith's principles of, 267–268; Belgian, 279; struggle of nations for, 305; world, 590–594; with China, 658–659. Pictures, 54, 132, 525, 692. *See also* Commerce
Trade Acts, 142–143
Trade unions, in France, 368; in England, 486, 576–577
Trades. *See* Industry
Trafalgar', battle of, 227; picture, 206
Trafal'gar Square, picture, 301
Transportation, 261–265; improvements in, 248, 283–289; development of, 580–590; airplane, 591. Pictures: frontispiece, 261, 263, 264, 265, 282, 283, facing 582, 691. *See also* Roads, Canals, Railroads, and Ships
Trans-Siberian railroad, 634, 652
Transvaal (trȧns-väl'), 619, 620, 623
Transylva'nia, ceded to Rumania, 777
Travel, in Roman Empire, 16, 18; medieval dangers, 39; of Marco Polo, 55; of Peter the Great of Russia, 114; improvements in, 261–265; in 1800, 580–581; uncertainties of, 581–582; by airplane, 590, 591. Pictures: early passenger ship, 54; carriages of time of Elizabeth, 84; French coaches, 146, 147, 282; English stagecoach, facing 582; Chinese passenger boat, 657; omnibus in Algeria, 691. *See also* Railroads and Ships
Treaty, of Westphalia, 80, 109, 115; of Utrecht, 139, 601; of Tilsit, 233; of Vienna, 313; of Frankfort, 379–380, 428; of Prague, 418; of Paris, 601; of Shimonoseki, 652; of Nanking, 658; of Versailles, 694, 696, 776, 810; of Bucharest, 723; of Sèvres, 794, 795; of Brest-Litovsk, 797; papal (1929), 805; Kellogg, 820
Treaty ports, 647, 662, 659
Treitschke (trīch'kē), Professor, 731
Trekkers, Boer, 619
Trenches, 755; pictures, 623, 750
Trent, 403, 770
Trent, church council of, 75
Trentino (trĕn-tē'nō), 754, 777
Trieste (trē-ĕst'), 403, 754, 770, 777
Trin'idad, 314, 630
Triple Alliance, 403, 457–458, 691, 692, 707, 708, 712, 724, 736, 754; cartoon, against, 708
Triple Entente (ăN-tăNt'), 634, 711, 712
Tripoli (trĭp'ō-lĭ), 403, 520, 700, 710, 722; picture, 701
Triumphal Arch, Paris, picture, 374
Trot'sky, Leon, 766, 798
Tschaikowsky (chī-kōf'skē), 667
Tsetse (tsĕt'sē) fly, 695
Tsingtau (tsĭng-tou'), 753
Tu'nis, 403, 690, 691–692, 700, 707. Picture, market place, 692
Tunis'ia, 599
Turbine waterwheel, invented, 246
Turgot (tür-gō'), French statesman, 163
Turin (tū'rĭn), 384, 396. Picture, Chamber of Deputies in, 395
Turkestan', 521, 799
Turkey, 513–520; affected by nationalism, 305; Greek revolt against, 322–323; struggle with Russia, 369–370, 457, 517; causes of decline, 515; Balkan States carved from, 517–518; treatment of Bulgarians, 518–519; Egypt severed from, 630; war with Italy, 700, 722; friendship of Germany, 718–719; revolution of 1908, 719, 721–722; Balkan Wars, 722–723; in World War, 749, 753, 768; under Kemal Pasha, 794–797; adopts western ideas, 796–797. Cartoon, Turkey in danger, 370. Picture, Turkish cavalry, 753
Turks, overthrow Eastern Empire, 27; overrun Hungary, 49; take Constantinople, 112
Tus'cany, duchy of, 384–385, 399
Tutankha'men's temple, picture, 4
Two Sicilies, Kingdom of, 385, 400

U

"U-boats," 761
Uganda (ōō-gän'dä), 600, 630, 695
Uitlanders (oit'län-dĕrz), 620, 621, 623
Ujiji (ōō-jē'jē), picture, 573
Ukase (ū-kās'), of the czars, 104, 508

Ukraine (ū'krān), in World War, 767
Ulster, 503, 504, 788, 790
Um'bria, 385, 400, 401
Undussuma warrior, picture, 686
Unemployment, in panic of 1847, 340–341; in France, 342, 344; in England, 492, 577, 803; in Russia, 526
Union of South Africa, 618–625, 686, 696, 702, 793–794
Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, 799
Unitarians, in England, 96
United States, origin, 143–144; effects of French Revolution, 202–203; naval war with France, 203; opposes Napoleon, 220; affected by European blockade, 229; War of 1812, 231; railroads, 288; Industrial Revolution, 290–292, 280; emigration to, 356, 404, 457, 500, 526, 665–666; adopts protective tariff, 456; system of government, 537; labor unions, 576, 577; postal service, 586; telephone and telegraph, 587–588; shipping interests, 593; relations with Canada, 609–610; relations with Japan, 655–656; aids Latin America, 670–671, 679; aids Cuba, 672, 679–680; protects Panama, 672, 679–682; Canal Zone, 682; feeling of Latin Americans toward, 682–683; in World War, 763–765, 771–776; treaties after World War, 780; woman suffrage, 787; relation to Soviet Russia, 797; Arms Conference, 806–810; loans to European nations, 816. *See also* America, and American
Universal suffrage, 469, 485
Universities, founding of, 37; German, 338, 450; growth, 566; Japanese, 655; Turkish, 796; Philippine, 643
Unter den Linden, picture, 455
U'ruguay, 672, 674, 675, 676
Uto'pia, 61
Utrecht (ū'trĕkt), Peace of, 116, 601

V

Vaccination, against smallpox, 249
Vandals, occupy Africa, 25
Van Dyck, 667
Vasco da Gama (gä'mä), explorer, 55–56, 62, 123, 125, 618
Vassal, feudal, 31, 43
Vat'ican Council, 451–452
Vauluisant (vō-lwē-zäN'), picture, 77
Vene'tia, 384; controlled by Austria, 347, 386, 400; becomes part of united Italy, 401–402, 418
Venetians (vē-nē'shănz), 55
Venezue'la, 672, 677, 679
Venice, 61, 312, 316; pictures, 312, 384
Venizelos (vĕn-ē-zā'lŏs), premier, 775
Vera Cruz, picture, 665
Verdi (vâr'dē), 667
Verdun (vĕr-dŭN'), 745; battle of, 755, 757
Verrazano (vĕr-rät-sä'nō), explorer, 131
Versailles (vĕr-sä'y'), fountains of, 104; palace at, 106; court life at, 146–147; capital of France, 430. Pictures: palace and gardens, 107; "bed of justice" held at, 151; dramatic performance, 161; proclamation of William I, 422
Versailles, Treaty of, 694, 696, 776, 810
Vesle (vĕl), 772
Veto, royal, in England, 103; in Germany, 408; in Italy, 541
Victor Emman'uel, of Piedmont, 394, 400; king of Italy, 401, 406, 417. Picture, 372; monument to, 302
Victoria, Lake, 687, 695
Victoria, Queen of England, character, 464; reign, 480–505; empress of India, 487. Pictures, 464, 504
Victoria Café, Berlin, picture, 455
Vien'na, 211, 719; pictures, 311, 543
Vienna, Congress of, 310–314, 571; picture, 519
Villages, feudal, 29; Russian, 511
Vir'gil, poet, 16, 666
Virgin'ia, 134, 143, 666
Vis'igoths, in Spain, 25, 27
Vladivostok', 522, 523, 633, 634
Voltaire (vōl-târ'), 158, 411, 669; picture, 159
Vosges (vōzh) Mountains, 745
Voting (and suffrage), in Athens, 10; in France, 180, 359, 360, 427; in German Empire, 445, 446, 447; in Great Britain, 465, 473, 485-487; in Hungary, 545; restrictions upon, 546–548, 621, 625; woman suffrage, 551, 787; in Canada, 604; in Japan, 655; in Latin America, 673; in soviet Russia, 798. *See also* Elections

W

Wagram (vä'gräm), battle of, 217, 749
Walden'sians, 64
Wales, 267, 554
Wal'fish Bay, 712
Wallace, Alfred Russel, 555, 560, 570
Wallenstein (wŏl'ĕn-stīn), General, 79
Wal'pole, Sir Robert, 99; picture, 99
War of 1812, 231, 273, 290, 609
War of Liberation, 235, 313
Warfare, methods of, 749–752, 772
Warsaw, grand duchy of, 218
Warships. *See* Navy
Washington, George, 59, 165, 202, 203, 208, 290
Washington Arms Conference, and treaties, 656, 663, 806–809; results, 810

"Watch on the Rhine," 338
"Watchful waiting," policy of, 682
Water power, use of, 245, 246, 252, 277
Waterloo', battle of, 236, 238, 311
Watt, James, inventor, 246, 247, 249
Wealth of Nations, 267–268
Weapons, early, 6; medieval, 54. Pictures, 1, 5, 25, 46, 55
Weaving, 251–253; picture, 635
Webster, Daniel, 323, 564
Weihaiwei (wā'hī-wā'), 660
Weimar (vī'mär), 785
Wellesley (wĕlz'lĭ), Sir Arthur, 233
Wellington, Duke of (Arthur Wellesley), 216, 233, 309, 479; at Waterloo, 238; at Congress of Vienna, 310; prime minister, 471, 472
West Africa, French, 441, 693–694
West India Company, 130–131
West Indies, colonization, 125, 129, 133, 136; products, 129, 134, 140; British, 140; part of Latin America, 667
Western Australia, 611
Western front, in World War, 754–755; map, 756
Westpha'lia, kingdom, 218
Westphalia, Treaty of, 80, 109, 115
Wheat, 593, 690, 760; picture, 608
Whigs, 96–97, 98, 141, 471, 472, 479
White Hart Inn, picture, 580
"White man's burden," 488, 490
Whitney, Eli, inventor, 249–250, 254
Whit'tier, poet, 571
Wil'berforce, William, humanitarian, 468, 470, 475, 571
William of Normandy, 17
William of Orange, 95, 98, 116
William I, of Prussia and Germany, 377, 378, 407, 413; picture, 422
William II, of Prussia and Germany, 454; dismisses Bismarck, 459, 708; character, 459–460, 732; opposes France over Morocco, 693; befriends Turkey, 718–719; policies, 732–733; abdication, 774. Pictures, 458, 459, 732
William III, of England (William of Orange), 95, 98, 116
William IV, of England, 464
Wilson, President, 535, 682, 762, 764, 775, 780; picture, 776
Windischgrätz (vĭn'dĭsh-grĕts), General, 349
Windmills, use of, 245
Windsor Castle, picture, 462
Wireless telegraph, 589, 590, 750
Wireless telephone, 589
Wittenberg (vĭt'ĕn-bĕrĸ), University of, 69; Convent, picture, 69
Wolfe, victory, at Quebec, 119
Woman suffrage, 495–496, 549–551, 616. Picture, memorial to pioneers of, 550
Women: in Russia under Peter the Great, 115; Napoleon's attitude towards, 224; enter industry under the factory system, 255; laws protecting, 454, 476, 576; changes in position of, 549-551, 574; higher education open to, 566; missionaries, 574; in modern Turkey, 796
Wood, Governor Leonard, 794
Wool, 250, 251, 253, 277, 279, 290, 593
Wordsworth, 307, 554
Workmen's Compensation Act, 491
World, maps: ancient, 15; in 1600, 126–127; British dominions, 606–607
World Court, 818–820
World War, 726–781; causes of, 518, 594, 726–743; responsibility for, 743; different from other wars, 749–752; results of, 766-780, 784-785, 551, 563, 702; reconstruction in Belgium and France, 811. Maps: the western front, 756; sway of the Central Powers, 759; new states following, 779
Worms (vōrms), council at, 70
Wright, Orville and Wilbur, 563; picture, flying machine, 564
Würt'temberg, 313, 407, 419, 421, 445
Wyc'liffe, John, 64–65

X

Xavier (zăv'ĭĕr), Francis, 646
X-rays, discovery of, 565
XYZ episode, 203

Y

Yang'tze Valley, 662
Yellow fever, 676
Y.M.C.A., in World War, 764
Yokohama (yō'kō-hä'mà), 649, 656; pictures, 647, 649
Young, Arthur, quoted, 171
"Young Europe," 338, 340, 388
"Young Germany," 340
"Young Italy," 340, 388, 391
"Young Ireland," 340, 499
"Young Poland," 340
"Young Turks," 721, 722
Ypres (ē'pr'), battle of, 752, 755, 757
Yugo-Slavs (yōō'gō-slävz), 110
Yugosla'via, 777, 787, 788

Z

Zambezi (zăm-bē'zĭ) River, picture, railroad bridge over, 697
Zambezi Valley, 686, 696
Zem'stvos, 511, 512, 513, 524
Zep'pelin airships, 752
Zo'la, novelist, 436
Zollverein (tsŏl'fĕr-īn), 281, 411
Zone of the Straits, 794, 796
Zwingli (tsvĭng'lē), reformer, 68

1774